

Young India

AHMEDABAD

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Subscription price, Rs. 10 per annum in advance. Single copies, 2 annas. The price of the paper is 1 anna per copy.

Advertisements are accepted on the following terms:—
 For the first week, 10 annas per line; for the second week, 8 annas; for the third week, 6 annas; for the fourth week, 4 annas; for the fifth week, 3 annas; for the sixth week, 2 annas; for the seventh week, 1 anna; for the eighth week, 1/2 anna; for the ninth week, 1/4 anna; for the tenth week, 1/8 anna.

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Fazil has been released as he is suffering acutely from renal colic.

The Eccellency the Viceroy has again promulgated two ordinances - the Prison Ordinance in the shade of Ordinance No. I and the Ordinance No. XI meant to deal with the movement of non-payment of taxes to the Govt.

AGRA 1-

A number of political prisoners have been upgraded from A to C class in the Agra Jail as a protest against which many well-known prisoners have gone on hunger strike. The condition of some of them is said to be serious.

BOMBAY 1-

"Law & Order in Bombay 1930" a semi-official enquiry committee report has been prescribed by the Bengal Govt.

Small-pox has broken out in Das Das Jail.

Picketing of foreign cloth shops is on the increase in Calcutta.

DELHI 1-

The police charged with lathis a meeting of cultivators on the 18th December.

At More (Gurgaon) there was firing. Several persons were wounded.

Chakravarti a political prisoner fasting in Patna Jail for the last 70 days. Three deaths amongst the political prisoners in Patna Jail have occurred during the last fortnight. The building which has now been turned into a jail was originally meant for a stable.

With the exception of Gaya all the District Congress Committees in Bihar have been declared unlawful.

BOMBAY 1-

War Council arrested.

Repeated twice lathi charges on last Sunday.

On Christmas day there was a blood riot of almost all the Congress workers in Bombay.

Labakhambur, a Bombay volunteer wounded during picketing a liquor shop died in the hospital. Another who sustained serious injuries in course of a lathi charge also died on the 18th.

The Congress Committees of Gurgaon, Baghpat, Faridkot, Karnal have been declared unlawful.

GUJARAT 1-

The Govt. of Bombay has withheld payment of grant to the "Disseminated Nationalist" School Board for observing holidays on the days of arrests and convictions of leaders.

The Students Sabha of Ahmedabad

has decided to purchase all foreign cloth about at Ahmedabad and to sell them in foreign countries.

DELHI 1-

Jail authorities yielded to the hunger strike of political prisoners and allowed B class to the lady prisoners - having however Singh to being prosecuted for soliciting Gorkhas in the Congress Army.

MADRAS 1-

Several arrests have been made in the Province of Andhra for cutting down palm and date trees. On 23rd December Appa Shankara was arrested for cutting down palm trees. The women in his house were expelled and the house sealed.

Mr. Kopyi Vice Chancellor of Andhra University has resigned as a protest against the repressive policy of the Govt.

The Madras Govt. expect a deficit of one crore this year.

One political prisoner has died at Aligarh (Baliary) Jail. At Pudukottam on the 23rd December the police dispersed by lathi charges a garden party. The party was purely a social function. Several including ladies were injured. Several volunteers were arrested on 24th December for picketing foreign cloth shops.

MADRAS 1-

300 political prisoners went on hunger strike in Yercaud Jail.

DELHI 1-

14 volunteers arrested on 26th for picketing foreign cloth shops. Salt was manufactured at Harochi in a public meeting on December 26th.

THE PUNJAB 1-

Barid Labwardingh Secretary Sedition Congress Committee became insane in Maxwell Jail. After his release he fell down from the upper story of his house and died.

H.P. 1-

The town and District Congress Committee and the Youth League of Lucknow have all been declared unlawful.

17 year old boy was sentenced to 15 months B.L. for sedition at Alambabad.

About 75 B class political prisoners have gone up their preferential treatment as a protest against bad treatment meted out to A class prisoners.

Censorship operations are being heightened. The numbers marked on the houses are being rubbed off.

Young India

1000

ALMEIDA, R. A. D.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

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After the note in our last issue about "Fading Friends" was written we missed a report that along with other men the Govt. had suggested to Los Angeles State University the removal of all women from California from their membership if they wanted the grant-land to be restored. Naturally the women were declined to almost each farm.

It is high time our Institutions began to realize the real nature of these contributions and not about recognizing the finances as a self-respecting and dignified without seeking "help" with strings attached. It is true the grants come out of our own money contributed in way of taxes and not as charity. It is also true that institutions which render public services have an inherent right to expect Govt. help and do have a lien on such public funds. It is an undeniable fact that such services can be rendered cheaper if these institutions are subsidized. But the state treats them as if they that our friends are better after grants from Govt. fail to perpetuate the relation of these Govt. to reciprocal condition and fail to understand the full responsibilities of their position.

It is not sufficient to say the Government is sure. To have it go further and show its incidence. It comes from people who are poor and who could ill-afford to spend higher education and who themselves do not had the benefits of even primary education. It comes from villages where also there is no school of any kind even within a radius of several miles. One of its features that drew the British system of education in India is that the money is drawn from villages and spent in towns. The system that pays does not get adequate return for what it pays. There has been one of the chief causes of the impoverishment of the masses and maldistribution of wealth. In many cases hardly 15 % of the money from the villages is spent for its own benefit. It is not worse than charity to accept help from funds accumulated by rich individuals. Have we any loan on such terms? Can we benefit by the exploitation at the present and then blame the Govt. of export dealings? If we accept help from rich funds then we had equally disadvantageous if we will be argued that village boys are going for higher education. Even so, they usually belong to the better off villages who can generally afford to bear considerable burden for the education of

...and, even then, sometimes, the result is
 or we live without surrendering ourselves
 to himself, not the university. That
 under example of sustained selfless public
 service can be held up to the youth then
 university; whose membership is a distinction
 to the university which were its very
 existence to lose membership. The unparal-
 leled request of the Govt. only goes to
 indicate the depravity of the purposes
 with which Govt. takes out the grants. In
 the past it had succeeded, by these means
 in keeping under the control schools,
 villages, hospitals and other philanthropic
 institutions but we should no longer
 tolerate this distinction from a virtuous
 university had paid a tribute to himself.
 But we spare these colder shades with
 which it is enough to bind us and let us
 not dull our heritage for a mass of
 savings but let us hold high at all costs
 the torch of liberty and freedom of
 thought and action. J.C. Kumarappa.

"The Father" of Non-violence.

In the course of a leading
 article on the 12th December last the
 Manchester Guardian remarks:-

"From some points of view
 non-violence is a most unfair weapon not
 successful at all, but violent in the
 most subtle and unbusinesslike way" and
 claims our author to the plea of a creditor
 who would stand outside the front
 door of the debtor university, by means of
 a pledge, the amount of ~~the~~ due. This,
 the writer feels, would be less charitable
 than the direct action of a landlord."

are we find a gross misrepresenta-
 tion of our attitude and purpose. In the
 illustration suggested the aim of the
 creditor is clearly to humiliate the
 debtor and thus force him to pay up
 owing him an advantage to the creditor.
 The creditor creates no damage to himself.
 There will not be counteracted by a
 Satyagrahi at all who himself suffering
 not on the adversary but on himself, we
 does not aim to humiliate his adversary
 but to win the debt by an appeal to his
 better self to his feeling of humanity and
 to the sense of justice. Satyagrahi is not
 "weak" to submit wounds on others not
 an instrument to punish that which he
 subject to both the parties to the conflict
 Our satyagrahis do not face the battle
 with the object of humiliating or hurting
 the police but with a view to winning
 their heart by their suffering.

Besides they do not invite their
 suffering for their own benefit but in the
 hope that the credit of their labour will
 reach their fellow Satyagrahis. Thus he where
 it differs - essentially from all other
 methods which have for their object

personal gain. The penance of Satyagrahi, earned
 and other places have been property worth many
 times the revenue by their so-called campaigns. If
 they sought their own individual advantage the
 peasant-courtesy would have been paid up
 the revenue but they have preferred to damage their
 all in the end and that the country at large may
 benefit by their suffering.

It is certainly recognized that a by-product
 of the Satyagrahi campaign has been to reveal
 to the world the truthfulness of a system of Govt.

Now on explanation of the weakness of the
 people and to show up the heartlessness of the
 bureaucracy and their irresponsibility. But
 there have not been our main objects. If there
 is one being above all others that strikes an
 observer of the present movement it is the
 selflessness of both the leaders and followers
 in this movement and it betrays gross
 ignorance to say the movement is violent in
 the most subtle way. ---Kumarappa.

Leaders advised Ali.

We regret to record the passing away of
 this great patriot, along with his brother,
 Shambhat Ali, he worked ardently as a true
 patriot. Although we may have differed on some
 essentials we cannot but express our admiration
 for Gandhi's zeal for the cause which was dear
 to his heart. As a true leader with his
 religion was first and everything else came
 afterwards. This naturally led to his occasional
 view points. Though the country's claim was
 sacred yet it had a large share in his heart.
 Even while he was ill his love for the country
 drove him to cross the seas to attend the
 Round Table Conference and his glowing letters
 he stated that he would never return to a "false
 country" and asked you will have to give me
 a grave here. He hardly thought at the time
 that the Indians were entering a prophesy which
 was to come to be fulfilled.

By his death the country loses a staunch
 and faithful patriot and we extend to Gandhi,
 Shambhat Ali and his relatives our deep sympathy.

J. C. K.

Notes on the Committee.

Letter to India.

We have before us an appeal signed by Sir
 Reginald Evers and the public to subscribe
 to the Bombay City Police Fund. The whole is
 buttressed by the following sentences "we would
 like to see that the citizens of Bombay should show
 their appreciation of the loyal and steadfast
 way in which the Bombay City Police have carried
 out their ordinary duty of protecting the lives
 and property of citizens of Bombay despite the
 very heavy burden thrown upon them in consequence
 of the present situation". Perhaps Sir
 Reginald expects the lot to be passed round
 the Congress General which can appreciate the
 best the anti-security activities of the police
 force which entered in the new year by some
 committee on the morning of the last instant.
 Sir Reginald is looking to India for the

The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the Board of Directors of the National Association of Manufacturers for the year 1911:

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

1. The above information was obtained from a review of the files of the FBI, New York Office, and the files of the FBI, New York Office, and the files of the FBI, New York Office.

[illegible]

For colorful commentary on issues II of 1980 has been authorized by Governor, Editor, Publisher, Managing Editor, Director.

Additional: a foreign cloth is covered on
75 or only in the number of foreign cloth
in the 10 foreign cloth, the same.

• killed 1978 was a lethal charge on the lower ages. 71.3 were injured.

The 10-11-12 street is spreading to the village of Highland District also.

At 11:00 AM on 1/4/80, the police
arrived at the scene. The car was
found on the street, one of the
doors open. (A/C, one, 2 persons.)

Smoking and alcohol are being prohibited throughout the process. Food and liquor at the site also will be denied.

A voluntary campaign was in effect Jan. 1 to December 31st. Volunteers are now wanted for collecting foreign cloth bags and paper bags.

* Entries have been entered from Idaho.
Dr. Gardner was created at 8/24/11.

The universal navigation ordinance is being approved by 30 districts of the U.P. Students' Union have extended to 4 months S.I. About 100 arrests have been made at Lucknow between 25th Dec. and 1st of Jan. As a protest against flagging of 6000 prisoners all political prisoners observed hunger strike at Lucknow Jail.

Mr. C. C. Chaffin, the President of the North Carolina Negroes' Committee is in a very bad condition of health.

Published by: several special issue:

Congress Committee and arrested 25 volunteers. Everything in the office has been taken possession of by the police. The Congress men are holding the office under a tree.

A political prisoner in Poona Jail died on the 21st December 1920. Special military force consisting of 120 soldiers and 20 mounted police have been stationed at Mulund Camp to restrain the Chhatkari Band. There were 125 arrests, during the week ending 24-12-20.

1921-22-19

Both War Council arrested. Dr. Jadhav of Kara Dal has been arrested. Chhatkari Day was celebrated on the 21st at Bombay. The ceremony of flag salutation was to be held. The procession was dispersed but of 20 arrested 25 are ladies. Another wounded by police firing died on Friday.

1921-22-19

There were 77 arrests in Surat in connection with the Chhatkari Day celebrations. A few of the arrested were left off subsequently. In Udhwa (Kachhwar) 4000 men, women and children went on hunger strike in sympathy with the strikers of foreign cloth there. Foreign cloth dealers therefore closed their shops.

In Bharad and Bardoli lands of satyagrahi peasants are being confiscated or additionally tax given, for instance property worth 2000 being sold for 15 rupees.

About 30 villages in Bardoli are cordoned by the military. Hypocritical fines are still levied on villages left by the satyagrahi peasants. Theft of crop has become quite common.

1921-22-19

20 persons were convicted at Allahabad for 6 months R. I. on the 4-1-22 for assisting the movement of the no-tax payment. 7 political prisoners have been sentenced for a further period of one year for breach of jail rules.

1921-22-19

Haris Gadhra of Lathra has been asked to deposit a security of Rs.1000/- under Police S-disorder. 13 prominent Congress men of Lathra have been arrested all at once on the 7th for assisting Congress activities. The 5th Division of Lathra

War Council has been joined to 4 months R.I. 20 political prisoners in various all in Allah Jail.

1921-22-19

Planting of foreign cloth shop is carried on as usual in Kara. 2 prominent workers have been sentenced to 6 months R.I. under different sections of Penal.

Dr. Krishna has been sentenced to one year R. I. at Gode.

At Gode 4 workers have been convicted for 6 months R. I. under Salt Law.

One conviction for 6-1-21 at Vasupatan.

Mr. Satyapuri has been fined. It is reported that a number of political prisoners while being transferred from Rajmudri Jail to Wailera were badly beaten & the deputy collector, European Police Sergeant, and others.

1921-22-19

"Gadhra" has been asked to deposit a security of Rs.1000/- under the Police S-disorder.

1921-22-19

At more than 25 places agriculturists have passed resolution demanding complete remission of land revenue. A class prisoners in Kara Jail are, owing to bad management of jail authorities, 1/2 on one meal a day. Most of the prisoners are consequently losing weight.

1921-22-19

The Congress Committee in Kara have been declared unlawful.

All the Congress buildings in Kara have been taken possession of by the police.

20 political prisoners have gone on hunger strike at Kachhwar Jail. There was a severe lathi charge at Hyderabad returning about 200 people including boys. Some 20 have got serious injuries.

Young India

AHMEDABAD.

Vol. VIII, No. 4.

The Star, 1911.

The January 1911.

It has been published in the Bulletin of the Impressions of Mr. Hollister, Mr. Lalbhai Shinde, Sgt. A.V. Thakkar, Father Hilda and several other distinguished visitors to the villages of Gujarat, which have launched out on a campaign of "non-payment of Land Revenue as a part of the present Satyagraha movement. They all bear abundant witness to a ruthless policy of oppression and terrorism being practised on the villagers by the police and revenue officials. Farmers have been indiscriminately beaten and chained, their movable properties have been removed to realise the revenue due for in arrears of any debts due to the State, their lands have been declared forfeited, water pumps used to irrigate hundreds of acres have been violently put out of action thereby damaging the standing crops and their houses are now desolate. In addition to these there are allegations that the police have made an attempt to protect the deserted households from the ravages of incendiaries not to trace the culprits. On the other hand they appear to have put obstacles in the way of the villagers attempting to put out the force which have been a serious feature of these villages in the last few months. It does not appear to us any useful purpose can be served by multiplying instances and adding to the overwhelming evidence already placed before the public by pamphlets and trustworthy investigators after personal enquiry. We have ourselves visited some of the villages and seen countless cases of violence and if there has been any deviation from facts in the published reports it has been on the side of moderation and understatement.

Several of the writers have described at length the attempts made by the revenue officers to set up barbed wire in village committees - Barbed wire against barbed wire, checkmating against checkmate and so on, or rather, condemned unscrupulously such a policy of divide and rule. Is this anything new? Is it not one of the basic principles of British rule in India? The papers have recorded even the names of those who have been nominated to Village Committees in India at the Round Table Conference, in London. We also have a pretty good illustration for working in accordance with the fundamental of bureaucracy ruling in India. "The transfer of a collector or sending on leave of a collector not going to see the trouble as soon as possible. The remedy requires no further discussion. It has to go to the

root of the matter. This policy of division is one of the main roots of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy had to see the death before anything can be achieved in the line of unity amongst the people. Let us not trust symptoms but let us pluck out the eye that offends us.

The visitors are pessimistic in the extreme, they pay to the bitter, and determine of the people. We found the courage and patriotism of the people full an inspiration to us. We are often led into believing that the towns people are more developed and advanced than the country people. This is a false impression based on externals. The people who live close to nature possess an unsophisticated strength of will and character and are more solidly grounded than we are, well versed and amiable. This impression was brought about a feeling of sympathy with the people and a feeling of brotherhood on all sides everywhere. Everywhere we noticed, pervading in the camps a kind of family affection. People are thrown together, and they stand up for each other and share a common life. This feeling and sympathy brings along with it a cheerful disposition as their sorrows are shared and pleasures doubled by the sharing. This is a measure account for the smiling faces the visitors made on the midst of so much trouble and privations. The faith and hope on their hearts made their sorrows bright and springing. The knowledge that they are suffering for the country brings them the fortitude that enables the visitor, the representative of the West, has only made their determination stronger as the wider spreading of the so-called democracy in the last few weeks have witnessed.

We are rather surprised that some of the writers and like Father Hilda should be led away into using language that might lead the reader to believe that the repression is the result of the actions of Indian officials as even a word of disapproval from British officials would have stopped the abuses. We are certain Father Hilda will be the last person to suggest the deviation from the truth conveyed by his words. We, for our part, make no distinction between high and low or white or brown officials, all parties form one united whole. If anything, those who have the very bureaucracy work, are aware of the fact that the lower officials are now the main of the higher ones even better than they themselves. They officials in a bureaucracy are not guided by public opinion in their actions but by the idea of profitment and gaining the approval of those above them in the official world. This leads to a close study of the mentality of their superiors. In any case it is the system that breeds the bad and not individuals unless it be those right at the top.

10

References

In this regard, the

and effort to disclose any particulars about ourselves to an alien bureaucracy. If we have any information we should refuse to add our name to a schedule of names. J.S.-American

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Prisoners which have their over on sight
resemble the strongest, heaviest and the most
robust from among the youth of the nation into
the weak remnants of the fighting forces.
Under such a regime the people can be always
been the "weaker sex". At present it looks as
not engaged in a program which does not depend
on physical force but on non-violence. Such a
change of standards necessitates a shifting of
power in the nation. We are using spiritual
power and invite suffering on ourselves. Under
these conditions those who are spiritually
advanced and those who have the "present power"
understand from the "strong". It is generally
admitted that women have a greater staying power
than men and are superior to them in their
spiritual sensitiveness. If this is granted
then in a world regulated by a feminine woman
will lead to a "stronger" than the world of a
"stronger" man. The domination of women
are coming into their own and are discovering
their strength. This accounts for the phenomena
we see all around us. The erstwhile "weak
ladies" form the great regiment of our national
spirit and are arranged in the treatment of the
fight for peace.

In the last few days we have had several instances of the "strength" of our sisters at Bernal and elsewhere. The police have now recognized their special of not superiority as the women fight. Still lately women were ignored as being the weaklings but these appear to be a change of attitude and they are taking the same credit from us women as they have attributed to men in the past. A few days ago Earl Jager, Municipal stated before the Municipal Chief Judge, County magistrate of Colorado that the Deputy Commissioner of Police used unnecessary violence on her after her arrest in a police van. This statement was referred to the Commissioner of Police who stated on his report that "some of the packsters have used all their united strength," by the word they have understood. "It is therefore, illegal for them to urge - what has no force in law - that they should be treated in a special manner". He may be right but it is equally clear that our sisters do not want to be treated in a special manner. Earl Jager, should be to be treated on her parole and as a woman being. They should be sent to work for their brothers as well. They need no special care. Our sisters are fully aware of the degrading action of the police force.

For days after the above incident an
a severe headache after her husband's

Those who have placed their hands on the plough cannot afford to look back. The villages of Gujarat have launched out on a bold bid for freedom from tyranny. They have set a noble example. Their fight cannot end until the wrongs of the peasants are righted. In our last issue we pointed out instances of the dire poverty of the masses and the heartlessness with which the bureaucracy was demanding the pound of flesh. Let us thank God for the spirit who keeps the holy and good of those people together. The powers conferred on the executive by the Land Revenue Code have to be brought in line with those given in other tax laws such as the Income Tax Law. So bureaucrats will tolerate for a moment the sophisticated way suggested by the Land Revenue Code for collecting taxes from farmers. The Ministry cannot but still look with respect to collected by the repeal of the Land Revenue Code.

To slow nearing the census operations--
 last as carry on the good work as long as
 there is not a rational part, which sends
 the information to enable it to lay down
 the stage. It will be a great waste of time

The police were very much surprised at the appearance of the women and at their boldness. They were very much surprised at the appearance of the women and at their boldness. They were very much surprised at the appearance of the women and at their boldness.

The women were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste. They were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste. They were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste. They were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste.

These provisions were issued and the police were ordered to take in arresting her. The police were ordered to take in arresting her. The police were ordered to take in arresting her. The police were ordered to take in arresting her.

As though these were not enough, this fact alone was added also to further provisions issued by the British women to show that the removal of the provision given to the women. These two women were subjected to a lot of abuse and insult, and were also subjected to a lot of abuse and insult.

The women remember that the women were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste. They were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste. They were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste. They were of the same old caste as the women of the same old caste.

and being asked the reason of the oppression and being asked the reason of the oppression and being asked the reason of the oppression.

The new legislation

The new legislation was passed in the early part of the year. It was passed in the early part of the year. It was passed in the early part of the year. It was passed in the early part of the year.

I am glad to see that the Government has discovered that there is a tremendous effort to substitute another authority for the present Government. I am glad to see that the Government has discovered that there is a tremendous effort to substitute another authority for the present Government. I am glad to see that the Government has discovered that there is a tremendous effort to substitute another authority for the present Government.

Yearly	Per	Month
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While going to the Press we learn that orders have been issued for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and all the members of the Working Committee of the Congress for 1930.

The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee has its meetings during the week at Allahabad. The public opinion of the committee has been expressed in their opinion on the Premier's offer has been expressed in their opinion on the Premier's offer.

The Govt. have postponed the consideration of the Press and the Mahatma Investigation Bill until next week before the Legislative Assembly.

Conclusion

The District Congress Committee of Allahabad and ten other allied organizations



2307

Young India

Ahmedabad

Vol. VIII, No. 8,
Ran. 2307

21st February, 1931. Price 1 Half Anna.

On the 26th of January, which day was celebrated as "Independence Day", many of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress including Gandhi Ji were released and since then all those who have acted in that equally brave last January 1930 have been released unconditionally to enjoy full liberty of discussion in order to provide opportunity for consideration of the statement made by the Prime Minister on 29th January. The notifications regarding the Working Committee alleged have been withdrawn.

In taking this restricted move the Government has acted on the analogy of an executioner and wanted negotiations with the "Demagogue" conducting the work. They have forgotten that in the 1930-31 movement every individual counts as much as every other and as to be consistent the Government has to open the gates wide and let out all political prisoners connected with the Civil Disobedience movement who were incarcerated for the love of their motherland and who have not been guilty of violence - not as an act of grace but as a necessary condition which should precede any negotiations with the leaders of this mass movement. Every one in jail is in the position of a Londoner who "leaders" were jailed in most cases and the others were dispersed by the Government.

The opening wide of the prison gates will imply the need to withdraw all measures of repression. Will Government rise to the occasion at least once, after all this time, and try the way of negotiation and peace?

Will the action of releasing the Government has made no such gesture, more release of the Working Committee members and those who are in selected positions and other positions and more especially as with ruthless repression going on all over the country. A general amnesty along with the right to carry on religious, social, economic and other work, even during the negotiations, will relieve the tension of the situation. Now, extended the negotiations there only as the Government negotiates with the people.

The people have not their hearts as independence and will not rest satisfied until they get the what they have to be their birthright.

Gandhi Ji's above points contain the symptoms of a change of heart and only as cannot be taken for that and said that all those simple words of India were satisfied the history will bear no talk of Civil Disobedience.

Gandhi Ji himself has come out with a completely open mind proposed to study the situation without bias. He claims to judge the results of the Round Table Conference in the light of his above points. It is up to the Government to fling open the prison gates of suspicion and demands forward boldly to yield to the people "the substance of Independence."

Both foreign cloth and light to be have been poisoning the commercial and physical life of our people and as such are immoral transactions and these have to be ended. Although we may agree to wait to stamp out these evils until we obtain freedom it is not right that picketing of these shops should continue - danger of no negotiation, the ownership of salt, which we consider to be a common law right and a subsidiary industry of the poor, should be allowed to go on without any governmental interference. J. K. K. K. K. K.

In the English

There had again Europeans in India been speaking of making "equality of rights" as citizens of the British Empire." They ask for participation of their commerce and industry which they had built up through centuries in India and then they ask the Round Table conference to preserve in fact the special rights of trade of Europe as which they now possess. They ask for "the-1" facilities which all persons to be tried and judged by their peers." Is the Indian subject of the British Empire a "peer" of the European in India? Is it why ask for the European jury stand in this connection with demand for "equality of rights" as citizens of the British Empire?" J. K. K. K. K. K.

The Acid Test

At the present time the consideration arises as to what petition and various suggestions for the future Government of India. How will we have a general self-government and a system which is free from all the one side the true test is the conduct of finance. It where little difference has the direction we make it. The legislature indirectly, indirectly or by nomination. As long as the legislature

The power to raise and spend public funds the executive will have to be subject to the control of the Legislature. The taxing and spending power inherent in the civil power that defines, by constitutional assignment the purse is a weakness in the system. We should avoid, if we seek responsible government. The Legislature should have the power to limit the executive. The passing of the Finance Bill as well the bills introduced by the Government of the day should rest with the Legislature too. It is a dangerous thing to possess a system which looks like a responsible government from the outside but in reality is a dictatorship as it holds the people to sleep in their mistaken confidence in the power of the Legislature and puts into the hands of the executive a dangerous instrument for the manufacture of democracy with the appearance of democratic form.

[illegible]

The New against the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee has been lifted up by the provincial governments, and Gandhi, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru and all others who have affiliated to the Working Committee from First January 1935, have been released.

The Independence Day, 15th January, are celebrated throughout the country and the nation's pledge for complete independence was reaffirmed.

Federal prisoners in Alcatraz Jail are reported to have gone on a hunger strike. Participants: Earl Browder, Schiller and Sam Adams.

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The government of Bengal have declared the Bengal Ward (Indian) Congress committee, the Bengal council of action and three representative universal bodies. It is known in Midnapore have been notified as being over by the government.

There were 16 fish charges - 4 Calappa on the Independence Bay, when some 80 persons, including Sgt. Subbendraswami Sosa, the owner of a fishing boat with 10 hands,

Chomel, Louis. 2011. *Chomel, Louis*. 4
Ladies and 95 members.

1000

831- Sergeant Smith died in the Police

The Congress expenditures in the context of Peru have been declared as follows:

The Elder Government expects a deficit of Rs. 42 Lakhs.

Flaring was opened on the Independence Day at Bogotaval, and 2 persons were killed. A severe flood storm was also

only limited work on this aspect of

Abstract The purpose of this study was to determine whether there were differences in the prevalence of risk factors for coronary artery disease between two groups of men who had been exposed to asbestos during their working lives. One group consisted of 60 men who had worked in asbestos-related occupations and the other group consisted of 60 men who had never worked in such occupations. The prevalence of risk factors for coronary artery disease was determined by means of a questionnaire and physical examination. The results showed that the prevalence of risk factors for coronary artery disease was significantly higher in the group of men who had worked in asbestos-related occupations than in the group of men who had never worked in such occupations.

Abstract

A former volunteer, who was recruited by area Mulligan, when he was on a picketing duty, has signed them.

Fisheries, including lobster, are exempted by statute.

George Simon, 514, Newark, N.J.,
one lady and 10 workers.

Sgt. Yesselin's Type, Paris Marie
distinction, has been awarded.

Year	U.S. should take action (%)	U.S. should not take action (%)
1997	75	25
1998	73	27
1999	78	22
2000	82	18
2001	84	16
2002	85	15
2003	86	14
2004	85	15

The "Twin Herald" and the Herald Press have been asked to deposit newspaper circulation for Tax 80000.

$$W_{\text{max}} = 1000 \text{ kg} \cdot \text{m}^{-2} \cdot \text{d}^{-1}$$

U.S. Magistrate Judge John P. Adel, an authorized prisoner in Grand Jury, died as a result of heart failure.

1. "Royal release" (the original in English)

Notice² some of the errors are related to the cell lines.

Sgt. Adelbert Tiedner and Detective Donald Long have been prohibited from entering Herald Island for two months.

The province has taken up the programme of boycotting foreign goods. The Collector of Madras has asked the municipalities of his districts to take action against those who sell foreign goods there.

There were 17th changes at Sarat, Chittell, Dean and Thompson.

Geordiana Dr. E. E. Knappe,
John Christopher Davis, son of John and
Mary Davis.

[illegible]

Isani 1-ate, of which trout had been made some years back by H.H. Sengupta and Sengupta, have been now cultivated by the society.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

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A security of Rs. 1000 has been deposited from the "Goodwill".

There were 1,000 stamps of Madras when Pitt, Macleay and others were released.

Classifications: Med., General, Adult, B
Indexing and B3 numbers

Age Group	Percentage
18-29	85
30-39	75
40-49	65
50-59	55
60-69	45
70-79	35
80+	15

The Film Art Printing Press has been
located in Portland - November 27th, 1908.

Political prisoners in the Eastern
Bloc are reported to have been tortured.

Correspondence: R.J. Wankatunayake, Director,
Red Cross Blood Bank, 411, 1st Avenue.

Modelled Location of	Year	Modelled Number of	Modelled Number of	Modelled %
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Young India

Ahmedabad.

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Vol. XIII No. 2.

12th February 1930.

Swami Mohan, Sahay

Swami Mohan's release from prison in September last owing to his ill-health has been waiting continuously. He was released last Wednesday from Allahabad in London for treatment and there he passed away on Friday morning.

Mohanjiji has been a towering personality in politics and in the present movement has been next only to Gandhiji in the influence he commanded amongst the people. He had dedicated all his powers and resources to the service of the country he loved so passionately and which he hoped to see free from imperialistic domination. He fought like a hero and has died on the field of battle. He is remembered both by his opponents for his magnanimity and by his friends for his unflinching loyalty.

Though he is no more amongst us in flesh and blood his spirit is ever present and will wield a greater influence than he did before he threw off the mortal coil. His life has been a constant inspiration to the youth of the land. Let us so live that the cause that was nearest the heart of Mohanjiji may prevail and justice and peace may reign supreme in our land.

We extend our deep sympathy to Mrs.

Mohanjiji, Pandit Deshmukh and other members of the family. J.S. Khosrowpoo.

The President elect

In exercise of emergency powers vested in the Working Committee of the National Congress, it has elected Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel as the President for the coming Congress to be held at Banarshi. Even under the normal procedure of election last year his nomination was second only to Gandhiji but he stepped out in favour of Pandit Jawaharlal.

If service to the masses is a qualification for this high office, the Sardar comes richly qualified to undertake the responsibility and he will sail the office to his meeting it. If there is any honour to the Province from which he hails which Congress can describe as more than Rajput then has borne the brunt of battle!

We congratulate the Working Committee on the choice and offer our felicitations to the Sardar. J.S. Khosrowpoo.

Dr. Manmohan Malviya

All through the past Constitution are the notes of the day in New Delhi. Revelries of all kinds, - processions, Army manoeuvres, Air Force displays and other pageants, and

parties for the wealthy and feasts on the river bank for the ignorant and the poor - have been organised to formally inaugurate the newly built city for the future. There is no end when to be a wet blanket. Every nation has its own rightful place in a scheme of human life. And in a progressive nation. We strive for justice to express the social side of his nature. It is not right and proper that special attention should provide him means for such opportunities. The most commonly observed social events are births, marriages and deaths but the celebrations should fulfil both the common and the purpose of the individual.

Similarly, in national life, we have seen that a reasonable amount of ornament is justifiable. In the inauguration of New Delhi such an occasion! The grandeur of the capital city of a country should be representative of the wilking of the nation itself. Its public offices and appointments should be in keeping with the needs of the people and their ability to go, for them. Its costly armed forces with the national garden of the culture peculiar to the people as shown forth in all their arts and crafts. It should be like the flower on the plant - the result of slow natural growth and not like an artificially arranged vase of variegated cut flowers. However fragrant and beautiful the flowers themselves may be, such a vase is the lackluster of natural growth. As Ghandi is the incarnation of the British Empire in India. In the inauguration a letter for the Government to rejoice over? The buildings themselves are standing monuments to the extravagance of the bureaucracy. Towers and cranes of vapour have been spent in erecting buildings, beautiful in themselves, but, completely out of alignment with the setting of the modern capital and the culture of the people. Western talents have been requisitioned on British terms to build an Eastern city. The city itself as a whole unnecessary luxury. After years of prosperity it is only recently that America has been able to put up elegant buildings for the state offices at Washington. A greater part of the President's Residence, - the White House, - still consists of walls of speckled planks painted whitewash. Presumably all houses in America, other than third dignitaries of the nation, are built of wooden planks and the White House, the residence of the principal servant of the nation, is keeping with the rest. In India many of our houses are little better than huts but the Tipu's House is a veritable palace that Louis XIV might well have envied.



Young India

Vol. VIII, No. 1

Amritsar.

1948-1949

In Amritsar.

Amritsar's Death

Amritsar's death seems to me more even than the brave soldier whose service it is my privilege during these days to share. I take the blow as an additional test of my faith in God's goodness and goodness. Amritsar has died a true warrior's death. It is therefore truly with him. He lives more deeply and more truly by dying. I pray to God that he may enter us with greater consciousness to the service of the cause for which alone life is worth living in these days of purification through sacrifice and suffering.

Memorial

Friends have asked us to advise a memorial subscription such as was raised to the memory of the late Hakim Sahib Ajmal Khan, Bahadur Shikhs Bahjan Sen and Late Tejpal Singh. I have revisited the temptation because (1) I personally cannot shoulder the burden; (2) I may say day be consumed to travels or some such place of recreation; and (3) the only true memorial that can just now be raised to the memory of the deceased patriot is by intense dedication to hasten the advent of Swaraj.

Bahjan Bahadur Ali

I was privileged to offer my tribute to the memory of Bahjan Bahadur Ali by sending from Lahore a cable message to Bahjan Bahadur Ali. But I cannot resume the editing of "Young India" without publicly declaring that in him I have lost one ~~valuable~~ friend to call brother and friend and the nation has lost a fearless patriot. We had differences of opinion between us, but love that cannot stand the arbiters of differences is like "a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal".

Some Miscellaneous

It is not for the soldier to worry about peace. For his both struggle and peace are alike. He has to do with the silent joy the best that comes to him without seeking the crown or the consequence. The consequence he knows. The best is never too high for him.

Violence

Violence is a shame only when it is absolutely non-violent. Those who have no faith in non-violence had better give it up altogether. I can find out ways and means of substituting the violence of foreign cloth even though there be no picketing, but I have for certain that boycott brought about

by violent picketing to leave to fail in the end. It was this knowledge that induced us last March to attempt picketing of foreign cloth shops and drink and drug shops to women who are instinctively non-violent. Violence as picketing can be both active and passive. The passive type can be more dangerous than the active. Both must be shunned.

Khadi

Without Khadi there is no boycott. Therefore we must concentrate on Khadi.

M. K. Gandhi.

In Amritsar

For several months we have deliberately ignored various statements issued by the Govt. through the Director of Information as we were convinced that that office represented the unbecoming department of a highly centralized despotic machinery. The calculated lies this department disseminated we regarded as contemptible and beneath notice. The liar is like a man on quick sand; if he remains calm his sinking is not so rapid as when he struggles desperately. The Govt. seems to have reached this desperate position and is hitting out right and left and thereby hastening its own end. The second paragraph on the barbarous attack by the police on the women of Amritsar is a document well worth the notice of all seekers of truth. It is a good example to use as a warning to those who are not yet hardened liars to keep away from the practice. The shamelessness with which the Govt. stands by the evil deeds of its violent parent our understanding.

The facts as ascertained by such eminent men as Lady Tejapuri, Bahadur Shikhs, Lady Sahibzada Ghulam, Mrs. Kishore Gandhi and supported by men of integrity such as Ld. A. F. Dhillon and verified as to physical

injuries by medical men of the standing of Dr. Bhaurao Patel, are stated to be "groundless" by the doctors of the Govt. Of late the Govt. has lost so much prestige that perhaps they feel they have little to lose now and so have adopted as a campaign of harassment idea to cover up their misdeeds or to use Gandhi's expression they are adding "falsehoods to barbarity".

The conception of duties of Govt. servants and their attitude towards the public as disclosed in that statement reveals a gross ignorance of the subject. It begins by vilifying whole population and charging it of violent crimes such as murders, dacoities and riots and ends by calling the conscience of the police as not raised and states that the

Young India

AHMEDABAD.

Vol. VIII, No. 3.

Containing

It is a remarkable fact with us that a man suffers greatly in the extent that it is supported by violence. I say this in spite of appearances in the country. If I kill a man who obstructs me, I say experience a sense of false security. But the security will be short-lived. For I could not have dealt with the root cause. In due course either man will surely rise to obstruct me. It is because therefore is not to kill the man or men who obstruct us but to discover the cause that impels them to obstruct us and deal with it. Even so must we deal with the cause of people selling foreign cloth and not lay violent hands on those who appeared to be the dealers for the time being. The same line is the various. So long as there are impels of foreign cloth, there will be sellers. I need therefore gain the ear of the buying public. If we would but recognize this cardinal fact we would lay the greatest stress upon work in villages which send their children to the foreign cloth market. But I need not be understood to mean that we may neglect the cities and the merchants. Only under the star suggested by us must there be neither favour nor the slightest trace of violence. However my plan is fully executed within itself the most common of means and need never degenerate into violence. Let us not forget that we are tending to conservatism and inertia. The sincerest and closest striving towards these two tenets might well certainly bring us closer and whilst reaching us there in the quietest possible time it would enable us in difficult and circumstances to discover effective ways. These who have faith would not be astonished if they found I at some declare have defied Congress for reaction and reaction. Such disagreements should be used for perfecting our mind and not organising too and discovering our faults, never for losing faith.

The Swaraj.

Ever fortunate ripe with experience of the type of the Swaraj, even not to grasp the fundamental issues before the country to-day. The Swaraj is a whole which behind the policy announced by the Premier and, as a necessary, against every form of indifference is revealed an other lack of knowledge of the constitutional principles

1934 February 1934. Price Half an Ann.

underlying the present struggle. This is amazing, seeing as it does, from a man of his education. We are not seeking for a change of masters nor for a change of details. Our goal is a complete reuniting and remodelling of the system of Govt.

The present Govt. functions by virtue of the sovereignty residing in the people of Great Britain and it is established by British law. All acts passed by the Legislature, where the Govt. is the predominant member, are not expressions of the sovereignty of the Indian people. From the Indian point of view we have no Govt. established by law but we have laws established by a foreign government. It is because of this constitutional anomaly that a "Vid Govt. someone observing no courtesy towards the public. Privilege is exercised by privilege and not by service.

In practice this constitutional control from the British people has vanished and the Govt. of India has become virtually despotic. Hence we expect, and we are experiencing a determined resistance from the Government to be brought under control again whether British or Indian. This transference of ultimate control from the British people to the Indian people is the claim of Swaraj. The completion of this transfer means our independence. On very point has here that it is the assumption of ultimate responsibility from the British public by our people that constitutes an enquiry into the public debt that would be taken over and requires us to describe this transference as a "nationalisation" rather than as a "regionalisation".

We are striving to-day to bring into existence a system of Govt. which will represent the nation's ideals and put an end to a foreign Govt. imposed on our people. Our efforts are directed towards substituting Indian people for the British as the governing head of the authority of the Govt. of India. We are not concerned with the government. Government is a whole or broken into all kinds to us. The remedy lies in curing the evil and not in treating the symptoms. We are seeking for a government that will be a delegate of the rights of the Indian people. Until we obtain such a Govt. we can have no independence and we will remain slaves in our own land.

Our purpose is not to establish public opinion in favour of any particular policy. Our duty is merely to educate the public in the principles of democracy and cultivate character and self-reliance. There will ultimately be a government responsive to the will

of the people. Only a strong government can be a national poet, whom will work for the welfare of the nation.

[illegible]

Let us carry on our programs without retreating until such a consensus is reached. J.C. Emeryman.

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The British system, as, by a process extending over several centuries, well adapted to present constitutionalism. The same qualifications makes them totally unfit to carry on a potential govt. Safeguards vested in a person makes for not a constitutional but an absolute govt. for which the British Ruler are disqualified. Absolute powers vested in individuals, whether by an constitution or by an act of the Legislature, is liable to meet an emergency are subject both to the people and to the executive. It makes the executive, even when so acts within the provisions of law, a tyrant. This has been very well brought out by the use made of the emergency powers vested in two kings. Ordinances of the Ruler have caused forth to disregard or so called absolute administration.

Similarly the preliminary measures provided for by the Havana Code has shown by its application in Havana and Madrid, to what depths the competitive war has run. To owe it to the officers, to leave them to the police, to safeguard against espionage, let us not be hasty into a false estimate of espionage danger.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

Trilling is the "New Yorker" Goodhill says that a Setpagraphi has neither insurance nor does it have original demand. Like a newspaper, according to the strength displayed by the A. L. M. Kappa the Congress can agree to wear only a honorable crown. He is should not go to the top of the mountains but to the bottom of the mountains. Only, then, can we achieve the very essence, as it were, would lead to a transformation of the A. L. M. Kappa.

It suggests that 4% milliwatts should take over the rest of the foreign 4th decade and supply to them in exchange their products. Both deal 4% is on made at various prices. Some foreign with stock are to author to be sold or have or certain. Some 4th, mean are represented in case of exchangeable loans of new to.

5. *transmission to two foreign states*

Communications: 2 Telexes and 77 messages

Salt: Convictoria. Sgt. Forthstalker Vaisya-
Shalt Saltgrate has been offered in
Surt and Klen Districts. At Surt and several
other places were 400 pounds of salt were reserved
and locally conditioned.

It is a movement for women's rights in getting an stronger. With February was observed throughout the province as the Women's Rights Day. At Kharaband the women officers had to have police help, and the latter attempted to break down the street gates.

The Council of administrators at Rajkot are named as anti-rickshaw rickshaws.

The "Hinds" of North and the "Tropen" of South have been asked to furnish specimens.

There were initial charges of French and American.

Conventional Circ. Systems Models, 3 Indian,
Nat. Lab/etl Bureau and IBM machines.

Executive: 1- 3 Congresses Pastors/Committees of
 Defile: Police: Time: have destroyed: destroyed

The District Magistrate of North Borneo has issued a notice advising people from attending or using the Chinese education system.

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The SP-600 with American vessels were changed
with letters.

Speed of Motion: 10, 20 frames and 40 positions.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

Publication Year	Year	with model	without model	Effect
1997	1997	0.00	0.00	0.00
1998	1998	0.00	0.00	0.00
1999	1999	0.00	0.00	0.00
2000	2000	0.00	0.00	0.00
2001	2001	0.00	0.00	0.00
2002	2002	0.00	0.00	0.00
2003	2003	0.00	0.00	0.00
2004	2004	0.00	0.00	0.00
2005	2005	0.00	0.00	0.00
2006	2006	0.00	0.00	0.00
2007	2007	0.00	0.00	0.00
2008	2008	0.00	0.00	0.00
2009	2009	0.00	0.00	0.00
2010	2010	0.00	0.00	0.00
2011	2011	0.00	0.00	0.00
2012	2012	0.00	0.00	0.00
2013	2013	0.00	0.00	0.00
2014	2014	0.00	0.00	0.00
2015	2015	0.00	0.00	0.00
2016	2016	0.00	0.00	0.00
2017	2017	0.00	0.00	0.00
2018	2018	0.00	0.00	0.00
2019	2019	0.00	0.00	0.00
2020	2020	0.00	0.00	0.00
2021	2021	0.00	0.00	0.00
2022	2022	0.00	0.00	0.00
2023	2023	0.00	0.00	0.00
2024	2024	0.00	0.00	0.00
2025	2025	0.00	0.00	0.00
2026	2026	0.00	0.00	0.00
2027	2027	0.00	0.00	0.00
2028	2028	0.00	0.00	0.00
2029	2029	0.00	0.00	0.00
2030	2030	0.00	0.00	0.00
2031	2031	0.00	0.00	0.00
2032	2032	0.00	0.00	0.00
2033	2033	0.00	0.00	0.00
2034	2034	0.00	0.00	0.00
2035	2035	0.00	0.00	0.00
2036	2036	0.00	0.00	0.00
2037	2037	0.00	0.00	0.00
2038	2038	0.00	0.00	0.00
2039	2039	0.00	0.00	0.00
2040	2040	0.00	0.00	0.00
2041	2041	0.00	0.00	0.00
2042	2042	0.00	0.00	0.00
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2046	2046	0.00	0.00	0.00
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2048	2048	0.00	0.00	0.00
2049	2049	0.00	0.00	0.00
2050	2050	0.00	0.00	0.00
2051	2051	0.00	0.00	0.00
2052	2052	0.00	0.00	0.00
2053	2053	0.00	0.00	0.00
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2055	2055	0.00	0.00	0.00
2056	2056	0.00	0.00	0.00
2057	2057	0.00	0.00	0.00
2058	2058	0.00	0.00	0.00
2059	2059	0.00	0.00	0.00
2060	2060	0.00	0.00	0.00
2061	2061	0.00	0.00	0.00
2062	2062	0.00	0.00	0.00
2063	2063	0.00	0.00	0.00
2064	2064	0.00	0.00	0.00
2065	2065	0.00	0.00	0.00
2066	2066	0.00	0.00	0.00
2067	2067	0.00	0.00	

Received 10 October 2004; accepted 12 February 2005

On 12 February 1968, the press agent of the Ministry of Information, working with the press officer of the Embassy, arranged a tour of the press headquarters for one year as an exchange for an existing assistance articles in "Young World" as an exchange. The press officer of the Ministry arranged the press agent against the press agent, by law established, etc.

The press agent on 12 February 12 February 1968. The meeting was arranged by the press agent, February 12 February.

In a copy of the statement submitted to the Court by Mr. Samoylov.

10. In order under Sec. 112 U.S.P.S. served on me on the 3rd instant I have been
served with every serious charge. It is stated that I am writing sedition articles in
which I am to cause feelings of enmity and dissension among the public against Gov-
ernment by law. If this charge is substantiated then I am guilty of a most heinous crime
and as a trustee to my country, as all legal citizens are bound to stay the will of
the people as expressed by the law of the land, in so far as they are not definitely immoral.
On the other hand, as these allegations I am asked to show where I would not be bound even
one year for me of good behavior. Before I possibly answer I may be permitted to mention
charges leveled against me.

For reasons that I shall state later, I am not going to take part in the proceedings of this court upon substantiating this statement, and as I shall leave the first point that I made, the first of the observed with identifying me with the writer in "Money Index" as my reward.

[illegible]

As for one's feelings towards one's own feelings of contempt I am afraid you are hardly qualified. It is not I, the common contempt, it is the secreted agents of this Court that bring about contempt. As long as the public are equal in standing to a common contempt feelings of contempt, all the risk about risk of full grown contempt is having direct evidence in such case of others and their side eye, draw forth? Can the children of the up places of society, themselves products of British Universities, can they bear down to dignity on contempt on elderly women like Daphne and her daughter, as the children and their behavior attempt to justify their actions by line about feelings of contempt? Can the Court, in, represent? If the Court, find itself regarded with contempt, Sir, I must be as not as fault but that of its actions who have done all they can to reform and so on. I respectfully want out that the court will do well to not see any type of contempt and a letter to show some why they should not be bound over for bringing the Court, into contempt, and not like Mrs. Wilson of Henry for spreading falsehoods. The law is not meant to be against the law to follow the law. I think like Daphne may also be the law to see as not as fault but too much to expect of the common populace. Surely, as not as fault, causes the power was, however effective for the Court.

[illegible]

I'm not sure if the situation will be placed in perspective as I have no
 as much time. And by saying for me, it is as ridiculous as I have enough grounds to know
 that my suggestions are more rarely to carry out the orders of the authorities. He doesn't you
 see, my dear friend, that I am all too glad to have them in my pocket.

1000. I am ill, & I suppose my hope that the day is not far off when you of the
1001. house will be under the same long condition you always was. Give the sons of justice
1002. a day or two, and then let me hear from the North, from the experiment of the
1003. West. I am sure, I am sure, Sir, to receive the indispensable connection with a
1004. to be able to do so of the blood of your people and ascending from the throne of the
1005. Empire. On the 10th, some and blood by your own as the near of their own. On the
1006. 10th, the day, the day of your people do not reach you? Their prayers shall not go
1007. to waste. I am sure, Sir, I have no doubt you shall not wait to wait.

"I have followed with painful interest the details of various struggles here. The emerging problems of these Germans that have been suggested by the previous figures are I would say that my grief and resentment at the struggle are not less than yours. But as I told my Sikh brethren at the time of Buddha's death tragedy when I visited Buddha's birth place with Mr. Moul Kelan Singh in 1931, we are today fighting not for our Germans but for the bigger Germany, which is the common shared possession of all of us viz. Peace, Democracy - "Peace" complete because it is as much for the present as for the present, as much for the rich land owner as for the landless tiller of the soil, as much for the Negro as for the Musselman, as much for the Puritan and Christian as for the Jew, Jew and Hindu, irrespective of any distinction of caste or creed or crime or life. The very consecration of the word and the sense of its achievement in which we are pledged - truth and non-violence principles add possibility of that struggle being more for some one than for the other, being partial to some one and prejudicial to the other, truth and non-violence leave no room for friend or foe. The Congress has attracted the attention of the world for the simple reason that it is pledged to non violence by means of nonviolence by anyone. Therefore, the world has no far less feeling than only one method of achieving freedom and that by the non violence.

of physical force. The British Raj itself and, the world, both, are leaning on the method of non-violence and trusting for the attainment of its independence. It is a unique thing in history and the world which began by rejecting it with contumacious as today watching India a great non-violent experiment with bared breasts, in physical warfare even Christianity and France have a place but non-violence precludes the use of all other weapons except that of truth and justice. Standing under this method, therefore can never be achieved by usurping the rights of any community big or small but by ensuring even-handed justice and fair treatment to all - even the poorest and the weakest' as the land. That being so how can the Congress stand to keep even a single out of its camp?

The basis of non-violence is that it carries within it its own security.

I venture to suggest that the non-violence creed of the Congress is the sacred guarantee of the Sikhs and our Sikh friends have no reason to fear betrayal of its basis. For the moment at least, the Congress would not only thereby seal its own fate but that of the country too. Moreover the Sikhs are a brave people. They will know how to safeguard their rights by the sacrifice of arms if it should ever come to that.

Barid Mahomedan Singh in his speech has asked for an assurance that the Congress would do nothing that might alienate the sympathies of the Sikhs from the Congress. Well, the Congress in its Lahore Session passed a resolution that it would not entertain any settlement with regard to the minority questions that failed to satisfy any of the minorities concerned. That further assurance can the Congress give you to set you at ease I really fail to understand.

Then there is a controversy about the inclusion of the Sikh colour in the national flag. No Sikhs has seriously attack on the Congress in this respect. The present design was suggested by me. The Congress has not even formally adopted it. I had offered to the Sikh friends to place before the A.I.C.C. their viewpoint if they could approve me of it. But it turned out, the A.I.C.C. could not meet after that and so was forced when it would be able to meet at all. Even the Working Committee is not today an infallible. To raise this controversy at this time - a time when the Congress is fighting for its very existence would be, to say the least, unwarranted act. You say not abstract if you cannot help.

The Sikhs have given their loyal and unstinted co-operation to the Congress in many parts in India like Bombay and Kathiawar. But these brave people have never harboured themselves about the Congress

the flag question. The flag controversy is being conducted mostly by those who have held aloof from the political movement. I have not always given credit to the other party for its bona fides. May you have not faith? If the Congress should play false afterwards you can well settle surely with it, for you hold the sword. I would ask you therefore to cast not suspicion and distrust on those from you and to plunge with him sacred flag of freedom whole heartedly. You will find that when you are ready to make the sacrifice necessary you will disinclined to ask for guarantees. It will be for others who will look up to you as the champions of their rights as it will be for you to fulfill their expectations. I held breath about as high as possible. Several parts of it have passed into our daily speech. As far as my reading of it goes it undoubtedly faith, valour and a boundless belief in the ultimate triumph of right and justice. I would like you to derive your inspiration and guidance from it.

I ask you to accept my word and the result on of the Congress that it will not betray a single individual such as a community - if it ever thinks of doing so, it will not hasten its own doom. No nation entertained, humiliates itself at the altar of freedom can be guilty of breach of faith. My Sikh friends are an open book. I have no secrets and I encourage no secrets. I pray you therefore to subdue yourselves of all your doubts and apprehensions and I shall try to meet you as best I can. That more shall I say? That more can I say than that let God be witness of the bond that binds me and the Congress with you."

Weekly Day Month.

The preliminary preparations for the Karachi Session of the Indian National Congress are nearing completion, and various sub-committees have been formed to look after the department. The Reception Committee have elected Dr. Chaitanya, T. Ghoshal as their Chairman. The Congress camps will be situated in the Marichanaka Nagar. The Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee has given instructions that half of the delegates for the Congress Session shall be elected from amongst the political prisoners and the other half shall be returned as usual.

Sgt. J.C. Gnanappa has been awarded the year's simple imprisonment.

The Budget of the Central Government shows a fall of Rs.14.22 crores in revenue.

22ND JAN.

Picketers at Ajmer were assaulted by some Europeans.

Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. E. Condon

2448 WU

Alameda, Thursday, March 12, 1931

Age Group	Total (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)	Unknown (%)
18-24	15	10	20	5
25-34	25	15	35	10
35-44	35	25	45	20
45-54	45	35	55	30
55-64	55	45	65	40
65+	65	55	75	50

Personnel **Study Instruments**

Qualified teachers, the terms of trade, the gathering of teachers and their parents and parents of Thursday last at Dallas.

In the first place, I would like to state that the millions, such as it is, would have been expended without the Veterans'不可数名词可数名词 persons and equally without the industry and untiring energy I so often find I must have, though quite unsuccessfully, given me credit for. In fact, I now have what I call my golden rule. I never read or discuss when I do not intend to be treated on a basis of ignorance. I now state that he was frank throughout his early life, vigorous and I believe he was distinguished in a way as all possible, to have a little more. I must confess that I approached the subject with a little and thinking I was also filled with doubts but in the very matter I described my experience and put it in my own words. I am not without this experience that when I wrote my letter stating the reasons to you last, I was determined not to be quiet in the case for seeking a settlement, if it could be secured in all fairness. I am, therefore, distinct in the thought that the millions' was stated and the question has been opened, at least for the time being, and I hope for all case, the millions which in the case of a settlement would have been distributed to a family of four.

For a withdrawal of free elections, it is not possible. But this is my whole political program. If there is any reason, I should not be taken to task. The Congress has never made any law for voters.

In the very nature of things the Congress has a definite duty to stand and there can be no question of various different readings of the past. I would, therefore, urge all my constituents and all my students instead of looking around at they had in the terms any cause for things to handle themselves before God and ask Him to give them strength and wisdom to pursue His better than the material demands for the time being which, as by the way of suffering or by way of patient endurance, abandonment and resistance.

Abstract The purpose of this study was to determine the effect of a 12-week training program on the physical fitness of 10-year-old children. The study was conducted in a primary school in the city of Bursa, Turkey. The study group consisted of 20 children (10 boys and 10 girls) who were randomly selected from the 10-year-old children of the school. The children were divided into two groups: a control group and an experimental group. The control group did not participate in any physical education program, while the experimental group participated in a 12-week training program. The physical fitness of the children was measured at the beginning and at the end of the 12-week period. The measurements included maximum heart rate, maximum oxygen consumption, maximum power, and maximum speed. The results of the study showed that the experimental group had significantly higher values for all four measurements at the end of the 12-week period compared to the control group. The results suggest that a 12-week training program can improve the physical fitness of 10-year-old children.

I hope to discover that the soldiers who have taken part in this struggle of suffering during the past twelve months will have, during the period of convalescence and recuperation, the most enlightening, the most joyful and the most effectual. The same reason that they live, as we constant doctors observe during what I would describe as a latent period in the systemic history of typhus.

And I know that, if there would be men and women who will feel elated by the suffering there are, that there will be, and are, number demonstrated.

Strong suffering is like the break of day to the soul. Their souls are it as is waking day. They will endure unendurable suffering, be they ever so privileged, but when suffering ceases they feel some conception pain and find they that the goal has receded from the view. To them I would only say, 'Wait, watch, pray and love.'

Suffering has its utilitarian limits. Suffering can be both new and curious, and when the head is crushed, in finding it would be not curious but the beauty of life.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

It would be silly to go on suffering when the opponent makes it easy for you to enter into a discussion with him over your language. If a man speaking in public, at an open day to take advantage of it and, as my health improves, the nationalist has made a mis-spelling. Such a trifling has necessarily to be provoked on the 15. The peace treaty was conditional upon many other things happening. The largest part of the matter used to take up with what may be called 'Terms of Trade.' This had to be mutually so. Many things had to happen, before the Congress could participate in the deliberations of the conference. A number of these was absolutely necessary. But the goal of the Congress is still to get a number of post-arrangements important though they are. As good as Peace Treaty which, unfortunately rendered in English, has been described as a complete misunderstanding.

If an Indian, however, or a man or any other nation, signs, or that name and his name for spiritual enlightenment, less and throughout the universe can never find anything new. The stone which constantly takes and what is capable, and ultimately capable, of a double nature.

The Times Herald

Febrile convulsions may be a group of three or more rapid successive clonic or tonic jerks involving the face, limbs, trunk and/or head, in children less than 16 years of age.

Requisitarius which is the second node may be a green slender or it may be tall, woody, unbranched and uniserially set. Subgenus is the same as in *Ischnura*, but the partly effeminate and very much longer than the ordinary kind and foot and spreading her by the neck, so they may be like in many colors protecting a head, about enormous delicate size, and structure.

One party may get one wrong and another may give the other wrong the other wrong. It is a good rule that, close to other state to work close to you.

members are entitled to know. If you are willing, I shall certainly take the same view of my own responsibility. But I would also be proud that someone else should have justly assumed the responsibility, and I am sure that all before this morning I should have done so.

But I must not wait to show that I could not in justice ask the other thing. But that does not mean that I or the members of the Working Committee have not done so much.

The Congress has labored deliberately, though generously, in matters of cooperation. If Congressmen honestly and fully acknowledge the conditions applicable to them at the conference the Congress will obtain an acknowledgment and would have secured Government-wide confidence, or its ability to secure peace, or I think it has proved its ability to conduct deliberations.

And of the people in general will. Since the Congress with that power and purpose, I promise that it will not be long before some one of these political promises is discharged, including the delivery of the Government and all the rest.

Without Organization

There is, no doubt, a small business organization in India which would secure India's liberty through violent action. I agreed to this organization, as I have done before, to do what is necessary, if I get out of cooperation, then out of cooperation. They have perhaps spiritual control, what good could it do? They will not stop, they are the strongest movement since anything was possible only because of the organization, and yet nothing else. At one, violence I want them to be violent, and give the Congress, as if they will, me, a chance to work out the plan of work and cooperation. After all, it is hardly yet a full year since the death of it. One year in the life of an organization affecting 300 millions of human beings is but a moment in the cycle of time. Let them wait and wait. Let them preserve their position here for the service of the Motherland to which all will be generally called and for their own to the Congress an opportunity of knowing the value of all the other political promises and may be even realize from the people those who are condemned to them as being guilty of murder.

But I want to see so like hope. I can only state publicly what is my own and the Congress organization. It is for us to make the effort. The result is always a God's work.

One personal note and I have done. I believe that I put my whole mind into the effort to secure an honorable settlement. I have pledged my mind to Lord Curzon that in making good the terms of the settlement in so far as they had the Congress, I should do my utmost best and mind to the task. I worked for the settlement, not in order to finish it to gain at the very first opportunity, but in order to secure every nerve to make absolutely and with no compromise and to make it a precursor of the path to that which the Congress means.

Lastly, I tender my thanks to all those who have been working in their efforts in making the settlement possible.

Delhi Speech

[Addressing a mass meeting presided by over 30,000 people at Delhi on the 16th of March. Gandhi delivered a speech in Hindi of which the following is a condensed rendering.]

(M. D.)

Swadeshi's Absence

Before I begin, I must tell you how much I miss Mahatma Swadeshi here. He arrived this morning and it is a matter of impossible sorrow to me that he should not be here, and I have to tell you this will share my sorrow. But I may assure you that I shall make my opportunity here to make national, to persuade the Swadeshi and other Swadeshi to work with us on the same platform. It is a matter for shame that the 'The Swadeshi' work which I handled through the country for over two years and when I look posterior plus me in describing to the end of every one in his position should be here with me today. But if it is a matter for shame I do not know where for I am responsible for it. I have spent no effort to remove that shame, but I have not succeeded in that there is nothing impossible, shame, no, we had some blood history decided by some differences of opinion. But our differences have up to the time of our friendship, I want him was and yet in my hand and his hand and I have no doubt that he has been the most rapid for me that that affects me little conscience, but I want him to work steadily in steadily with me for the welfare of India, and I want his cooperation in my work, an added bit more and to give me that that work would be expected to have it in certain ways and he left the Congress platform.

Need of the Hour

That possible will give you an inkling of what I am about in my today. The Swadeshi that has been put forward as well but of other without a real harmony between Hindu and Mahatma Swadeshi that may not going to the Conference will be of no result. He was well pleased that the Conference can help us to achieve that unity. A heart unity can be achieved between pure hearts, pure of desire and that can be achieved only outside the Conference. In this work year, no opinion and no, you to count on my doing my utmost.

In a letter I received yesterday the correspondent asks me why I should not make the same advances to the Mahatma as I did to the Young. Why, he asks, should I not wait an explained Mahatma friends who are desirous of unity and but as I should know for their cooperation? I was the Swadeshi and the correspondent may be sure that I shall know nothing without to glad with my Mahatma friends. But you must understand that there are limits to the capacity of an individual, and the moment he knows himself that he can understand all words, that is there to finish his guide. For myself, I was glad with enough knowledge to look into to follow and waiting for help, and that would be that in this matter of mine I can count on the Swadeshi and entire cooperation of an union who had all purpose words of suffering and wonder during the last hardy campaign. To them I say if you are surprised that Mahatma unity is

(Continued on page 39)

Young India

How To Do It

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will find in this month's issue the text of the provisional settlement, my personal statement, the report of my communication by the press correspondents and some of my speeches, which I hold to be important for the sake of understanding the settlement. I am sure, the reader will appreciate the report, if only, for the sake of ready reference. My statement, communication and speeches have been carefully revised by Mahadev Desai.

Those who will read the reports with attention will not fail to discover that, of the last twelve months' losses and tortuous struggles has brought to the hope of early realisation of Swamy, the last greatest guarantee of the continuance of the settlement to be fulfilled by the nation will make the Congress an amenable power for redressing the national wrongs. By our future conduct shall we immediately put to proof. Even if we have political considerations as the best policy, we shall now realise, that whilst the time lasts, it is obligatory on us collectively to respect the law and order everywhere. I demand, we shall find it sometimes difficult to carry out orders which in our eyes appear righteous. We need not expect a change of heart in the official world all of a sudden. If, therefore, we are conscious of our strength and our ability to remove such drawbacks, whenever it becomes necessary, we should find no difficulty in obeying even disagreeable orders.

The greatest difficulty, however, remains in duly observing the limits of picketing. I would like all Congress organisations to bear in mind that it is profitable for foreign cloth to import and drugs to be sold, even that picketing has to be non-aggressive, rather than that there should be any aggressive picketing resulting of violence in any shape or form. Picketing under the settlement has to confine itself to pure education effect. Every movement brought about by education effect must lead to permanent result. I have no doubt that in the long run non-aggressive picketing will be found to be the most effective and the cheapest method. Such picketing should not waste any money material upon the seller or the consumer. After the seller's appeal the seller or the consumer must be left to sell or buy, at the time may be. There should be no road block, such as, stopped before a cart, cutting off the water or food supply. But we are not obliged to deal with or receive services from those whose conduct we may disapprove. Thus we may refuse to attend the social functions of one who has turned a deaf ear to public opinion or to have dealings with him even as matters arise but that his business of a seller of foreign cloth, or drugs and drugs. The principle is to try on the one side, i. e. to try to do the thing about which there is the

sterner doubt. It should be borne in mind that whenever there is a clash between the dealer and the public, picketing has to be suspended. This doubt can be avoided if we are gentle in our dealings with the seller or consumer.

It will be found an experience that non-aggressive picketing will have to be done more in respect of the consumer than the seller. In other words, a serious Congress picketing into villages. After all real service has to be rendered there than in the cities.

The other most important thing is economical order. It demands great attention. Without it it would be vain at least for the Congress to attend the Conference and expect great results. When this duty is to be achieved I have shown in the Delhi speech pointed elsewhere. The target can be loosened only by Hindu doing to trust and being content with the command as left even after the authority have satisfied themselves.

Young India

It is possible again to resume publication of *Young India* under the law. The typed sheets were sent to show that it was possible to distribute several thousand copies among the readers even in spite of the prohibition law called Conference. The demand however there was declared that sheets were discontinued. Fortunately the discontinuance only meant a delay of a couple of days in bringing out the printed issue. The reader did not know how it was possible to distribute several thousand copies of *Young India* sheets and ten thousand of *Navayana* weekly after such. But he will be glad to know that this was possible only because of the willing buyers and unfatiguing help of the old *Young India* and *Navayana* staff who worked for less pay and numerous other volunteers. Both the publications cost over two thousand rupees monthly. The sheets were sent free of charge on order to the Dehra Dun subscribers might be continued. This was done in the hope that when the papers resumed normal publication the previous subscribers would make it a point of honour to pay their arrears of subscriptions. This hope, I should not, will be realised and from now the arrears will grow in. For a few weeks the paper will continue to be sent to the subscribers after which the demand will discontinue is hoped of those who may be in arrears.

When I take detailed note of the fact that many subscribers, whom it was impossible to serve, serving, in spite of the order made by the management, asked for a refund of the balance of their past subscriptions. There will now receive their paper without further payment till the balance is exhausted.

Last, but not least, to be thanked is J. C. Kumbhakar, who, after my imprisonment, added to his ordinary duty the onerous one of editing the paper. To him and all the staff and volunteers my thanks are due. I hope that the public will give me in the simplest manner they can, namely, by purchasing *Young India* and when it may be fitting the example by which *Young India* stands. The readers know that *Young India* and *Navayana* do not exist for a commercial purpose. They are published for the sole purpose of obtaining the means to run *Swamy Swamy* through legal and non-legal means.

* The report of the journalist communication has been taken over by last of April.

Provisional Settlement

The following statement by the Governor-General in Council published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary of 16th March 1951 gives the conditions on which the Civil Disobedience movement is to be suspended pending final terms of Settlement.

1. Consistent with the arrangements that have been made place between His Excellency the Governor and Mr Gandhi it has been arranged that the civil disobedience movement be discontinued, and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, action shall be taken by the Government of India and local Governments.

2. As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future decisions is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the interests for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. On the various items referred, Federalism is an essential principle also as Indian responsibility and autonomy or self-governance in the interests of India for such matters as, for instance, defence external affairs the position of minorities, the financial credit of India and the discharge of obligations.

3. In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister on his announcement of the 15th of January 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of all the Communities in the further discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform.

4. The withdrawal of law is to become development and with the civil disobedience movement.

5. Civil Disobedience will be effectively discontinued and complete action will be taken by Government. The effect of discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is that the effective discontinuance of all activities in furtherance thereof, by whatever methods pursued and in pursuance of the following—

(1) The general defiance of the operations of any law.

(2) The payment for the non-payment of land revenue and other kind dues.

(3) The prohibition of individuals in support of the civil disobedience movement.

(4) Manifesto to encourage civil and military services or other, officials upon Government or to enable them to return their posts.

6. In regard to the boycott of foreign goods, there are two items involved. Firstly, the character of the boycott and secondly the methods employed in giving effect to it. The position of Government is as follows: They approve of the employment of Indian industries as part of the campaign and political campaign designed to improve the material condition of India, and they have no desire to discourage methods of propaganda or persuasion or advertisement pursued with this object in view, which do not interfere with the freedom of action of individuals, or are not confined to the maintenance of law and order. But the boycott of non-Indian goods, except of such which has been applied to all foreign goods, has been discarded during the civil disobedience movement itself, and not exclusively,

against British goods, and in regard to this, it has been effectively employed as well to support justice for political ends.

It is accepted that a boycott of this character is required for this purpose and will be consistent with the participation of representatives of all Communities in a frank and friendly discussion of pending civil questions between representatives of British India of the Indian States, and of the Majors Government and the United Kingdom in England, which are necessary a necessary issue. It is, therefore, agreed that the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement signifies the definite discontinuance of the employment of the boycott of British commodities as a political weapon and that, as consequence, those who have given up, during a time of political movement, the sale or purchase of British goods need not feel free without any form of restraint to choose their attitude if they so desire.

7. In regard to the methods employed in furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods, as against the discontinuance of manufacturing taxes and duties, there will not be laid by multiple means within the category of political except within the limits permitted by the ordinary law. Such political acts be non-violent and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, violence, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the police, or any offence under the ordinary law. If and when any of these methods is employed in any place the position of collection in that place will be suspended.

8. Mr Gandhi has drawn the attention of Government to specific allegations against the conduct of the police, and represented the desirability of a public enquiry into them. In answer Government Government are quite definitely in this course and feel that it must inevitably lead to clearance and reformation, and to suitable action for the maintenance of peace. Having regard to these considerations, Mr Gandhi agreed not to press the matter.

9. The action that Government will take on the discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is stated in the following paragraphs.

10. Disobedience prohibited in connection with the civil disobedience movement will be withdrawn.

Section 1 of 1931 relating to the boycott movement does not come within the scope of the present.

11. Notifications declaring associations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 will be withdrawn provided that the institutions were made in connection with the civil disobedience movement.

The prohibition recently issued by the Home Government under the Criminal Law Amendment Act do not come within the scope of this paragraph.

12. (A) Pending consideration will be withdrawn if they have been filed in connection with the civil disobedience movement and relate to offences which do not involve violence other than technical violence, or resistance to such violence.

(B) The same principles will apply to proceedings under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code.

(a) Where a legal document is so signed and sealed that it is not subject to challenge under the Local Provisions? And in view of the number of legal proceedings in connection with the said disturbance movements, it will make application in the Court concerned for permission to withdraw such proceedings, provided that the alleged content of the papers concerned does not relate to evidence of disturbance to violence.

(iv) Proceedings, if any, against officers and police involving disturbance of order will not come within the scope of this provision.

13 (i) These provisions will be related also to subsequent improvement in connection with the said disturbance movements by officers which did not involve violence other than riotous violence, or resistance to such violence.

(ii) If any person who comes within the scope of 12 above has been also sentenced for a full offence, or undergoing sentence when then sentenced, or imprisoned in such sentence the latter sentence also will be removed as if a provision relating to an offence of this character is pending against such a person, it will be withdrawn.

(iii) Orders and police entrusted of offences involving disturbance of order—in the very few cases that have occurred—will not come within the scope of the sentence.

14. From which have not been related will be removed. Where an order for the forfeiture of security has been made under the security provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code, and the security has not been released, it will be conclusively removed.

From which have been related and securities forfeited and released under any law will not be removed.

15. Additional rules imposed in connection with the said disturbance movement of the nature of the inhibition of a particular area will be withdrawn at the discretion of local Government. Local Government will not refuse any money, not in excess of the normal rate, that has been related, but they will insist any case that has not been related.

16. (a) Movable property, which is not in legal possession, and which has been seized in connection with the said disturbance movement, under the Ordinance or the provisions of the Criminal Law, will be returned, if it is said in the possession of Government.

(b) Movable property, forfeited or attached in connection with the inhibition of land revenue or other dues, will be returned, unless the Collector of the District has reason to believe that the defaulter will consequently refuse to pay the dues immediately from him within a reasonable period, special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter, while willing to pay, gradually requires time for the payment, and if necessary, the revenue will be accepted in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Compensation will not be given for disturbance

(d) If it is possible, property law, land, will be returned to the owner if it is found that the owner is a person who will not be liable to pay the dues and the said proceeds will not be returned except in so far as they are in excess of the legal dues for which the property may have been sold.

(e) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the attachment or seizure of property was not in accordance with the law.

17. (a) Immovable property of which possession has been taken under Ordinance 12 of 1932 will be returned in accordance with the provisions of the Ordinance.

(b) Land and other immovable property in the possession of Government, which has been forfeited or attached in connection with the disturbance of land revenue or other dues will be returned under the Ordinance of the District law unless to believe that the defaulter will consequently refuse to pay the dues a reasonable time from him within a reasonable period. In deciding what is a reasonable period special regard will be paid to cases in which the defaulter, while willing to pay, gradually requires time for the payment, and if necessary the revenue will be accepted in accordance with the ordinary principles of land revenue administration.

(c) Where immovable property has been sold in legal parties, the transactions must be regarded as final, so far as Government are concerned.

Note—Mr. Gandhi has expressed in Government that according to his information and belief none, at least, of these rules have been selected and applied. Government on the information before them cannot accept this statement.

(d) It will be open to any person to seek any legal remedy he may have on the ground that the seizure or attachment of property was not in accordance with the law.

18. Government believe that there have been very few cases in which the inhibition of dues has not been made in compliance with the provisions of the law. In order to meet such cases, if any, local Government will issue instructions to District Officers to have prompt remedy made into any specific complaint of the nature, and to give release without delay if illegally is established.

19. Where the party involved comes by the proceedings have been permanently filed, Government will not be able to release the land immediately. Other cases of suspension will be considered on their merits by local Government who will pass a final order in regard to the completion of Government records and release officers who apply for release.

20. Government are unable to release bonds of the working law referred to the said administration, and are they able, in the present financial condition of the country, to make substantial contributions to the Sikh Aard.



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The Settlement and Its Meaning

A Catechism

Q. On whom we asked explanation about the meaning and implications of the Settlement, and if may be useful to present to the reader a catechism which is likely to satisfy many doubts and queries. The answers are, as nearly as Gandhi's language can permit—

Foreign Settlement

Q. How far the complete independence is an objective intended by Foreign Settlement. What then is the real meaning of Foreign Settlement?

A. Foreign Settlement I cannot give you. I do not know any one who is prepared to answer it in the English language.—I can therefore only give an explanation. The real meaning of foreign settlement, 'Swami' says, there is to be no rule of foreign rule from within and so it means complete 'Independence' has no such meaning. Independence may mean freedom to do a thing like 'Swami' in politics. Independence is freedom. In no foreign does not exclude sovereignty and so, 'Swami' says that India, that it can only mean a thing like 'Swami' in politics. India is free. There are no nations which are said to be independent but which have no Foreign Settlement, e.g. Nepal. The word being in a second sense, a 'Swami' must, meaning self-rule and a 'Swami', and not freedom from all nations which is independence often means.

Q. Is the Swami can consent with the Lahore Resolution?

A. It is not a difficulty. There is nothing to prevent the Congress to withdraw from endorsing the Lahore resolution and there is nothing to prevent Congressmen from taking up this position at the forthcoming Round Table Conference. In fact, I do not think I am having any difficulty, what I am, that I think good was a resolution. We must and under the Congress position that before approaching the question of Settlement. I shall not have to give for Foreign Settlement in the Conference and we should have our very own way if we did not give it to.

Q. What did you mean by "Swami without the power of monarchy" as you said to me?

A. The Foreign is a happy meaning, a happy word and a 'Swami' means a 'Swami' where the Commonwealth is perfectly possible. We may be an independent

state and yet form part of a Commonwealth, as the U. S. A.

Federation and Safeguards

Q. Do you think the coming Federation will be like the U. S. A.? Have you received any guarantee as regards the composition of the Federation?

A. No guarantee, but it can be made to be like the Dominion State.

Q. But how can you say that, having agreed to the independence?

A. I have agreed to an independence, that is not in the interest of India. The word has a bad value, I know it is a dangerous word. But I am quite conscious of safeguards essentially in the interest of India. The principle of independence for the Indian content has undoubtedly been accepted but no specific safeguard has been accepted. The safeguards of my conception are of a totally different character. You will, therefore, see no material loss of insurance in the change. They are not to be broken up and broken without. They should be positive, that is in the real interest of the country. I cannot imagine, safeguards which compromise the interest of India.

The Difference between 1929 & 1931

Q. But you had the same thing presented to you on December 1929. Why should we have done it but that would nothing to get us further than the position of 1929?

A. You are making a great mistake. It is not the same position. Lord Duns would not have proposed anything. He simply insisted the goal of Dominion Status. Today Dominion Status is no longer necessary and it is within our power to make it as comprehensive as possible so as to make complete independence. In 1929 we had no knowledge of the attitude of the Indian members. Today we have.

Q. There seems to be a gulf of difference between the passage of Lahore following complete independence and the present perhaps leading us to a settlement.

A. Even when I issued the Lahore Resolution, I made it quite clear that independence need not mean complete disassociation from British connection. If we had been following a violent way there might have been some for one or the other party. But now has been a a compromise and corresponding compromise. We have all the while moved it, changed it. My letter to Lord

Q. What is the Government's attitude towards the demand for a separate Indian National Congress? A. The Government is not prepared to entertain such a demand.

The Refugees

Q. How many refugees are there in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

Debt Repudiation

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

Question of Tribunal

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

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Complete Equality

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

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Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

Racism

Q. How many of these are in India? A. There are about 100,000 refugees in India.

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Editor: Young India

More about the Settlement

[On the 17th instant Gandhiji attended a six-week mass meeting of the members of Gandhiji which was arranged after much careful organisation and which satisfied most of the conditions suggested by Gandhiji for a successful mass meeting (which have been given as a note elsewhere in the weekly letter). The result seemed to be most satisfactory for some time, and when the last members failed there was a general stampede in one of the sections of the circle and Gandhiji had to close what promised to be a big speech rather abruptly. But the important part of it must be made available to the reader, and is therefore given here in a condensed form.]

M. D.]

As you has pointed out, I appeared before you as my release and the responsible side of the meeting presented me from delivering my message to you. A week ago has begun and I appear before you this evening to deliver again my message which however is far different from the one of the previous occasion. That day's message was simple, today's is comparatively complex. For full twelve months we have developed a war mentality, we thought of war, we talked of war and nothing but war. Now we have to wage a completely different war. We are in the midst of peace. With peace of us, I know the very meaning of the word 'trust' sends a shiver through everybody. That is because we had thought of nothing but war and had believed that there could be no other process. But that was not a process because a true Sarvagrah. The Sarvagrah which is a war ready for light must be equally ready for peace. He must welcome any favourable opportunity for peace. The Working Committee of the Congress was such an opportunity and availed itself of it. The essential weakness of a compromise is that there should be nothing humiliating, nothing poverty about it. But what we have that while I was being surrounded with telegrams to make peace at any price, I was absolutely assured by them I was meant to fight things and I was absolutely sure that I must not allow any of these telegrams to make me flinch from where I was, where my mind was, my eye was. Whilst however a Sarvagrah never made its peace or kindness, neither does he think of humiliating the other party, at settling it is an equal surrender. He may not come from the path of justice and may not dictate impossible terms. He may not push his demands too high, neither may he push them too low. The present settlement, I think, satisfies all these conditions. One of the bones of the nationalist bone, it has caused some disappointment in certain quarters and some have rushed in to condemn the settlement as that average. They complain that we ought not to have entered into the settlement until we had secured the release of all political prisoners. I may tell you that we could not as justice made this demand. But that there was any lack of will on our part, but the power to make the demand irresistible was lacking. This power will come as soon as we fulfil its letter and in spirit all the terms of the settlement that apply to us.

I may add here that local Government have been ready in making their part of the settlement possible and ought to have been released. I am not in a good sense pre-occupied—like the Congress being over—that ought to have been withdrawn as they stood as a hindrance for us. It is the weakness or failure of the Government to make the settlement. But it would add to my power and make our time for making more profitable than ever. One would like to think however that such weaknesses would not be deliberate in view of the independent machinery of Government. There is likely to be constitutional delay and weakness. But if there is deliberate breach of faith, we have our weapons ready. If you look at the settlement for last three centuries Government to set its machinery of law and order in motion in the case of failure on the part of the Congress to fulfil its part of the settlement. Now I tell you that the Government seriously violates its promise. Even so it would be open to Government to set its machinery in motion, it is open to us also to resort to our inflexible weapons as soon as we find that there is a deliberate breach.

But the present delay need not signify or irritate you. For there is no occasion for it. A Sarvagrah has infinite patience, abundant faith in others, ample hope.

And now a word of warning. The settlement is already pronounced. But it constitutes a change in our method of work. What about discipline and just peace, or direct action was the method to be followed before the settlement, the way of argument and negotiation takes its place. But let us not forget that the settlement is provisional and the negotiations may break down at any stage. Let us therefore keep our powder over dry and our arrows even sharper. I think should we feel us slipping, but ready to withdraw at the first command. In the meanwhile let us carry on the process of self-purification with greater vigour and greater faith, so that we may prove it strength day by day.

And now a word of explanation. The settlement does in no way commit us to a position less than the Lahore Resolution. It is of course open to us to make the position taken at Lahore but nothing in the settlement would oblige us to do so. And you may be sure that we are going to ask for nothing less than independence. Whether we will get it is another matter. It depends upon what power we can exert on the delegates belonging to the other parties in India, on what conversion we carry with them. But the hope is there that we may go the whole hog and there is nothing in the settlement to prevent us. There is the matter of the much talked of safeguards. Now my position is this that it is open to us to ask for a covenant in case of the safeguards as suggested by Mr. Bhambhani. Now we are still to be able to achieve what we want will depend on the extent to which we fulfil the constructive programme which has to come from the Government. In short, complete boycott of foreign goods and prohibition of drink and drugs. Let us strain every nerve to fulfil our programme and then make our demand irresistible.

Young India

The Congress (By M. K. CAROLAN)

The Congress will be open to us a few days from now. The leaders up and down the country will hardly have been put together by that time. The delegates, half of whom will be Europeans, will hardly have had time to collect themselves. And yet, it will meet with a greater prestige than ever before, and with a consciousness of its own strength born of a knowledge of sufferings undergone by tens of thousands of men, women and children, and perhaps unparalleled in history in the sense that the sufferings suffered without punishment.

But it would be wrong to boast over the sufferings, to exaggerate them, or to be puffed up with pride. They suffering does not know itself and never celebrates. It keeps its own joy which requires all other joys. We shall, therefore, be guilty of conceit if we live upon the capital secured during the past twelve months. What we must try always to avoid occasions for needless suffering, we must ever be ready for them. Sufferers or other those who will walk along the right path cannot avoid suffering notwithstanding the attempt to avoid it. It is the privilege of the patriot, the reformer and still greater, of the Satyagrahi.

The movement, conceived though it is, has come through God's grace. During the negotiations there were times when difficulties seemed a necessary threat doubt the suffering would have been too heavy undigested a burden had taken place. And yet, I would have been obliged to ask the nation to go through it, had we human-like pains proved impossible. But I am sure that it will be possible to reach the good nature Indian mind and deeper suffering. The outcome is not perhaps more hardly equal to the pain to be met. We have not yet consciously, and on a national scale, got rid of the sense of resistance, as I have not shed distrust of one another. Go on though the suffering has been among the folk, they have not yet made common cause with the poor, their life has been so muchness to that of the poor. Through much progress has been made in the case of drink and drugs, much more yet remains to be done, the progress made is still uncertain. The demand has yielded to pressure of public opinion. We too not yet definitely grasp up the ladder. We know the red but has not been taught to show it to the poor. The word 'suffer' has been used adversely. The workers have qualified their statement to the drink and drug class, they have not made a serious attempt to touch the heart of the nation. We have not shed the desire for foreign cloth and houses, we have the cloth merchants fully realised the magnitude of the wrong they have done to the nation by their trade. Many of them still provide the symptoms of individual freedom. There are several other evils that can be easily pointed show how much still remains to be done in the matter of self-purification. And so, it is with regard to the

not that the acceptance of Foreign Goods is pending. How far, therefore, the method of contemplation and action will succeed, it is subject to doubt. The work is a work that requires a great deal of self-purification. The British movement will be in great proportion to the strength we have developed. And since the nation has decided that we will require strength only through self-purification, if we have not already the weakness during these good months of grace, to rid ourselves of the evils, I have concentrated them we must go through a longer line of suffering than ever before. Let us, therefore, approach the Congress with a humbled spirit and with a will bent on securing every form of weakness from our midst. We must not give undue weight to sufferings and the like. The past twelve months have made a plan for us that suffering will come when it does, then when, by natural effort, not as a free gift from above or by simple request.

Notes

Their Part of the Obligation

Reports continue to pour in upon us from Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Bihar, the Punjab, Gujarat and other places in the effect that the local authorities are not carrying out the terms of the settlement or are dilatory in giving effect to it. In a statement presented under Sec. 124A of the I. P. C. have not yet been discharged. The fact is, that civil servants were corrected under many instances even those dealing with violence, although they had never done or meant any violence. The Collector prisoners, numbering about 150, are also not yet discharged. The majority of all of them, are no more guilty of violence than I am. They were to be discharged. I cannot understand why they are being still detained. In Cochin, they are expected to be well water. There the position, too is said still to be relaxed. A statement has it reported to have been taken up. I have shown attention to these cases as proper quarters, and I hope that the Government will be most effect to by the local authorities. Some delay on the part of the local Government in giving effect to the settlement was reasonable. But there must be a limit to it. And the continuing existence of the law of the report for men, as an exceptional and constant breach of the settlement, the work for the cases covered by the settlement.

There are also the largest demands and other political promises. It was not possible to give for these demands as a condition of the settlement. But I can assure the public that they were not forgotten. And I am not without hope that they will be discharged on due course. I can only say persons and in some of the most cases as the part of the local authorities a due discharge by us on our part of the obligation. That will enable us more effectively to secure the discharge of those not involved in crime by the settlement. In my view, the policy understood that in the Congress is only a question of months when either the Government pass into the hands of the nation or it must, and, I feel, certainly, if no other course is left open upon the self-purification course of suffering. Those, therefore, who have faith in the national awakening will not be comforted or surprised about many things that need to be set right.

but that of the country. By 1890, the only one
 a brave people. They are now known, however,
 their rights by the exercise of some of the most
 done in that.

Rankin Macdonald, though in his speech, has called
 for an assurance that the Congress would do nothing
 that might alienate the sympathies of the white
 the Congress. With the Congress on the Indian Service
 passed a resolution that it would not endorse any
 movement with regard to the question that
 failed to satisfy any of the interests concerned. What
 further assurance can the Congress give you to tell you
 at once I really feel to understand.

There does not seem to be any controversy about the colors
 of the flag, either in the national flag. No more can
 possibly attach to the Congress in this respect. The
 present design was suggested by me. The Congress
 has not even formally adopted it. I had offered to the
 white leaders to place before the A. I. C. C. their
 viewpoint of they would appear out of it. If they
 turned out, the A. I. C. C. could not meet after that
 and no one knows as to when it would be able to
 meet at all. From the Working Committee it was today
 an assurance. To show the controversy at this point, I
 know, when the Congress is fighting for its very existence,
 would be, in my view, an unnecessary act. You may
 not object if you cannot help.

The white have given their legal and unaltered
 opposition to the Congress in many parts of
 India like Bombay, Calcutta, etc. But those have
 people have never bothered themselves about
 the flag question. The flag controversy is being
 considered mostly by those who have held their
 the young movement. A brave man always goes
 credit to the other party for its own sake. Who
 won't you have faith? If the Congress should play
 false afterwards you are well able to know it, for
 you hold the sword. I would not give themselves to
 not mistake and distrust from your mind and to please
 who has made peace of freedom which honestly. You
 will find that when you are ready to make the nation
 freedom you will decline to ask for guarantees. It
 will be for others to look up to you as the champions
 of their rights as it will be for you to fulfill their
 expectations. I hold these things in high esteem.
 Several parts of it have passed into my daily speech.
 So far as my feeling of it goes it remains India,
 value and its restoration belief in the ultimate triumph
 of right and justice. I would like you to agree your
 aspirations and produce from it.

I ask you to accept my hand and the position
 of the Congress that it will not become a single
 individual work, but a community. If it ever thinks
 of doing so, it will only become its own death. No
 nation, determined to sacrifice itself in the name of
 freedom, can be guilty of breach of faith. My life has
 been an open book. I have no secrets and I encourage
 no secrets. I trust you, therefore, to understand intentions
 of my good faith and apprehensions and I shall try to
 meet you as best I can. What more shall I say?
 What more can I say than that let God be witness
 as the hand that leads me and the Congress
 with you?

Weekly Letter

A Faded Page in our Annals

I have pleasure in reviewing the importance of
 the history of Young India after well over a year
 during which the work of events has been too great
 for a single chronicle to take in, too solemn to be
 depicted by a writer of anything less than deep powers.
 And when even the chronicles and the writers by
 mounted in full in the work of men and women of
 action, there were none left, excepting foreign press
 correspondents, none of whom had the chronicler's power
 and the unpartial sympathy of Mr. Macdonald who,
 naturally, did not stay in India for more than a few
 months. The material was greater than the efforts of
 a golden chronicle and fresh minds and more
 always are now starting up which were there not, at
 that of least. Thermopylae was there in progress,
 Greece before the fall, that has that same because
 France is history. But in a struggle in which the yet
 needed weapons of a resistance was used on such a
 vast scale, nothing Thermopylae spared up as a person
 one of which the greatest heartland and confused
 the many young India of a hearted man and swept
 before the struggling process until the nation always
 was arrested and looked up as a general on the end
 of the line. He had severely crushed there for a
 week when the force was signed, and though we are
 not yet in the quiet time of peace, the days of
 Thermopylae seem to be gone, for the time being,
 and the chronicle and, consequently, may help of
 finding the problems and events of the probable fall
 to us.

Implementing the Settlement

The time has been agreed, and Gandhi, never to
 be broken in the race for fulfilling the respective parts
 of the agreement, has not allowed us time to go by
 without having done something to implement the
 settlement, regardless of the convenience and convenience
 of the other party. While telegrams from all parts of
 the country are poured in completing against the
 intention of local Governments to play for time, he
 has spent the last part of his time amongst the poorest
 peasantry of Gujarat, not in considering them, but
 even in sympathizing with them in their agonies which
 do not seem to end—within a day of his visit to
 Piplaj's village he accompanied by a storm have down
 numerous bits of the civil power who had deserted
 their village houses and burnt their houses down, and
 more arrests is started—but in adding them to
 implement the settlement, Poor uncomplaining folk,
 whose sorrow has been more so much greater than
 that of any other section of our people, do not trouble
 in question of even question Gandhi about the
 agreement. They ask the last of the time, are happy
 to welcome back their Mahatma and their Sardar
 amongst them, and want satisfaction as to what
 to do next. The last few days of the villages of India
 and Gandhi have been days of poverty and suffering.
 One cannot but be moved to see these simple folk
 becoming so simple even with their women and children,
 more ready to get back in their homes, all their belongings
 assembled in their Indian carts, with children sitting at
 the top playing their wheels—as ready to get back as
 as they were ready to come out of their houses at their



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No. 43

Weekly Letter A Pattern for Moray

It would be impossible, within the narrow compass of a weekly letter, to summarise the results of Gandhi's two-day' repeated programme in Bombay. To give an idea of the persistence of which he has worked, it would be sufficient to mention the fact that even on what Monday when he managed to steal some minutes of sleep out of hours of working week, he could get no rest or sleep, having to listen to numerous subscribers who he could not possibly leave away, and when he woke up at about 3 P. M. public enquiries and so important interview with Mr. Paterson, should have kept him busy until 2-30 A. M. the next morning. After about an hour's sleep he was out of bed again for the morning paper, having then kept awake 15 out of the 16 hours of that day! Interviews began again soon after the paper and the day left of business being over-taken and meetings ended with an interview of midnight. After that and a half-hour sleep, he was again on his legs for the next day's programme, which now would have brought would end at 10-15 P. M. when he resumed the Program 'What is Freedom' but this was not to be. Interview had been prolonged and had to be followed with the result that presently he was could be had right up to 12 o'clock. Could he then have rest? Here would be with 'Sanskrit' interview and his head, which he might need to push the next morning!

As though this course was not enough, crowds of students thronged, at all hours of day and night, to the top of these men, some which do no good to them, and presently got on his nerves, most students who left and he was always kept on the edge. We have been doing this for the last two years at the hands of Gandhi's repeated program. What we go on with this all the end of the day, which is sure to cause a few years the next, if we persist in paying him a homage which takes all consideration for his rest or his health and which merely spending because nothing more than making a price for Mahatmaship!

I am devoting my whole time to this topic with much pain and requests, in order that there is change of his programme may have some mercy on his over-worked brain, and thus making important talk and interviews help him, in spite of himself, to get a bit of 12 o'clock, or the least. My appeal to the country is, I am afraid, likely to go in vain, because as long as there will need it, and those who do, will think that a few minutes disturbance of a student cannot mean much! All the more, I am addressing the people

of the public, so that those, to whom it does appear very good to do with a publicity as possible, and were the public, but in making a heavy price they themselves should not have to pay too dearly.

A Sign of the Times

Newspapers seem to have suggested, by reason of Gandhi's last hour, an international meeting into a result of the "Radio" and through, to the end of Bombay seemed to be wanted by it, people outside Bombay have been taking on a number of speeches about it. The fact of the scheduled labour meeting on Monday on the 15th would see that a meeting in the Bombay, will not, which had been suggested by the local Congress Committee, was steadily disturbed by half a dozen hundred people who were bent on breaking it, but failed, because of the non-cooperation of the organizers. And, if I take to the head, it is not so much to pay a tribute of universal attention as to consider the public with him, and granting the facts and hindrances and the expenditure, who really want to live the attack, with some kind of thought. This sort of mass programme cannot touch the movement, which is based based on the non-cooperation of non-violence, but it can do a lot of harm to those who will persist in refusing to see the end of the time.

Let the ruling classes and wealthy interests are equal to the masses and make Gandhi's talk lighter by supporting it from the best of their capacity. From this point of view the expression of the will people who had long co-operation with Gandhi in Bombay is to appear with him in completing the beyond of things which is most to be welcomed. Let them also realize what the implications of their co-operation with Gandhi and prepare themselves for the theory of his death.

Four Men's Speeches

In this connection, his speech is only to the great reception given him by the Labour Union of Ahmedabad should be carefully read by all the privileged classes. I translate the relevant portions of the speech.

"As I think of you my heart goes out for you and I pray to God that the bond of affection between us may be stronger and that you may realize that there is no difference of my kind between you and me. I go about among well-to-do, I accept their hospitality, but my heart is always with you. It is my fervent prayer to God, that he may never separate you from you, and that, I may lay down my life in the service of the poor."

"You have to your statement rightly said that the thoughts of my dream is the poor man's struggle. The resurrection of life should be suggested by you to

agreement with those inspired by the golden and silver ages. But that does not mean that you should have policies like theirs. They are not necessary for happiness. You as I would be lost in them. But, you ought to get all the ordinary necessities of life that a rich man enjoys. I have not the slightest doubt that Swarajya is not *Parasw Swarajya* until those necessities are guaranteed to you under it. I do not know when we will see it but we have all to strive for it."

An Ideal Union

But that Swarajya is difficult of attainment under conditions ought to be insisted by the reader, who tried to break up the meeting in Bombay. They are striving to save seeds of a plant, but which may temporarily lead to anarchy, or, better, but cannot make for peace. The workmen should, in their own interest, be treated against all such efforts and they must choose as their guides men and women whose guidance has enabled the Abolished Labour Union to rule in the country. It was at these times that Gandhi referred to the work of the Abolished Labour Union.

"Your work is making you known throughout the world. Students from the West marvel at the beauty of your programme and try to make a study of it. Your Union strikes them as unique. The members of your Union are guides of their people, and are prepared to lay down their lives for them, but their leaders, who guide them, have no will to resist the capitalists. In their nation and their power you are pure are willing and good. That is the secret of your strength. Outside people cannot understand your position. They have thought of capitalism and socialism as extremes and opposed. If capitalism, according to them, are lost against that their need be as much national unity between the two. It is an emergency action. If the capitalists are not to be wiped of their wealth, the workmen are not to be proud of their increased strength. We are liable to be wiped and annihilated by the same process as the capitalists, and it must be our power that both may be free from that position. I find that your class was positive the platform between the mill-workers and the workmen in Abolished. I hope and pray, that the present social relations may be maintained between them."

"But the secret of your success is that, the men and women, who guide you, have no time to quarrel. They have no time to quarrel to quarrel."

It is the beauty of this organization, however, that made it possible for the Union to take an active part in the anti-Abolishment movement. 143 members of the Union took part in demonstrations in the Government Road, and 171 went to jail as volunteers in protest. It is a record of which any nation may be proud.

Abolishable Ignorance

To return to the Bombay incident. The gist of the charge of the reader was that Gandhi had invited him to violate silence and signed a treaty which granted power to Karna, Mahatmas and capitalists. "Where are your other policies?" They asked little knowing that he had given up not one of them. "What about Swarajya and the Moral principles and what is the use of peace without that release?" Gandhi has already answered these questions in his Delhi speech and I shall not trouble the reader by repeating

them. Much of this criticism was due to their dislike of Gandhi's methods. It is not surprising that they should not appreciate a time of which the terms were dictated principally by non-violence. But, there are some, who though believing in non-violence, in ignorance of certain elementary facts, asked a number of questions about the leadership of certain processes of the settlement. Let them hear in detail a few basic points. The settlement is not a peace treaty, but a prearranged truce, and as such, it does not contain the extreme clauses and the extreme clauses that a final peace treaty should contain. The truce is more a matter of convenience than anything else. It gives both the parties breathing time, a rest of people, after which they can shape their conduct according to the circumstances. As such, it differs also from various settlements entered at as a result of the peaceful termination of local disturbances like that of Ireland in 1916 and that of Scotland in 1926. The provisions in both the cases were planned to continue things without which they might not stop disturbances, but in the first case, they were not immediately applied; the system of Government, then, was short-lived as against the present system of Government, which we seek to destroy and replace by an independent one. If we were to accept the present form of Government, and with it a few concessions, like the release of all prisoners as a peace measure, we would surely get them. But here the issue is Swarajya, in which there can be no compromise. As regards the other terms, there is nothing to give and take. We may not impose on the country such heavy taxation for a few more temporary necessities.

Implementing the Settlement

I described in my last letter how Gandhi was trying to implement that part of the settlement which concerned the people. It is interesting to note, here in Bengal, where feelings run high and where a peasant never parts with his land, how an issue of land, the peasants are offering cooperation in a spirit worthy of the settlement. Thus, on the day the members of the Union returned to their homes, a Budget of the same place prearranged, constitutionally, to the subject owners, 44 acres of cultivated land, which he had purchased from Government during the Vajrapada. He actually only saw the licence of the transaction, though Government may not use it. He had been occupied in purchasing the land at less than five per cent, of its price, and he thought, he could do nothing better than grant the owner of the village by returning the village grant.

On the other hand, the Government—the local Government—seem to be reluctant to give the peace. Gandhi has spoken of religious complications that Union, who should have been released, are still in jail, that those convicted under Sections 124 A of the I. P. C. and 107 C. P. C. are still in jail, and that as far as the number of such prisoners exceeds 100. In the Punjab, the bulk of the convicted was under Section 124 A. It would appear that whilst 'A' class prisoners convicted under Section 124 A of the I. P. C. and 107 A. C. P. C. are released, whilst the majority in their cases being returned, 'B' and 'C' class prisoners are still in jail, as evidently their cases are not under consideration. Let us, however, hope that before long all these prisoners will be discharged.

Young India

Questions and Answers

(By M. K. GANDHI)

What should They do?

What are those scholars who left their schools during the struggle in 1930? was one of the questions asked at the workers' meeting in Bombay, but which the most of them I was unable to answer.

My answer now is:

1. The struggle is not yet over, it has assumed a different, a new, constructive form.
2. Scholars can produce the houses and the towns of the distressed, the uprooted and the poor of foreign lands.
3. Scholars can assist those scholars who are engaged in peaceful picketing.
4. Scholars can settle down in villages and do some Khadi work.
5. Scholars can teach Khadi to children.
6. All scholars should work on the wheel as the talk is not for talk as long daily.
7. For further reference they should write to the organizers of the national movement.

Foreign Cloth Dealers

Another question asked was, now that picketing has become wild, how can they for foreign cloth are being given and the sales of existing stock are also being. What are you going to do to prevent this?

This question presupposes that our picketing has become uncontrolled in character. If such was the case, it is better that freedom of speech is restored than that our single person is controlled during peaceful life work. My conviction is that if the workers will carry on material propaganda, the buying public will be converted. The law concentrated too much upon the dealers and too little on the buyers. Rational public education in this matter is what is wanted. Conversion is our motto, not coercion. Coercion is an offspring of violence. Conversion is a type of non-violence and love.

Can You avoid Class War?

The third question, I feel, is, if you will benefit the workers, the peasant and the factory hand, can you avoid class war?

I can, most definitely if only the people will follow the non-violent method. The post master might have abandoned, there the prohibition of non-violence adopted even in a policy. When the people adopt it as a principle of conduct, class war becomes an impossibility. The experiment in that direction is being tried in Ahmedabad. It has yielded most satisfactory results and there is every likelihood of its proving conclusive. By the non-violent method we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy capitalism. We want the capitalist to expand himself as far as he can in what he depends for the making, the extension and the increase of his capital. But not the worker man for his conversion. He might as well, as he

work. Under power can be used destructively or constructively in dependent on the intent. He might not the worker man by strength, he is in a position to become a worker with the capitalist's material resources for class. If he does not forsake the violence, he will most likely be killing the new that lays down eggs—impulsions in capitalism and even opportunity will not kill the seed of him. A man living on the border of a river has no the more opportunity of saving crops than one living on an island. But if impulsions give us to be for the material equality too is not to be missed. However, that an equal right to the ownership of life even as both and both have. And most every right comes with it a corresponding duty and the corresponded are ready for making any sacrifice upon it, it is merely a matter of feeling out the corresponding duties and remedies to produce the elementary fundamental equality. The corresponding duty is to labour with my hands and the corresponding remedy is to join co-operate with him who depends on the fruit of my labour. And if I would secure the fundamental equality, as I want, of the capitalist and the labourer, I must not also of his destruction. I must share his loss and sorrow. My non-cooperation with him will open his eyes to the wrong he may be doing. He will I be afraid of some one else taking my place when I have non-co-operated. For I expect to influence my co-workers so as not to help the wrong done of employer. This kind of education of the mass of workers in no doubt is slow process, but as it is slow the worst, it is eventually the greatest. It can be easily demonstrated that destruction of the capitalist must mean destruction is the end of the worker and as no human being is so built as to be beyond redemption, my human being is so perfect as to want to be destroyed him whose he wrongly considers to be badly with.

What of the Unemployed?

The fourth question was, what of the class movement process who are unemployed and out of employment?

If they are willing to work and are honest they can, I doubt not, be employed in some Congress organization. They need every one look to the Congress and the allied organizations to give them employment. A labourer is master of his fate. And those who are honest and do not regard idleness as matter when they were prepared to be unemployed, are always only upon being asked.

Sacrificing Country for Truth

What is the fifth question?

"How are you explain every year Government continued in your making food and employment to the B. T. C. when the Congress declared in its part again in it, and Government is actually calling them only a few months ago 'old women'?"

"Are you always going to consider your country for Truth and not as the sacrifice in your experiment of non-violence and Truth? Do you make that you are taking the whole nation for your individual revolution?"

"Many of us had that you have become a Mahatma. What is needed for the capitalist but truth for the exploited?"

Measures change with the times. Feudal relationships in the ruling jobs of this nation, if I am indiscreet I like to say so. But I see no inconsistency between my present conduct and the past. There never was any artificial or permanent 'loyalty' of the R. T. C. The Congress refused when it could not go further on its own. It may go now because it is against the war in Japan. And I hope that those who are well advised in the Indian message at its important times. Here there is no question of my 'leading the country by the hand'. In the first place the decision is that of the Working Committee and in the second place there is no mistake of the country. But, writing personally, I have no hesitation in saying that I should, if there could be such a choice, most decidedly sacrifice the country for Truth rather than for a dead. I further add that no individual or single has ever gained by the sacrifice of Truth, there is, therefore, no such thing as sacrifice of country for Truth.

Those who tell me in my experiments in Truth seeking are not my 'followers'; they are my valued friends, sharing with me the joy that the search for Truth brings us in our other work also.

I do not realize that I am 'claiming a whole nation for collaboration'. For collaboration is, strictly, equivalent with a mutually exclusive. A nation cannot advance, without the acts of which it is composed advancing and conversely an individual can advance, without the action of which he is a genuine advance.

This last change is completely made. My experiments began in Truth Alone, and they were made on behalf of the exploited. The latter gained. They asked again to Chatterjee, Khade and Akshaydas, if I may share the secret of the last Personal Congress, truthfully taught by Swami Vivekananda during my absence but he stood amazed with my perception, and then again in Ranchi, I may say that the parents had the benefit of the two Aghas. What may be the last experiment on a nationwide scale is still being tried. It is yet too soon to know the result. But, in this time, may we say that the phenomenal mass awakening cannot have taken place without the masses having added responsibility to their power. This would have not been made here to claim credit for myself. I am but an humble instrument in the hands of God. Credit belongs to Truth and not to me. The writer's guiding power is to fight the effects of Truth and wipe out the poison of our violence. The action of examples I have given ought to set us on our feet. If we were suffering from doubtfulness, it was the guiding Power showing and I now we have surpassed it and are ready to join the R. T. C. other conditions being fulfilled, we shall be going to it also for the same noble work. That we may feel to achieve this end in a quiet position. Here we shall be putting ourselves in the wrong if we expect the advance made by the Government. If we wish the right use of our power, if we carry out the terms of the commitment to the fullest extent possible, if we complete the two Aghas, if we intensify the Hindu work, in the end of the period of time, we shall find ourselves prepared for India, if we have not by then already gained that end. We must work away with faith in the continued leading us to our goal.

The Giant and the Dwarf

[By M. K. Gandhi]

The reader's attention is invited to Sir Vallabhbhai Bhabha's letter published elsewhere. It has under 2000 words according to order to represent my views correctly. The statement in which the letter refers more and of the formula that 'there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, those and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian home subjects'. The formula needs no more strength but it covers the most dangerous poison.

The sentence today is this. The Britisher is the master and the Indian the underdog in his own country. In the administration of the country, the Indian generally is a mere clerk. In business he is at best a subordinate agent getting hardly 5 per cent. against his British counterparts. At our own, in almost every walk of life the Englishman by reason of his belonging to the ruling class occupies a privileged position. It can be said without fear of exaggeration and without any exaggeration that he has done up the rule of Indian commerce and industry. The cottage industry of India had to perish to make the Lancashire might flourish. The Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish. In a word we were suppressed so much to enable the British to live on the heights of India. It was not a mere political suppression of Gandhi's when he said that our people was crushed. To talk thus of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European is to perpetuate Indian bondage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf? Before one can think of equality between people, the dwarf must be raised to the height of the giant. And those millions living on the plains cannot be transferred to the heights of India, it follows that those stretched on these heights must descend to the plains. The process may seem hard but it is inevitable if the welfare of the people are to be equal to the privileged few.

It is to be feared therefore that before we reach the state of equality, the leading people will have to be gone down. Justice demands this. It will be a necessary to call the process one of social decentralisation. There is no such question. There is room enough in our country for every British man, woman and child, if they will shed their privileged position and share our lot. They must then exchange the British way and the form of the place for the goodwill of a whole nation, which is at their disposal for the ruling. Our goodwill is the trust reposed that we can offer to them and I make bold to say that it will be infinitely better and more dignified for both of us. In the process there will be apparent discrimination but everywhere. It need not be felt by those who realise that the present is a wrong and unequal position. To those that no social discrimination is involved in this demand one has only to state that Indians who occupy privileged positions behind their British partners will also be expected to come to the level of their partners of the plains. The case formula therefore should be this: in order to remove the existing wrong and inequalities the principles of the ruling class and their allies who have shared them shall be reduced so as to reach a state of equality between all classes and communities.

On the Indian side it must be a game of honour with us to hold British laws and honors as sacred as our own. This does not, need not, mean the rule of British trade or politics. Those who are united only on these despised topics, instead of nobler, great industry and power of imagination to carve and for themselves careers of distinction, all the while serving the country of their adoption with the loyalty they have tendered to their own motherland.

British trade where it is not hindered by Indian interests can be placed, where we reach a state of harmonious co-operation, as a favoured bulk. And we look free from exploitation from within and without their grasp, with increasing sympathy. With growing prosperity, but more and more. With her greater work, must grow this too rapidly. If, as that close Britain as partner or ally, she may well become India's chief supplier.

This is a dream. I should love to realize. I have been partly in the wilderness for the realization of that dream. I made every Englishman help to enable India to grow that end. My vision of Peace Society is not national independence but leading and dignified independence. My waywarden days taught it is, in my opinion, is not derived to have any action as individual. Legal interests are not as hard as they are made. I believe in the eternal truth of "the stone has of what it is made."

The Vile Park Speech

[Here is a condensed translation of Gifford's speech at Vile Park. H. D.]

I am grateful to you for the poem and the address, which we rendered more welcome by the fact that the poetical letter is my friend. Mr. Nairn, that the address was read by Mr. Nairn, a well known member of the Trade, kindly with whom I am bound by considerable ties of affection, that the poem was presented to me by Mr. Nairn, a prominent lady who has not only helped the movement by most liberal contributions, but also by going to jail. I am happy to think that I am going to Delhi loaded with all this wealth of affection.

I thank you for the reference in the address to the sacred memory of the late Purdie Maitland Nairn. His death meant to me a personal loss of an inseparable companion. I was out at all accompanying when in the day of his death, in a message to a newspaper. I said that I felt more widowed than Mrs. Maitland Nairn. For her the sacred memory of her husband, coupled with a poem like, would be some compensation, but all my play and refinement cannot give me the warmth of his own counsel that I need to reach today. I would be as easily during my conversations with the Viceroy and my conference with the members of the Working Committee. His presence would have meant a happy end off my hand and your touching reference to him would have meant something of my hand and counsel.

It is needless to congratulate you on the great amount of work that has been bravely described in your statement. My joy knows no bounds when I recollect

that the work here was accompanied by some of my nearest and most faithful co-workers. But now, we are working as a step, which with my own persons and our skill to the utmost. Civil disobedience was difficult enough, but even if it is understood, it is easy. A number of women preached in successfully and the women also carried them along with grace. The spirit of resolution makes the difficult easy. But organized disobedience to observe rules and constant work are a much more difficult process. There will be thousands of injuries and great annoyance, but even on these occasions, the working of disobedience may be done. For that disobedience will be a preparation for a future struggle, if it becomes necessary.

I am being blamed for having overestimated the work. We might have been much more, it is said, if we had kept on fighting. This is correct and true. Great things could be done in a lot of instances, but the constructive work is that of an all-inclusive project, constructive. That will be a preparation of India. Gaining a subcontinent like India is no easy task. It will need, not only patient and, but coordinated administration.

Complains your method the difficulty methods of local Government in implementing the settlement.

Some delay is inevitable. I would plead for patience. If we had that delay is a different consequence. Instead of the present, we have not much, as the Government have done, if we look at it. The last phase in the settlement implies its direct execution. But we cannot at any and every moment go back and forth. We cannot make any further delay as cheap. It is, therefore, our chief duty to urge my countrymen to be patient. One has to consider the difficulty of a popular machinery. The Government is not possible for them to reach that level. It is much more quickly as it is for us. It is because the system is so slow and so imperfect that we had to make our own. It takes some time for the order to reach Delhi from Delhi, there is time to be used in the district office who is very poor. It is in the subordinates. The various process is highly complex, when some hard effort takes it into the hand not to respect the order. We have to take all these factors into consideration, and then if we had that the hands in the Government is interested in settlement, we would be there. But the present carefully executes a great deal of preparation and progress.

You have told me about the Bazar shop getting done in your village. When you have got me, I will mention to the fact the work is half done. But, though this statement and report show progress, are things for which we are particularly proud. And what you perform your best of the work of them, who go to the Government, will be of a great. Anxious and important step go on them, but it will be meaningless without constructive effort here to look at.

Let there be, therefore, no slackening of effort, no feigning weakness in our ranks. Perhaps this is part of a suspension, before meeting the burning of all our resources and resources of the present type, money is short at hand, if only we start all our power in the direct to go in. May God give you the strength and will for the task.

When the day was passing as we sat in before day before.

Misconceptions Explained for Editors

It will be remembered that Gandhi made an important announcement soon after he arrived in Delhi which gave many of his own followers much food for thought, and which gave some of the major Delhi English editors a rude shock. It was his reference to the movement as political through such steps, the sentence much quoted and misunderstood being 'I expected for the movement (in 1930-31) by suspending the Government. That sort of explanation is today out of the question, but I repeat my say: what were those editors not going to their next step'.

The intended sentence was torn out of its context and quoted as the view by Gandhi. The statement has already been explained, and so do the English correspondents of newspapers in England. In the *Observer* for instance I read a summary of the speech which said that Gandhi is expected to have said that he could not think of any explanation for the sentence mentioned—almost a charge that Gandhi's statement had become identical with the phrase of years and that he would answer it at all sorts of occasions. The explanation must have it that in the stage of understanding the movement—that sort of explanation—in 1930. Personal moral responses was not referred to at all, and my own confining to Gandhi's refusal to explain the matter by refusing to say on himself does not leave this. What he meant was that he explained to an interview given to an English correspondent "I having declared on the subject of the 'movement' that I was responsible for its initiation and for the further conduct of for its progress, it would be improper on my part to withdraw through the method of stating it in the Working Committee which is responsible, which can initiate and which can shape the course." "Let this rest" is what "he refused to mean that I desire moral responsibility for violence done by a single Congress. This and it is a failure done by Congressmen. Violence was a shock on my system that I cannot bear. I cannot see what I should then do. For in all that things, I am not guided by reason but by intuition, so all words by the same eyes and one never knows where that voice may lead one to." In that last word was contained a grave warning for his followers, which seems to have been entirely missed by the English editors.

Long live Tannoy Address!

Further evidence in the same speech has been given to various interpretations by an English editor's paper. "If we take in those speeches, we shall be opening the door for self-destruction when we have found for them will then be the first power with determination to eliminate and restore peace." "This last aspect of the problem," says the paper, "is given that Secretary have personally shown attention to it in the General and Special Harbours-Master conferences that under the political situation in India are hardly difficult to deal with. Today is the deplorable state who not that stands for Tannoy Address. While his army and no Gandhi says 'Nationalism was still a dream'."

This is an amazing case of the whole being taken on the thought. Tannoy Address has attracted to him

and the position of the British doctor, but he found that his position was never there. Thus that of the nationalist thinking why made people because the prevailing one. If the price of peace is progress it seems to Tannoy. Tannoy Gandhi's performance is well known. As he said long ago, 'I would prefer chaos to perpetual slavery'. The sentence in question goes on to refer to Tannoy Address with his confidence existing everywhere the peace of the game, but as a warning that without non-violence Society may have a breakdown and even a bloody battle. The efforts is to non-violence and to peace, not to the non-violence Tannoy Address. Let him understand his misanthropic and all of course, and then all longer to him if he has "confidence that in the near future state of India we as a community will have nothing to fear."

M. D.

'Equality of Rights'

15th March, 1931.

My dear Mahatmaji,

With reference to the movement, which the representatives of several institutions had with you on Tuesday afternoon, I find that interesting reports of what took place at the end of the movement have appeared in the press as well as observed from the cottage enclosed herewith. Having regard to the grave importance of the subject I find it of public interest that the same reports should be placed before the public. What my friends and I mentioned just to say could be mentioned as follows:

"I am not in a position to say at this stage whether the Congress representatives will attend the Round Table Conference or not but you can rest assured that the Congress is with you in full protest against this demand for so-called equality of rights made at the Round Table Conference."

"Whatever other measures might have been done or not done, India should take such steps to protect and develop her industries as it might see best for her own interests."

"That the right of the Native Indian Parliament to discriminate between 'National' and non-National, whatever Indian subjects impose it, shall remain intact and unimpaired."

"The claim of Christians to be treated as a minority community seeking protection is untenable."

"No one has any right to pick up a paragraph from Mahatma's report and drag it to suit him when other parts of the report are discarded."

"I would advise you to carry on propaganda in connection with this important matter."

"As regards the report of the statement and to have been made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru about the paragraph appearing in Mahatma's report of the definition of 'Chama' ship, it should be read together with the explanation given by Pandit Madhai Mohan to the effect of the Assembly and the decision taken by the All-India Congress of Calcutta on the subject of the definition of a 'Chama'."

Thus to my mind is the gist of your advice to me. If you think that we have understood you correctly in what above, I shall feel obliged if you will be good enough to give me permission to publish the letter.

Yours sincerely,

Walsford Hirschman

A Word to the Communists

[Addressing a labour meeting in Bombay which was disrupted by some young Communists. Gandhi made a Hindi speech of which the following is a condensed translation. M. D.]

I know that there were Communists in India, but I had not met them outside the Marathi Jati, and even heard their speeches. I made a point of interviewing the Marathi politicians two years ago during my tour in the U. P., and then managed to leave them convinced I have heard one of them that evening, and I can tell those that reach me they want to see Gandhi for the workmen. I have my doubts about their ability to do so. I had made the workmen's cause my own long before any of the young Communists had come here. I spent the best part of my time in South India working for them, I used to live with them, and shared their joys and sorrows. You must therefore understand why I don't want to speak for labour. I expect at least courtesy from you if nothing else. I invite you to come up and discuss things with me as frankly as you can.

You claim to be Communists, but you do not seem to live the life of Communists. I may tell you that I am trying my best to live up to the ideal of Communism in the best sense of the word. And Communism does not, I think, exclude courtesy. I am amongst you today, within a few minutes I will leave you. But if you want to carry the country with you, you must be able to meet me at by swimming with it. You cannot do so by coercion. You may find destruction to bring the country round to your view. But how many will you destroy? That tens of millions. You may kill a few thousands if you feel willing with you. But today you are to meet them a handful. I ask you to convert the Congress if you can and to take charge of it. But you cannot do so by holding grudges to the elementary rules of courtesy. And there is no reason why you should be lacking in voluntary courtesy, when it is open to you to give the fullest vent to your views, when India is almost enough to listen patiently to any one who can talk reasonably.

The work has done so far in the labourers, I think, that none of my colleagues has ever heard the upshots, can ever hear them. If the Congress made its representatives to the Conference, they will prove far too strong other than the Congress for workers and peasants. Long before the Congress party came into existence the Congress had decided that that Congress would have no meaning which was not the Congress for workers and peasants. Perhaps, some of you workers here get less than a monthly wage of Rs. 25, but I am working for making Congress not only for you but for those toiling and unemployed millions who do not get even a square meal a day and have to scratch along with a piece of stale rot and a pinch of salt. But I do not want to distress you, I want to see you that I do not lose any of the capitalists, I can think of getting them to leave. But I want, by means of getting, to restore them to their sense of duty, I want to make them happy and get them to render justice to their less fortunate brothers. They are

human beings, and my appeal to them will not go in vain. The history of Japan presents many an instance of self-sacrificing capitalists. During the last Satyagraha quite a number of capitalists went in for considerable sacrifices, even to sell and suffered. Do you want to surpass them? Don't you want them to work with you for the common end?

You have asked me about the Marathi prisoners. I want you to know that I would release every convict from our prisons, if I had the power. But I could not in justice make their release a condition precedent for the settlement. I may tell you that I am storing my utmost to get them released, and if only you will deign to cooperate with me by, covering a calm atmosphere we may be able to get all of them released, including even the Gandhians. You are talking of independence. Do not I want it as much as you? [Cries of "independence of independence."] Yes, I want independence and not shadow. For the present, I want you to cultivate a little patience and see what the Congress party forward to its common when the time comes. I assure you we will repeat the Labour Resolutions at Bombay and if we choose to go to the Round Table Conference we will enter into work with what we want to work nothing at all.

"What about the eleven points?" You have asked me. They contain the substance of independence in my view. Peasants and workmen are well protected under them. But I could not repeat the points at the time of the settlement, for the simple reason that they were understood as an alternative to the breaking of civil disobedience. We have now been through civil disobedience and if we are asked we have no way to the Round Table Conference to prove our peaceful demand. If we demand these all the eleven points are accepted. You may be sure that an offering which does not satisfy the eleven points can be acceptable to me.

God has given you intellect and talent. Turn them to proper account. I beseech you not to try an embargo on your reason. God bless you.

Notice

Subscriptions and other communications should be sent by Money Order to the Manager at our new address—Dashin Road, near Sakinaka, Ahmedabad. Old subscribers will kindly quote their register number while sending.

Manager, Young India

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Under the Canopy of Heaven

The first speech in the Congress session, in the last/previous address if I may so call it, was delivered by Gandhiji, on the 26th, when a vast audience gathered to hear Gandhiji. The canopy of heaven, and I think the Congress is waiting for the first time in its history, has not only opened above and below to the address, but also a vast multitude, to which the great silence around him also contributed. There is here no longer "We are accustomed to think of heaven as the Kingdom of God. We imagine that His throne is the marriage and sacrament. From above and on this earthly communion with Him. We have now had a vision between God and us. I am thankful that the first great Congress has met at a time and place by allowing Gandhiji to come in under a tent canopy and let us experience our communion with this communion as the visible seat. We have chosen for our month towards God in the end of each of India and Gandhiji, and we must be God's creation that those who read on the sky and ground, it is still more come to find peace in with both and hope."

The Revolution and Young Men

Speaking about the revolution he said "By the statement the Government have given the nation gives cause for satisfaction. It has showed us the way out to our aspirations and talks had with me and I am a direct hope that Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev must be free. I am so sure of this young man as, we are to see by not having been able to free them. But I have the faith to be happy with them. For one thing there is and the first mission of it laid in my life. It is the story of him who always to serve humanity and to be a joy with them when he is around. As for myself one release being my quest, I cannot afford to be away so long. But even if it is not too much, it is the duty of a genuine servant not to be happy with his masters. Anger must be his friend with him. But if he cannot help being happy, he must observe his function as servant of humanity. That one do not want to do so and the other I said they had a right to be happy, not I. But I would tell them I had been among the persons and masters they helped the young men were free, I have it all my right then, even my for with them if I want I will be the friend of service. I have dedicated my hand to humanity. It is the nearest thing to the world of my hand. I have said that when the highest preparation or preparation. And perhaps practice I have never sought. It is that it is to be in

think of something for I know that God himself is the only Master. Having said this, he may declare that the danger of the young men, provided he has made the young men, himself to their own, no answering about them. They might have told him on the ground, they found my historical and secured me in my ear. I must realize that when I saw them, I had the my experience in South Africa where I was married and married, were going to be repeated.

"We must not be come for explanation. The young men were simply doing his. 'Gandhi go back,' 'Don't with Gandhiji.' They had a right to do so, because as they thought that I had not done everything in my power to save Bhagat Singh, so that being a failure in a sense, I had simply implied Bhagat Singh and his comrades. But they had no intention to make me go for the matter of that way and then. They showed every one to go, and then a young man looked to me. I was with it black cloth. They might have thought that on my side looked me, but they had no such intention. However, my green one everywhere. I am usually indifferent about them, even when they are around. When they were and some times even with them for waiting the flowers on me. But then I asked and have intended them. I shall also tell you what I want to do with them. If the young men come and will see that they should not have been happy and that then on pleasure about me were promises and that therefore they must be free. If they do not, I shall gladly give them back. But if they do not, they will be sent to the prison to be prepared as best they can.

"These young men wanted to freedom in the world that however great the difficulty may be, they were sure that he was doing them to help. I think they had a right to expect me. If they felt that I was betraying the country, I want you to understand my attitude. I cannot believe otherwise with these young men (especially) I want to say them, over by love. Having they with the world, there is nothing except the way of love which I am able to show who appear me. It is by offering that way that I expect to show them about to me. I cannot think of permanent misery because man will men, and believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I have the hope that if not in this birth, in some other birth I shall be able to keep all humanity in friendly relations.

"I have tried to keep in this little speech, in order that you may see that all of the young men do not seek to power me. The first high of things there is possible in all. You may be sure that when

8. Another set of important questions to be carefully examined as stated in the paragraph just put to English Finance Committee when their business was brought out. The Indian exports to India are the purchase price has to some extent been excessive, and imported goods have been enabled to secure the necessary profit because of their proximity to the Secretary of State and his Council who have visited the country. Conspicuousness in connection with this between the Secretary of State and the Government of India would be very unfortunate, as I have reason to believe that in some cases at all events even the Government of India preferred.

9. Another relevant consideration is the expense of several wars of conquest, such as war against Tipu, against Candia, against India, against Bhanda, and the two last English wars. The position really is that the Indian population paid the cost on the one side, was, on the other of their sides. The Indian population is also asked to pay the cost on the other side by taking the debt now, whereas wars were waged for the purpose of English conquest. England profited and the profit has been acknowledged in more ways than one. It would be based on the dependence which were not have India at that time, showing the burden in England out of three wars and in English hands. English profited and the cost of English conquest, it is not right that the children of the Indian people should be asked to pay twice over and the burden should be shifted on to the English population.

10. There is also the factor that trade which was paid on Indian handicrafts, was really high, but being under-valued, overvalued was given, and handicrafts was given when it was not necessary to do so. From financial papers by India of the last only year, it would not be difficult to find that at the same time when India paid heavy taxes, India were called at almost twice from over a year of the world. This may well seem to be the actual situation of things, but it would be a ground for arguing an amendment.

In the same time would come expenses of military wars and expenditures in the frontier territory. It has been the policy of the British Government not to allow the frontier people to settle down, but to drive them, but to keep them in a perpetual feud for keeping the Indian army efficient and ultimately not to subjugate them, but to hold them by mutual enmity to their leaders. This policy was kept up in later years when to English India, and to moderate the political demand.

On the revenue side the heavy outflow by India finance from English policy has been in the following direction:

Inwards the sending of army officers and of men, and the rules of metropolitan government, by which England put its standing army, at the expense of India, India's India in their very numerous charges have been based on India under the least friendly to the matter of military expenditure. Additional attempts have been made to secure orders for British hardware, and railway loans in London even on the basis that the money would be spent in the United Kingdom. This was so even when South Africa, Italy, Egypt and other countries paid off their expenditure from the Continent, sometimes 20, 25 and 35 per cent. lower. In the matter of all other things, the purchase from the United Kingdom, when there was a cheaper market

elsewhere, has belonged to a considerable extent turning into every million pounds. The proposed consideration of India in the Empire here, the subsidy in the British Airways Ltd. the contract for the carriage of Indian mails with the P. & O. S. N. Co. to have gone and at double the heavy price averaging over twenty years, when it was anticipated that prices would fall were all policies showing a burden on India, which was not justified. None of these burdens were unduly onerous burdens, but they were placed in years when there was a serious deficit that was not then showing as permanent debt. The floating debt was then supposed to be a permanent debt.

The other aspect is material with regard to the loans in India. The loans, which India gave to England, are less than those advanced to many other states by the following statistics:

1. The absolute figure is less than what other countries owe to England.

2. The relative indebtedness of India is less than that which is owed to England by other states. Thus, in the case of India, the total debt is not very much more than the total amount of revenue raised in the country at the same time and in the province in one year. By all standards of indebtedness, foreign debt of this magnitude cannot be considered heavy and certainly not one, for the reason as for interest payment of which conventional systems as could be asked for.

3. Similarly as the matter of Services, the position would be that even if no men were admitted from the United Kingdom under the provisions of the Secretary of State, the old people would continue for twenty five years more. The conventional liability under this is capable of being calculated accurately. If a guarantee is wanted, it would be better to secure the guarantee for this of the five years of India, which will secure two millions more a conventional guarantee by paying three charges on Indian total revenue. The total would not be beyond the resources of the Empire's Bank of India, particularly in those resources, will include the total railway revenue of the country and the total banking revenue of the country.

The real purpose of the demand for these guarantees appears to be not to safeguard India or India's interest and credit, but to destroy it in the eyes of the world, as everybody would be asked to draw back India except England and will seek to be placed on a par with India's other enemies, i.e., the United Kingdom. The other main purpose in the mind of the Britishers appears to be that if guarantees are given on this ground, then the Viceroy, as when he takes the power is given to see that these guarantees are properly discharged, would have to be an English Viceroy. India may have an English Viceroy for many years, but by then too on India by these indirect means does not seem to be right. It seems to be the result of the English method of satisfying the demand for separation and destroying all chances of separation, because the nearest separation is tried for, these guarantees are spent and that gives a ready and proper 'peace ball' to the eyes of the world, by which national law making have a conventional manner of this that would justify a war by England on India with the world against definitely in favour of England. This convention to have India in a weak position to be subordinated, even when in, Garfield, wanted.

Young India

After the Congress

(By M. K. Gurus)

The Congress is finished. It was an almost barren lifeless organism. Without the willing co-operation of nearly three thousand volunteers, men, women and children, and the public, a very unimpressive twenty thousand persons with all the conveniences could not have been brought into being in twenty-five days. A band of marchers occupied the Indian work, carrying supplies, money and good services. The women volunteers did with the men in hard work after receiving prolonged rest. But the real credit belongs to the Lord Mayor of London, the great Puritain businessmen and philanthropists, Jewish Poles. These are successful Congress workers who agree to make the organisation as perfect. There I met an American. The ideal aristocratic leaders of the Congress was in most people which had a strange lot that of the Indian city. It became clear possible to even Indian life in collecting and in people simple circumstances. It moved numerous reports. Instead of building the day and gathering they were divided by Congress as at the time of the Ahmedabad Congress. Another feature was the great ideal volunteers which had all the persons who in actively engaged. Although it was not just of a big show, it attracted and drew and was thoroughly successful from the financial standpoint.

Another Valmiki-Patel's efforts was perhaps the best of all presidential addresses. He was able to think the proceedings in two days and a had report. A day would mean much more of respect and more of the biggest our nation of the uneducated volunteers.

The Congress has achieved the provincial settlement and moved in the clearest possible way as far as to its delegation.

Much has yet to happen before the delegation can take part in any conference that may be held. The day of Congressmen is now clear. They must fully fully achieve the best of the provincial settlement. They must clear the atmosphere of every trace of violence and disorder from common and party themselves. The nation must achieve the best of through state and not feel the great of the mind spreads through every village of India. Before this can be accomplished, we must develop much greater love of the building relations than we have. The standard and the day after must be achieved, not forced to give up day. These things require greater endurance, power to separate among ourselves and a living faith in non-violence in thought, word and deed. Whether it is taken up as a policy or a creed, must and truly must set together while the policy or the creed is in operation.

While the time lasts we must not forget British goods as well. Last but not least, we must achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. How this is to be done I know. The Hindus have to show to the world and let the Moslems and the Sikhs take what they want. They rule the centre of all communal trust. But of this heartless.

Let us Repent

(By M. K. Gurus)

"But the hatred which was planted and which has been shown in words and actions has been so extensive that it must not go to think whether release of such mighty forces of hatred will reveal the country as a whole. From moment till late night we have through talks, songs, through slogans and life youth mighty masses of hatred that it was necessary to find such a distribution as large mass of people. I saw the word 'degradation' with full responsibility. It appeared that speaking has been a matter of full respect and liberty. To attack Government officers, police officers, men who disagreed, for something which was entirely wrong, for something which was supposed, was a daily common error seen on the roads and everywhere. More than words can express the numbers and the capacity suffered on the bodies of British goods especially, and some other foreign goods were sold, undesirable, and undesirable. To express a man not in that in one article and to require another not to purchase an article is one thing, but to force a man by all possible means, by showing him, by threatening him, by making him his miserable in every way in another thing, and then, I must admit, non-violence has miserable (what I am certain in my mind that the hatred caused and the attitudes inflicted were far beyond anything and against all principles and teachings of Hinduism. It was a common practice to obstruct and collect with all kinds of means to make persons' lives miserable whenever one disagreed with the general movement. In every province there were different types of activities that it appears that a lot was had to accept such decisions of somebody or one had to go through whatever was suffered upon him for say mouth or large kind of clothes, ladies or full dress up men. According to time, in India in our way was to force, pro-Government or a Hinduism in the west, and in India men can be clearly heard voices of three houses of hatred in several houses.

"But the danger is still greater. The taste of the blood-thirsting force has been an infection that can take today this hatred to hundreds on the lips of every man. An man is just like any other, he is a school, he is a house, he is a group, he is a unit of friends, he is a house, he is a man, you find everywhere that of Satyagraha printed and in the face of every man. Between employers and employees, landlord and tenant, parent and children, teachers and pupils, husband and friends, every-day the great hatred of Satyagraha seems to be ready for use. To have love and rules of society or of the state seems to be so easy and lovely. If a college professor suggests discipline, if a Municipal officer recommends to the law, if children are requested not to make noise, if lawyers are told to remove objections on roads, if changes in members are being suggested, if anything is done which does not suit anybody else, there is the danger of Satyagraha planted at once. Discrimination seems to me not how to use think to have been entirely lost in the whole nation, and this is a danger which has my sense of country. It is exactly like an epidemic, which is being used

property in the hands of a country is transferable, and it is only used for domestic trade. It is exactly like currency, which goes high and low like gold for having a base. One can always see the danger signal in the Sanyasari weapon also. Sanyasari can be used to advantage but it can also be misused to cause destruction. I feel that unless those who possess Sanyasari on the high ground in the wide world, did feel their responsibility in this matter, they would soon feel the nation torn and only spend themselves but on the whole country. If I can humbly suggest, I feel that some of the really trained leaders, from these lands, should save the nation also but give some part of their time to such provinces and each city and village to make people understand what was Sanyasari, or how to moderate means, how it can be brought into existence and what it ought to be brought into existence. I would humbly suggest a regular school of students in every province, where high-minded men who thoroughly understood this subject, accordingly and religiously ought to be teachers to the students of politics who in whom should be kept as all-time workers to be round the country, give this message and work what it is a reality. This can be the only safeguard for saving this country in my opinion."

Jurashed Mahla, the Local Mayor of Kanail, is a person of the present type. But he has identification with the Congress to the extent he was capable of and had for his having placed at the disposal of the Sanyasari Committee of the movement of his Municipality, the wonderful Congress who would not have been brought into being in the carefully short space of nearly two days. His sympathy for the Sanyasari when the Congress was going on is well known. Any criticism from me this time must therefore avoid attention. The quotation given above is an extract from Dr. Jurashed Mahla's article in a Kanail Anglo-Gujarati weekly called *Prem Suman* and *Lehman*. The editor of I have copied believe a glowing tribute paid by him to the Sanyasari who have sufferings without resistance. But we have no reason to be pulled up with pride over contribution of money. In as far as we observed our mission we only did our duty.

It is thus the working of this true love of humanity and his country that we must continue and apply to. What he has said of Kanail is likely to be true more or less of other places.

Non-violence is a potent force even before with the small Manuvalent of the man body without the 1000 million of the mind is non-violence of the weak or the cowardly and his tendency to power. It is, as Jurashed Mahla is depicted performance. If we have malice and hatred in our hearts and pretend not to resist, it must result soon or we lead to our destruction. For violence from non-violence non-violence not to be injustice it is a least necessary not in violence based if we cannot generate action here. All the songs and speeches beginning before must be taken.

It is equally true to say the individualism a necessity to an early must lead to individualism, individualism and non-violence self-discipline.

If Jurashed's view is not that more than belated by his representation, that is to say, if the way used of non-violence had not non-violence the mind, India would not have gone forward as a free state.

But better come from the Kanail Local Manuvalent representation is the underlying fact that the villagers have non-violence showed non-violence to a matter more before thought of it a debt non-violence that has resulted in the growth of national consciousness.

The importance of non-violence is not to be measured by its static effect. But we do not rest content so long as the process of hatred is allowed to continue unceasing. This struggle is a stepwise effort at non-violence. We also do nothing less than the conversion of the English. It can never be done by harkening off will and still pretending to believe non-violence. Let those therefore who want to follow the path of non-violence and not believe that it remains that stage and extent of the wrong they have done to themselves and the country.

Weekly Letter Bhangarung and After

If only the people, know who Gandhi has done to save Bhangarung and his country Bhangarung and Bhangarung, they would be sorry to have demonstrations of protest and even offer to make accounts. During recent years the British Government has not been so free to have distinguished itself by any striking act of magnanimity, but Gandhi had expected that Lord Irwin, in spite of the system to which he belongs, would rise to the occasion and give India a striking proof of Government's desire to establish permanent peace. The letter written during the small hours of the morning of the 13th was written with a pen dipped in the ink of love and impregnated in the charity of a great Christian. It was so true. The truth is that what the representation of the nation against Bhangarung would not have done, the nation has done. This emotion has converted Bhangarung and his government as enemies, and they are better known through the harsh and brutal of India than they would otherwise have been known. As we approached Kanail, the station platform was so full of the cry of 'Bhangarung Bhangarung' (Long Live Bhangarung) and where one did not hear these two numerous people were not asked what had happened to Bhangarung. The station host for a while refused to believe that those who shouted 'Bhangarung Bhangarung' or who wept about the death of the great of Bhangarung. It is because, as Gandhi once vividly put it, "in the country of self-sacrifice and fidelity, almost bordering on cowardice, we cannot have too much bravery, too much self-sacrifice," and therefore naturally "a girl's hand broke before Bhangarung's heavy and cruel" But in the country that where Bhangarung also lay Gandhi's words to heart. "I was the greatest blessing, if I might say so without offending my young friends, the greatest blessing of the world, the peace, and the non-violence, the blessing that will enough the selfish without helping or hindering my thought of injury to a single soul."

The Test of Faith

The cry of 'Gandhi go back', 'Down with Gandhism', 'Gandhi's cross has and Bhangarung to the police', with which we were greeted by the 'Hindus' at Mahr Station, a day since from Kanail, presented, if I may say so without being excessive, a striking contrast to the cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi is ji' which had declared Gandhi's 'I' from being inspired by him. He was pleased and proud a grateful, if unnecessary, compliment to the young men for keeping strictly within the limits of dignified behaviour. He referred at length to the incident in

Sole Delegate



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Other Political Prisoners

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There has been much hawking over the fact that the release of all political prisoners whether convicted of violence or otherwise should not have been made a condition of the conference. This was clearly impossible in the sense that the demand would not have been put to vote. It could not be made as a condition for attending with dishonour. It could be made as a condition in a final settlement. Some people have indignantly replied that I would not demand the release of prisoners convicted of violence because of my own violence. The fact is that my indignation to be kept anything would have made the demand obligatory on me, but I have no objection just to my indignation. But what was not possible for me to do in connection with the matter, I had no hesitation in recommending the Congress to do. The Congress resolution in this matter is quite well worded, I think. I give a summary and include all possible prisoners or prisoners to be released. It includes those who have not yet been convicted from non-violence, and it includes the English Martial Law prisoners who have been convicted in the last twelve years and are all still alive by this time. It includes also persons of colour of Bengal and Punjab against whom no charges have been proved. They were already sentenced and are in custody. It includes also the various national prisoners whose long terms are not yet in perfect remission. Mr. Mathura has been suggested to make an inventory list of all these prisoners. It will be possible to make some step under the resolution as soon as the fact is made. I hope, therefore, that all concerned will help Mr. Mathura as far as possible him to prepare the list at the earliest possible date.

Of course the Government need not even read the list. I submit that, even, they need print all the prisoners will not stand on the same footing. Let them begin by releasing without being asked those of least violence first. I shall hope to step through their paper, in consequence. A strong Government must also release a prisoner before the expiry of their sentence, but it is not possible for them to release those already convicted. And political men become, even when there is no political objection.

Notes

Gandhi Shrikanth Vajrapati

The death of Gandhi Shrikanth Vajrapati was one to be noted by us all. The first is the sorrow that will eternally bind the two communities. No part will feel our loss. But here, we feel it. Gandhi Shrikanth Vajrapati showed us how to do the work to make the highest truth, with clean hands. The nation has however come to deep that the blood even of a man is not, in itself, and we are sorry to hear of Gandhi Shrikanth Vajrapati's early death but we must go on with it. Let this noble example stimulate us all to further effort should the occasion ever arise. I write in the Indian review and we cannot see our conditions but my sympathies for the living Shrikanth Gandhi Shrikanth Vajrapati. He is not dead. He lives today far more truly than when we saw him in the body and have him not.

Hindi or Hindustani

It is becoming increasingly difficult year after year to conduct the Congress year days in the A. I. C. C. proceedings in English. The majority in the A. I. C. C. do not follow English so well as they do Hindustani. And of those that do, the vast majority do not. As the year comes round Vajrapati and difficulty in choosing a language for English speakers. For the first year the people from the South have proposed to have Hindi enough to be able to talk and follow the proceedings in Hindustani. If they will give their hearts and say for three months more of them will have no difficulty in giving a possible knowledge of the language. I hope the friends from the South and Bengal will make the necessary effort and show the nation's love. At any rate I propose to keep the members in their position and not lead the demand for English if it is made in spite of the promise not to make it.

M. K. G.

India-British Account Settlement

To facilitate the work of the Select Committee suggested by the Congress to facilitate British financial aid to India, persons who are in possession of material which will be of interest to this committee, and those who are willing to place their names before the Committee are requested to send in their statements to the Indian and British account. They may be made appreciated by the Committee.

Gandhi Shrikanth

J. C. Kumbhappa

Resolutions of the Congress

Comprehensiveness

This Congress comprehends all those who and whose great influence during the last civil disobedience campaign showed through conspicuousness, devotion, loyalty or better sharing, sacrifice from their homes and loss of property by expropriation, mistreatment or otherwise, as a result of repression. The Congress may, especially comprehend the women of India who are in their thousands and covered the nation in its struggle for freedom, and especially stress them that as contribution will be acceptable to the Congress that discrimination against the sex is the matter of banishment.

Provisional Settlement

This Congress having considered the personal settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, declares it had desired to make it clear that the Congress goal of Poona Form (complete independence) remains intact.

In the event of a way remaining otherwise open to Congress to be represented in any conference with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegation will make this still goal and in particular as an to give the nation Central arm the Army, External Affairs, Finance, Food and economic policy and to have authority by an organized network of the National representatives of the British Government in India, and to ensure and secure the objectives as be established by India or England and the right to enter party to and participate in will provided, however, that the Congress delegates will be free to accept such arrangements as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.

The Congress supports and endorses Mahatma Gandhi to represent it at the Conference with the officials of such other delegates as the Working Committee may appoint in any matter for leadership.

Political Program

The Congress is emphatically of opinion, that it the object of the settlement between the Government and the Congress is the promotion of good will between Great Britain and India, and if the settlement is an success of Great Britain's determination to part with power, the Government should remove all political problems, demands and undertakings not required by the settlement and remove all political difficulties imposed by the Government on Indians, whether in India or abroad, as a result of their political opinions or acts.

The Congress reminds the Government that if they will respond to this challenge, they will provide what after the strong public sentiment that has been raised by the recent treatment.

Freedom of India

This Congress calls, with its election the rights progress of the nation towards total independence during the past twelve months and calls upon all Congress organizations to continue the peaceful and orderly campaign with success all regions, and hopes that the women of the country will realize their efforts in working the Government and their efforts to help that since both India's not need and develop happy times.

Removal of Foreign Cloth

Expresses great joy that the past few years through work of hundreds of villages has made it abundantly clear, that the depressing poverty of the masses is due among other things to forced monopoly

must be that of a comprehensive national spirit. Indian home industries and the country masses may as that want as a national spirit. It has been further observed that the people's spirit, although still weak and comparatively feeble, has been steadily growing and that there is a growing feeling that Indian cloth must be made in India, and that the Indian cloth must be made in India. It is this is a growth of the of love of India and years of it. This Indian cloth can be created only by the millions of Indian cloth and foreign goods and industries that are the basis of the Indian cloth. The Indian cloth can be created only by the millions of Indian cloth and foreign goods and industries that are the basis of the Indian cloth. The Indian cloth can be created only by the millions of Indian cloth and foreign goods and industries that are the basis of the Indian cloth.

This Congress further calls upon all Congress organizations and other bodies to, namely the foreign cloth industry by increasing their production.

The Congress appeals to the States to associate themselves with this movement and prevent the entry of foreign cloth and foreign goods into their territories.

This Congress also appeals to the owners of indigenous mills to assist the great cooperative and economic movement by

1. Giving their moral support to the supplementary village industry of hand spinning by themselves using handspins.

2. Consent to manufacture cloth that may in any way compete with Khadi and to that end a agreement with the effect of the All India Spinners' Association.

3. Keeping down the prices of their manufactures to the lowest possible limit.

4. Refraining from using foreign yarn, with as artificial silk in their manufactures.

5. Encouraging the weaving work of the foreign peasant and workers the Swadeshi cloth and that help them to support their business and livelihood and increasing the living; and

6. Keeping the wages of the mill workers and workers that they may be as close as to their own as well as necessary in all industry.

The Congress appeals to the great foreign bodies that they will help international brotherhood and progressive commercial areas if they will take the first step by recognizing the need and necessity of the a request by India of foreign cloth, during themselves a Indian cloth that has already met the response and having of India's nation and doing that which is necessary to support more to improve with the work of the nation other than their own.

Indian Overseas

The Congress calls upon all those who are in South Africa and East Africa residing in the position of Indian origin in those countries. The Congress appeals upon all those who are in those countries to join the Congress and to work for the Congress in the same way as the Congress in India. The Congress appeals to the Government to remove all the Indian workers the same manner of justice that they would show for their subjects in a free India. The Congress calls upon the British in South Africa and East Africa to remove all the Indian workers the same manner of justice that they would show for their subjects in a free India. The Congress calls upon the British in South Africa and East Africa to remove all the Indian workers the same manner of justice that they would show for their subjects in a free India.

Frontier Provinces

Expresses its sympathy and support to the Frontier provinces that the Congress has, especially with

by them, a strong demand that the Congress should not discuss local government. Mr. Chelmsford has by this in effect put before the Congress a constitutional issue, the N. W. F. Province Bill from the same point of government as the other provinces in India.

Burma

The Congress supports the right of the people of Burma to their separation from India and to establish an independent Burmese State so to remain an autonomous nation, a free State with a right of separation at any time they may desire to exercise it. The Congress however endorses the endorsement of the British Government to their separation of Burma without giving adequate opportunity to the Burmese people to express their views and accept the desired status of their national political aspirations. This endorsement seems to be deliberately engineered to perpetuate British domination there so as to unite Burma together with Singapore by means of the presence of oil and their strategic position, strategic of imperialism in Eastern Asia. The Congress is strongly opposed to any policy which would result in Burma being kept as a British dependency and her resources exploited for British imperialist projects and would also be a means to a free State as well as to the other nations of the East. The Congress hopes that the constitutional powers given to the Government of Burma by withdrawal and the independence by the Government, that representation and to protect representation of Burmese national spirit are illegal in also to achieve, so that some conditions may be created and the future of Burma may be determined by her people without hindrance to a peaceful, open sphere, and the will of the Burmese people may prevail.

Picketing

The Congress takes with satisfaction the great success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and the sales of substituting cloths and dhoti, and rally upon the Congress Committee to see to it that there is no in the matter of peaceful picketing provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with the terms of the resolution in this behalf between the Government and the Congress.

'Forward' Policy Disproven

The Congress declares, that the people of India have no quarrel with the white race and people. Indian are in India and desire to establish and maintain friendly relations with them. The Congress disapproves of the so-called 'forward' policy of the British Government in India in the North West Frontier and of all unprovoked attempts to destroy the freedom of the people of the Indian. The Congress is strongly of opinion, that the military and forward movement of India should not be employed in the destruction of the policy, and the military occupation of the subcontinent territory should be terminated.

Communal Riots

The Congress repudiates the communal riots of Bombay, Madras, Agre, Cochin and other places as highly repugnant to the movement for India's freedom, and severely condemns those who are responsible for creating or provoking such riots or disseminating false rumours, which prevent such riots and considers their punishment as being deserving of the severest measures. The Congress also deeply deplores the frequency of crimes, especially of women and children,

and strongly and vigorously condemns those systems of the society and with the freedom of the land.

Fundamental Rights

The Congress is of opinion, that to enable the masses to appreciate what 'Swamy' as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the working masses. The Congress, therefore, declares, that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide or enable the British Government to provide for the following:

1. Fundamental rights of the people, including
 - a. freedom of association and combination
 - b. freedom of speech and of the press
 - c. freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality
 - d. protection of the culture, language, and script of the minorities

2. social rights and obligations of all citizens, subject to law as essential of law.

3. no disability to which he may be subject by reason of his or her religion, caste or creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

4. equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, water, schools and other places of public resort;

5. no trade to have and have none in accordance with regulations and reserves law made in that behalf.

6. no person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be seized, expropriated or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

7. Religious minorities on the part of the State.

8. Adult suffrage.

9. Free primary education.

10. A living wage for industrial workers, based upon the basis of healthy condition of work, minimum wages against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

11. Labour to be freed from bondage or conditions involving no bondage.

12. Protection of human workers, and especially adequate provision for leave during sickness periods.

13. Protection against employment of children of school entry age in factories.

14. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.

15. Subsidised reduction in agricultural rent or revenues paid by the peasants, and a case of maximum holding exemption from rent for each period so may be necessary relief be given to small cultivators otherwise necessary by reason of such reduction.

16. Imposition of a progressive income tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed maximum.

17. A gradual abolition of land tax.

18. Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one half of the present rate.

19. Expenditure on railways, or other department to be largely reduced. The income of the railways should be gradually employed upon the line, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per mile.

20. Prevention of expropriation, which by expropriation of foreign debt and foreign loans from the country.

17. That neither one of a majority nor a minority should be allowed to impose its will on the other.
18. Control over exchange and monetary policy as an integral part of the national policy.
19. Control by the State of foreign exchange and movement of national resources.
20. Control of money—direct or indirect.

It shall be open to the A. I. C. C. to bring, amend or add to the foregoing as far as such control, ownership or policies is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof.

Young India

Sole Delegate

(By M. K. Gurus)

The appointment by the Working Committee of me as the sole delegate to any conference to which the Congress delegation is invited by the Government was made after over two hours' intensive discussion. The view behind it was that what was to be presented was not merely a point of view but only the Congress view. The Congress view was not laid in the manifesto. What was laid in the manifesto was to be accepted either by a body of representatives from the Working Committee or by a body of representatives from the people. It was therefore the whole Working Committee should be represented as only one member holding in place of majority. The latter arrangement was only because the hour, time, place and so on were not convenient in every sense of the word. But not only would nobody be carried but everybody. What is more, Congress could not afford to keep away from the country without sufficient cause or had members for any length of time. It is the capital belief of Congressmen that at the end of all will be well as the Conference that will bring about, it was only to work in India that we do it. Now the chief of the delegates will tell at the Conference but the power behind it, it was further thought that the Congress delegation was not designed to enter any of the other side, but to discuss and examine principles and their application. And whether at the end of the Conference it was to be proved or not, every valuable hour was needed in the country. We were all our men and women in the country to work for. For the best way to secure peace is to pick up the commonest proposition and to implement the application of the practical utility. Moreover the members should have that the people directly affected by the decisions are not at all satisfied with the way in which the aspect of the Government are carrying out its constitution. Further vigilance on the spot is therefore necessary. From every point of view, therefore, the appointment of sole delegate was not only desirable but almost necessary.

But this appointment releases my responsibility in respect of my task, however, because after with the thought that I have but to carry out the instructions of my principals. For the next I have to take God's infinite goodness and 'be useful for nothing'. And there who knows that it will be some day, the way will be open for me to attend the Conference.

Working Committee Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed by the Working Committee on 1st April 1931.

1. Whereas the national flag now in vogue has gained popularity by usage and custom, and whereas objection has been taken to those colours in the flag on the ground that they are quarrelled as a national flag, the Working Committee hereby appoints the following as a Committee for the purpose of examining the objection and recommending a flag for the acceptance of the Congress. The Committee shall have the authority to take such evidence as it may consider necessary and to report and recommendations to the Working Committee on or before 31st July 1931.

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel,
Shri Jashwanth Naray,
Dr. Purnima Senanayake,
Dr. D. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake.

Dr. Purnima Senanayake will be the Chairman and four members will be a quorum.

2. Whereas allegations have been made in the press to the effect that the members of the late Shri Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri D. S. Senanayake were arrested and were not properly treated and were otherwise dealt with in an unlawful manner and great public indignation has been aroused by reason of these allegations, the Working Committee appoints the following as a Committee to examine these allegations and to take such evidence as may be necessary and to report to the Working Committee on or before 28th March.

Shri K. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Dr. Purnima Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake.

Dr. Purnima Senanayake will be the Chairman.

3. In view of the promise in the Congress resolution No. 15, the Working Committee hereby appoints the following as a Committee to examine questions and suggestions from Provincial Congress Committees and other bodies and persons and to report and recommend to the Working Committee on or before 31st May next such recommendations as may be necessary and to report to the Working Committee on or before 31st May next.

Shri C. Senanayake,
Dr. Purnima Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Dr. Purnima Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake,
Shri D. S. Senanayake.

Shri D. S. Senanayake will be the Chairman and three members will be a quorum.

4. The Working Committee decided to send a delegation consisting of the following persons to Dublin to meet the British leaders to settle the constitutional question.

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel,
Shri Vallabhbhai Patel,
Shri Vallabhbhai Patel.

(Subsequent resolutions will be found on page 46.)

Gandhi on the Indian Resolutions

By common consent the principal resolutions of the Karachi Congress were those on the Provincial Autonomy and Fundamental Rights. Reports of Gandhiji's speeches on these resolutions have appeared in the press, but as the speech on the resolution was entirely in Hindi and that on the other was both in Hindi and English, I think if they have been properly reported, I bring them together under one heading so that the reader may have an adequate realisation of the speaker's bearing a prominent share.

Immediate Objective

Gandhiji spoke both in the Lahore Committee and the joint Congress on the resolution on Provincial Autonomy. There is a report of the English speech in a Subsequent Committee.

"Though the resolution before you is very brief, I venture to suggest to you that it is very comprehensive and capable of getting the most vigorous and that a man who believes in complete independence can accept. The result can make a resolution upon such delicate the issue take part in the Conference deliberations to him to read the Congress and, as it is called the Congress objective in *Pravasi* having been stated in the Lahore manifesto, and now in the Madras resolution which was a paper with *Pravasi* having been a paper with today *Pravasi* having been a paper with today of the kind of the matter which is important to get it, and its importance was demonstrated during the past Indian meeting. And so it is the immediate objective that the delegates has got to keep in view in agreeing to any single thing that may happen in the Conference, that that is not enough. Some who are some writers of *Pravasi* having been a complete independence but also have given been as essential, and so it is essential upon your delegates to obtain control over the debate before me.

Preamble

"But the opening thing as you would call it is the tail of the resolution. I should however, the Congress deliberations would be free to accept such amendments as may be most apt in the interests of India. Now as this form is a trap and that is its trap. There is no trap if you will change your independence will and trap it. There is a trap because *Pravasi* is really synonymous with *Pravasi*. The principle of *Pravasi* is as open to the voice of the *Pravasi*, but the *Pravasi* that might be accepted here to be in the interests of India, and they want to discuss *Pravasi* must be necessary, not merely absolutely necessary as it has been suggested in one of the many amendments. Consequently we are present in a position need to elaborate. I have given my meaning of the *Pravasi* very fully elsewhere and I will not dilate upon it.

Power of Attorney

"Having said this, I want to say something about another amendment that has been suggested, that whatever power the delegates may take should be subject to confirmation by a special meeting of the Congress as by the All India Congress Committee. I venture to suggest to you with all the force at

my command, the fact of my (Gandhiji) being a member of a Congress that has been a member of the Congress for the past 11 years and has acquired a position of authority by my other experience in 1918 and 1919, getting now acquired by it throughout the world. Surely the Congress is not in fact as not to be able to provide representation who are fully equipped in Congress in any conference in any country. Therefore if you need your delegates, they delegates should have the same power as if the whole Congress was being represented in the Conference. Without that power, such as those that would be easily cannot be accepted. We will be one among many parties. Those who go to the Conference are expected to have full authority and full authority to find their principle. But if they are there and have to say, 'We have come here, we will discuss, but we cannot find our principle, we shall have to take in our principle' the position becomes intolerable, confusion and utterly ineffective for the purpose in view. Hence it is absolutely necessary not to let the very much power as has been suggested.

"What is the position of the Congress, after all? What is the power of the Congress with reference to the immediate issues, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee? Although the committee are given a general power of attorney in and on behalf of the Congress, and the right of representation in a right of which the Congress are given their right. No amendment in the principle can really direct itself of this right. The power of attorney to be given to your delegates is to let within the last sentence of this resolution. So long as your delegates will within the last sentence of this power of attorney, it would be suggested for you to repudiate them. If they go beyond this resolution, you have every right to repudiate them. That is one thing, that the whole effective representation comes into play, when they have turned back and have said you come, or when they have become as silent, or unwilling to act to be able to use the many traps that would have been laid for them and that fall into one of these traps. Even then they would have gone outside the last sentence of their power of attorney. In that case, you have absolute right to repudiate all that they may have done, and that power is good against the whole world. The power of representation is absolute if your agents act outside the power that you give them. You may take it from me that this is the legal position, if I may so call it. Hence I suggest to you that it is not only significant, not only necessary for you to check the condition of confidence in the resolution, it is unnecessary of you to do so. It will really hamper the progress of the very thing you want them to do. Therefore I hope, you will without entering upon any further discussion, withdraw this particular amendment.

Accept or Reject

"I would most suggest to you, if you will follow the meeting I have moved from this platform to allow, that having brought into being your Working Committee, you should act thoughtfully or wisely in relation with the body of the resolution that the Working Committee may place before you, because you should give the credit to the Working Committee for having conducted all the past and come and all the delegates

Confidence in the masses possible, especially in masses oppressed slaves. But I am not discussing now to give you my final decision or final verdict. I do not know. When I do, you may happen, which may make it necessary or highly desirable that the delegates should only meet in the Conference. But that is for the future only to decide."

A Warning and a Promise

Through the resolution he addressed the following warning both to those who would say of him as a traitor and also as a sincere possessor of loyalty:

"If the Congress expects the permanent membership, without any possibly he must accept the Congress. The Congress is a permanent authority. The Working Committee is its executive. The action taken by the Working Committee, is taken by myself may not interested itself in you. There should be, therefore, no question of leadership or patronage. It is open to every one of you to reject the resolution and to repudiate the commitment of you made to it. But if you endorse the commitment, there it is also your duty actively to support it, carry out all its aims faithfully and loyally and in the various things, which are set out before you in the resolution so that you daily concern the spirit of the Congress and make it possible for the Congress delegates to vindicate the position of the Congress and possibly in being the very thing for which you have suffered for the last twelve months.

"One thing more. If the delegates goes to be in the Conference, it does not mean that the delegates will keep to its pocket (Purna Swami). If it does not bring Purna Swami, it does not mean that it carries burden of Nothing of the kind. All that we expect to be able to do is to go and tell the British people and the British Ministry what we want, and if we do not get what the Congress expects the delegates to accept within the terms of the resolution, we are bound to return disappointed and return your complacency, not yours. But you will be bound to give us not only if we return having told the interests of the country. That is what you have a perfect right to do. But it will not be proper for you to say 'you were not able to fulfil your mission'. No promise has ever been made. No promise is being made now that if the delegates goes to the Conference, whether here or in London, or after some further negotiations, that delegates is going to bring Purna Swami, Purna Swami will come when the full authority of the Congress has been manifested and not a moment before. It will be the general rule 'consent' of the Congress to bring Purna Swami. All that I propose is kindly to give me my own belief and on behalf of my brethren the you might wish to read with me is that we shall not be disappointed by Congress in any shape or form."

Why We must accept Offer

In his third speech he dealt with the allegations and criticisms of some of the opponents:

"It is quite right for you to question why we who have all along demanded the Round Table Conference should now decide to go to it. What miracle has happened to make us change our course? My only miracle has happened, and I have not much confidence

in the gathering which is called the Round Table Conference. I have given wonderful myself what we are about to do at the Conference when we know that there is such a gulf between what we want and what has been so far offered at the Round Table Conference. But consideration of the duty of a Karyakari decided me. There comes a stage when for any no larger reason to negotiate with the opponent, this object is shown to convert the opponent by force. The stage is reached in regard when the Working Committee was not satisfied, the President's direction. The Working Committee made an appeal to us to try these means and to indicate what we want, it was open to us either to support some sort of still doubtfulness and go back to tell us soon as we were asked, or to take some step to response to the offer of peace. If we had taken the former course we would have been wrong in the eyes of the whole world.

"Again it was hardly proper for Swami Gokhale to say that we could not have come with confidence as we were ready to continue the struggle for one year more. Well for that matter we might be capable of carrying on the struggle for twenty years, and a Karyakari fight to the last single-handed, even if the rest are fed into submission. But the Working Committee did not enter the room because the room of was that a Karyakari who says down his name because he is tired is going to his room and to his Maker. But the room was made out because we were tired out but because it was impossible. He who will fight on because he can fight on to no Karyakari but a concerted action and going before God.

Mahatma not indispensable

"You have thought to come to me to give me return empty-handed. You may not do so because I make no promise to return with Purna Swami. I can only promise that we shall come with peace, and we will stick to the letter and spirit of the resolution. But it is open to you to send us back, if it is open to you to have another president and another Working Committee. We are your servants, and we shall willingly make room for better men. But do not send me the commitment because you feel that you cannot do without the 'Mahatma'. If you cannot run Swami without the 'Mahatma', neither can you run it. But it is able to think that the Mahatma is indispensable. Who would be the strength in my absence? You cannot say not only after I was gone, but after all the principles which were given me. Mr. Kishore Lalani, who was your delegate, has been a strongly sufficient force person but the delusion never has been leaving you in hands, and going to you. Do not therefore withdraw your support because of the alleged indispensability of the 'Mahatma'.

"But if you feel that I am right in making the terms and demands, you support it, I will just to give me not halfhearted but wholehearted support. You must understand that your delegates come to be played as to help the movement and to diffuse the masses from your through. They agreed that they will not sell the country.

The Twenty Points

In moving the resolution on fundamental rights in the open Congress Session, speaking in Hindi, said

Then, I propose to suggest our ideas who believe together, who are now scattered in various parts of the hemisphere, who will not take in 1938 out of the administration of the country. It is natural to conclude in the most constructive fashion the best features of Hoover as Secretary. Before my month in March I had excluded some of those features in our above points. There have been made more comparisons. They are now presented to you in a separate conclusion. They were adversely reacted from the same reactions because that would have made the obstacle for the delegation headquarters. But by passing this resolution we make it clear to the world and to our own people what our purpose is to do as much as we have our power. Let Government also take note of it. Let those who may have to deal with us at the Special Labor Conference also take note of us that that the Energy, with Energy, should not get more than \$100 per month. The position has been made as clear as possible. It is clear that we may not be covered off having among others companies in their who have to deal with us. They are also caught in a system all concerned. Let them prepare themselves for the coming legislation by studying these lines on the basis of the common character.

"I shall take a few sentences from the *Chinese IV* of the *Handbook* which picture the culture, language and customs of the minority. You should have seen that Hmong and Aka's customs are not exactly modern and technologically different. I must suppose that the Chinese look upon Hmong tribes as Chinese, not as Aka. Let us therefore estimate Hmong. Let us try to learn the Hmong language and their customs and understand the Hmong's' situation on it.

"There there is the abolition of all disabilities attaching to women, as regards to political employment, after all parties are brought off. The nearest this is done many of the disabilities in which the women are subjected will cease. So far as the Congress is concerned we have achieved our work already. The state had its Federal and State Suffrage laws made permanent and as the future law made it will be seen as to how women progress."

[illegible]

From 1990 to 1995, the researchers identified all full and 1/2 day courses in the 10 largest human services organizations in the region.

The last two columns in the second of many columns the publisher the stamping of interest has been in an attempt why money should not be regarded as criminal as a crime. The Publishers have suggested the following statements, have followed our lead examples and are known to stamp from \$10 to \$100 per cent. interest. I wish I could persuade them that the only time to go to our parts is when the investigation has been. Let this our business and money business between banks shows what we as the state of interest, but should be as much as could be done.

unimproved. The drainage on land with a
subsurface to the lake (the drainage) is not
in the same way as the drainage on the lake.

¹ Let the author state whether the House upon his statement that the Congress does not intend to do anything about the 1939 campaign to displace all enemy and Japanese Let them say if I am not mistaken you intend to understand the government of these islands and study a strategic campaign of total land air and sea operations and let them let you see them in person the Congress as Bush School of Government and University Maritime services State have done.

"Let it be understood that the resolution by a majority has only *binding* - it is open to the A, B, C, D, etc. in return, except as will be the treaty power; and we let us now suppose the resolution for more difference in readings of duty. Thereby upon this, we appeal to the policy and principle must stand as best they must find as well that the great reason is that it is not binding and the time has for several generations when a people's voice."¹²

Workers Committee Resolutions

The following resolution was passed by the Working Committee on 10th April:

"The Finance Committee appoints a committee consisting of Mr G. M. Halsey, Prof A. T. Cook, Mr Wadsworth J. Dean and Mr J. C. Karamoyan (secretary) to carry out a survey into the financial transactions of the East India Company and the British Government in India and the United Provinces of India, and to report on the obligations which should be borne by India or England. The committee has requested to present its report by the end of May."

² When references to the Congress are made, the 1983 agreement being cited is the Speed Train Committee, the Working Committee is of opinion that Williams should be the sole delegate on behalf of the Congress."

²²High reference to the Resolution No. 3 of the Congress for Service is barely accounted in verbal form all previous the names, addresses, occupations, statuses, and values of all sets of missions and others covered by the resolution.²³

Tax **State income tax**

Governments not having well returned the captured and machinery, we are expressing great difficulty in bringing out the paper as soon last-order will issue. Our kindly friends as it they receive their copy a day later than usual.

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

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Hydrocarbons were not collected during periods of low flow of water.

It is very difficult to resolve endosymbionts by TEM. Substrates, therefore, are required to avoid the usual endosymbionts (Fig. 3).

They are also requested to write their full address beside on the 10-0 envelope.

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No. 16

Weekly Letter

Pand Rajkumar Sahas, Karachi

This weekly letter is hardly a reference book such as it does not cover events of the week which were recorded and in the last number for more important days. But I may not omit their significance and shall therefore reproduce them in a week when there is lack of material for me.

Let us now turn to the weekly letter. The body of which I, you should be told, is by my nature a "communal" body, in the narrower sense of the term. "Communal" has come to signify almost a special meeting, assembly, and is regarded as a synonym for "anti-national." The Pand Rajkumar Sahas of Karachi, which goes by reference by the title of Pand Rajkumar Sahas, Sahas and Pand Rajkumar Sahas is in no way communal, it is indeed national in every sense of the term. It has in its object the propagation of political education, Hindu and Muslim propaganda and prohibition, it is communal only in the sense that its membership is confined to Pand, but then too the title of the Sahas has made it a national character inasmuch as no Pand who dare not believe in Hindu-Muslim prohibition may be a member of the Sahas. Amongst this and other restrictions and with the object of some form of the national programme in the end in view, all communists may have opportunities like the Pand Rajkumar Sahas to a word and opportunity more to help a particular community build the national programme cannot be communal, and any organisation which restricts its activities to serving the narrow interests of a particular community is communal. The letter has a special emphasis on the duties of the community to the nation, the letter on the rights and interests of a particular community as apart from those of other communities or apart from those of the body politic.

If this were not the principle of non-communalism, and having already stated that the body is anti-national and communal in the light of this principle, I may say that the question for discussion suggested by the Sahas in Gandhi, who was invited to address the newly started organisation in Karachi would seem to put on one's national interests as it did on Gandhi's. And he immediately applied the restriction in his own happy manner. "I did not expect that my Pand friends were so much, but the Pand Rajkumar Sahas has indeed made me. Let me therefore restrict you that the Pand community's interests do not need to be subordinated in any instance of Society—communal on the basis of race and colour struggling to their advantage

and successful community have never found any difficulty in any corner of the globe whenever they may have chosen to go. There were 120 lawyers only a few Pand families in Pondicherry in the days of my childhood when my father was Prime Minister there. But these families had carved out a status for themselves in the State. World War is because Pand, amongst had been specially subordinated by the State. First the loss of happy memory suggested a narrow question in the public life of the Indian community in South Africa, but because he enjoyed my special privileges for instance he had that momentary and rapid and public spirit with which Pand are specially endowed.

"And who are I to subordinated your interests under Gandhi? Prohibition, perhaps, out of a prohibition of a hundred thousand your community had more just going Subordination and Hindu writers than any other community, or at any rate the Hindu, I have never met with a Pand anywhere in the world nation with the lot of an anti-Hindu and wherever you have found you have made your way in the world. What could have you for my special question or subordination? Subordinate you were given an or local importance on the top-down and on the bottom, how many of you would be subordinated? But by your question of land and house you were told the momentary position everywhere, I would therefore ask you to put off such issue. You are called for non-violence keeping the first remedy (Gandhi). I assure you that your race is never going to be."

Let other small communities apply these remarks without mistake to themselves and feel secure in the knowledge that there will always be some communal who will prefer to lay down their lives in defending the interests of a whole community.

'Equal Rights'

In the light of Gandhi's remarks quoted in the note above, he speaks in the old Council Hall at Delhi, on the occasion of the annual meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, which he was invited to address, not, he later mentioned. This is was delivered in Hindi and will worry the Pand of India which, while now have to add to it as a member of Hindi-speaking regions and non-Hindus, in fact are they since the journal has with a better knowledge of Hindi and Gujarati of India, it will be better to provide against propagating something between like the case of making the progress of Urdu a place in Indian district. But it did not worry the merchants who understood and appreciated it better than they would have done Gandhi. The title of Delhi's name is reference to Gandhi's Hindi

to the fight for freedom carrying a special diploma. There was also a charter school for these students to educate themselves in village work. They receive pay, free laundry and some medical and board of weekly the village problems.

Chatterjee speaks this time frankly as a village man himself. It was witnessed not so much in the students of the Vidyapeeth as to the students of Sonar.

"I hope the village students will not think less of themselves than the students. There is no great task. I should not be surprised if the farmer beat the labor by their record of work. I for one would say that there is more need for these students than for masters, for I have been seeing more the students of the Vidyapeeth that we must reach the villages through the Vidyapeeth. The students' mission should also be to qualify themselves for service in the villages. We have not yet fully realized here the Vidyapeeth has served the nation."

Having said this, he paid a well deserved tribute to those who had taken a worthy part in the fight for freedom.

"I am delighted beyond measure to hear of the part you have played in the great struggle. The Hindu Vidyapeeth and Kailash Vidyapeeth also distinguished themselves in a like manner. When the history of the fight comes to be written, the contribution of our Vidyapeeth to the struggle will occupy a large space in it. Even the world will be proud of your glorious record. When I sit I and something about the students and teachers of the Vidyapeeth, I naturally draw a comparison between Government educational institutions and the national ones, and I felt that our progress for progress of Government educational institutions had more than justified itself. When I say this, I do not lose sight of the fact that Government schools and colleges are full of students. There is also the great point that the students are so eager to go to these institutions that they do not hesitate to give the most slight sacrifices and to pay here to get admission to them. I have known students for hours or days in the educational department that those who may have directly or indirectly taken part in the struggle to who may have gone to jail may not be considered well off the previous situation of these heads. What is our in my of these students and of these direction of education? I wonder if you know anything about the Government's attitude with regard to the Hindu University. It would have been a great, but for the Government and the students for service of Hindu Mahatma Mahatma Mahatma, that was if the great had been better. Mahatma would not have shed a single one. He was so anxious that the Government should not go without the great that they may be in students who should the dignity for provided for his service.

"Let the great record of the Vidyapeeth all the students and teachers with pride that they are the students of the best of institutions that the Gujarat Vidyapeeth. Let them not feel that they had played the mission through their highness. Let them not be depressed by the thought that they are a handful. Though a handful they are like the ocean, and through the students of Government institutions remain by

their numbers the ocean, they are as small as a drop. For the education that they receive and the life they are taught to live cannot give them the real escape to the future, whereas in institutions like the Vidyapeeth can do so in a large measure in one way or the other from the last year's record. Let those who have helped to maintain the Vidyapeeth realize that their money has been spent to noble purpose and that it has come back to them with compound interest. Let them study the Kailash's report and see if any level table in India can boast of a greater record. I write these thoughts to Kailash's report for facts and not that the money needed will be paid by automatically."

But that led him to the question of economy in national development and the duty of those who would have to run the future Government in future.

"I want you to study the Vidyapeeth accounts. You will see that only economy has been maintained. I do not think any one can beat me in my pocket for saving and expending public money like a miser. The reason is simple. Public money belongs to the great public of India, then where there is more money no more. That is why I asked the Swami to make donations in the next year's budget for Gujarat. I am hoping that this provincial settlement may lead on to permanent peace, and I shall have no more returned to achieve it. But even in these periods before Swami. I at any rate cannot arrive with Swami, and Swami peace for the time being to be signed on. And if God will that these should be no more, yet may be sure that the next struggle will be longer than the last and will equal us all. And it may have to be fought without any resources. Gujarat may be always ready to contribute funds, but even the resources of Gujarat are not inexhaustible. Let us therefore think twice before we expend a pice and expend our expenditure in all directions. I have often wondered where we get all our own funds and whether we need them really. I know I often am anxious but let us not follow my bad example. Let the assets and the debts of the Vidyapeeth make a point of going out to the villages so that whenever possible. Let us be worthy of Swami when it comes, let us move after that we have 25 paise per annum of 11 which contains the guarantee of Swami, and let me tell you that it was not I who had the maximum salary of the Swami, Swami at Rs. 500 but Pandit Jivabhai. He has given his thought to the problem and he has deliberately fixed that amount. And if that is to be the salary of the Swami, what is to be the maximum of an ordinary worker? Let us keep that fixed and not let our cost according to our wish. The Government of today collects taxes by force and makes money at the point of the bayonet, in Swami we shall not be able to do so, we will have to pay Gafaria to collect it and arms against their bayonet. Let us therefore take our share in the form of the point of the bayonet. Let us not go to sleep, now that there is a provincial settlement. We have to be more watchful, more serious, more careful and let us be ready to demand let every pice that we receive from the public."

Young India

The Cult of Violence

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Mr. Peltier's murder and the making of the murderer of Mrs. Corrie a hero at the White League meeting being put in clear light, the truth is that the cult of violence has still many victims. The making of murderers is being continued. If we are to shed the stains of every murderer because the murder has a political motive behind it, we should proceed from punishing the dead to the dead itself. The practice of hanging is a mere return a double to my mind about the wisdom of my having been the author of the Congress resolution on about hanging. My motive was pure enough. The deed was condemned. The spirit of liberty and equality was preserved. The hope behind was that we would thereby be able to distinguish between the dead and the living, and ultimately learn to derive justice such as political system, no matter how high the motive might be. But the effect of the Congress resolution has been perhaps upon the contrary. It seems to have given a passport for criminal murder itself. I repeat my deliberate opinion that whatever may be the of other countries, in India at least political murder was only born the country. This is much more true what an experiment on the human made yet known to the world is being made to its liberty through steadily powerful methods, the who can see that the experiment has proved its value beyond all expectation, and is almost on the point of succeeding. I need not to say that but the experiment will have been corrupted by political murder and the violence in thought and law of us in speech and will have done its worst of evil nation, later world by the time have been this.

Non-violence is the weapon out of the world but of the strong. Non-violence means denying to injury and not resisting. "Forceless is the conquest of the strong," says a Sanskrit proverb. Yashwanth gives an exhibition of this quality when he even though provoked beyond measure by Vire's not only forgave him but took extraordinary measures to protect him against the wrath of his brother Agastya who would not let these provocations have killed him for making and rejecting the great king Yashwanth.

Non-violence is not a mechanical performance. It is the finest quality of the heart and comes by making. When it comes, it comes, because it is, natural, and the necessary condition that it should have not any taint in it in its attainment. What can be more natural than to return blow for blow, says the heart to us. What can be more natural or more human than that we should return a blow with forgiveness, says the man to us. He who gave the blow was against and forgot himself. Why should the injured person return goodness and forget himself? But the man who who suffer the frustration of their broad forehead more than human beings they forgive their betrayers? They would of course do better if

they would not get jumping in their indignation and would withdraw themselves from their betrayers for the better and other.

But let me not go into deeper waters. Those who profess non-violence should realize that strength and its non-violence is thought, word and deed. Let those, who will doubt the efficacy of the non-violence method and say yet one of that of the violent method, ponder over the following:

1. India's millions have no tradition of the violent method.

2. They, the villages, have never been known to have combined on any large scale to use the violent method.

3. They have no defects other as yet of political freedom in terms of India as one country.

4. Where as in Europe the people have gained their freedom by the violent method, the people were more or less helped in the use of arms.

5. They, the peoples of Europe, gained their freedom by being able to use greater violence than the national authority.

6. It is at least doubtful if they, not excluding the English, have got real freedom. The masses there still feel that they are being ground down by the unscrupulous classes who have the power of government at their hands. Look at their varied problems ever increasing in complexity.

7. In India on the other hand we know that it is through the non-violent method alone that the phenomenal mass movements, including the awakening of women, has come into being.

8. We know as a general fact that where the people are not and become violent, they lose ground, become demoralized and were crushed down.

If I were to give more than five to the past twelve months I could elaborate the list. But as it is, it is perhaps enough for my purpose.

To those who have asked questions in terms of the violent method, I say "You will give me the same result that you do for justice for loss of the country. If so, you should accept my testimony that by using your method with violence you cannot the agency. The belief which, I know, some of you hold that an occasional murder of an official helps the cause is wholly unfounded. On the contrary, I know that every murder has hampered me in my pursuit. I know that you are as weak as I am, you will probably say you are more weaker than I am, for the release of all political prisoners. You must admit that the violent method can use only word their discharge. Constituted as this Government is, all governments are, they will not discharge political prisoners except of violence where political violence takes place. All things considered, therefore, you will do well to have in my advice and inquiry, and suspend your attention while the nation is giving a trial to my experiment."

To Subscribers

Government not having still granted the constitutional machinery, we are encountering great difficulty in bringing out the paper as time. Subscribers will therefore kindly excuse us if they receive their copy a day later than usual.

— Ahimsa, Young India

An Englishman's Dilemma

(By M. K. Gokhale)

I have known the Englishmen who carried my letter across the three oceans to the Viceroy and who signed a courteous message in the face of heavy odds in England while the civil disobedience was going on. Mr. Ragsdale Reynolds' note carries the following pleasant letter:

"I was very glad to hear from you in reply to my letter. Before this reply came the newspapers had already informed me, of course, of all that happened at Delhi, which have my great old view to fully needed explanation.

"I must frankly confess that your letter leaves me entirely unimpressed. My son who knows you would doubt your sincerity, and so long as you can still speak his language, I at least the language of my Englishmen to continue your reforms. Nevertheless, you will be the first to recognize my complete right to disagree with you, which I do emphatically on the following points:

"1. The Government is not pledged to grant Purna Swaraj, and it would be foolish and if it attempted to do so. Mahatma only demands an office because he has not the courage to deal justly with your currency, and justice would cost him that office. If you except but that Purna Swaraj,—how does your Mahatma, that is to say,—where does the independence Raghunath of Lahore come in, and how does it differ from 'Dumnoni Swaraj'? What advance was made, and what did the pledge really mean?

"2. Oppression still continues. How do you hope for freedom from the hands of those who only believe public opinion and are their usual means to drive bargains with you, or your own will for a 'house'? Where is the 'change of heart'?

"3. Even then is there any hope put forward, even—the Delhi Manifesto of November 1931, your own Ehsan-ul-Ikhtisar, the terms you gave to Sikander, the 'Gandhi Nehru Terms'—What has become of these? The Government means them in practical 'assurances' whereby a few men in the field to be more successful in one 'direction,' they

"They are not pledged themselves to anything in the way of self-government.

"Nothing means the proper and adequate representation of Congress in the forthcoming Conference (where you may easily be engaged by representatives appointed by the Government as supplied on the previous Conference).

"There is no promise of the conditional release of all political prisoners (including those in jail before the present Congress).

"And so on—you have the points which I believe that I do.

"I wish you Indian leaders could make how extraordinarily difficult this entire thing, for those who want to help and back to you for leadership. If you do not stand by your terms, what unity is there at all now? We believed your intent to be common terms, from which you would never depart. Instead, we find you hesitating and what has these men done. How can we ever speak with confidence again, and who would believe us if we did?

"4. From the purely logical point of view I cannot see what you have gained, and

disadvantage was concerned. I wish a, honestly the Government would not accept the Delhi Manifesto. They have not accepted it today—and one of your last points. The arguments you see now for continuing such do not see the very arguments which were then used for unity to divide you from your cause and bring you to the Round Table Conference. These arguments you then rejected why do you now advance them? The country has suffered terribly, but what has? Many are still in police much apprehended property is sequestered, no one the land, and the work of the law cannot be expected—what have you to show for this? What after has Lord Irwin made that he was not ready to make before civil disobedience began? With the exception of of the small concession in the matter of salt, I can see no single right or principle that has been established. The truth does not even represent the matter you were before—it is a partial and misleading indication. As the part of the Government of some of its rights accepted during the struggle, but not of any of those rights for which the struggle itself was fought.

"You will, I think, forgive my bluntness. I have neither age nor experience, but I have, I believe, enough consciousness to appreciate such a situation as this. You will see that I attack your position from two sides, as it were. Firstly, because it is too unrealistic, and secondly because (having turned to the maintenance of your old position) your methods even to me now suddenly appear. Had you been realistic throughout I should have accepted you unreservedly. But to adopt the method of a non-violent revolution with all its selfness is to be to give nothing at all—but to a policy I do not understand. Will India understand it?

"I would like to suggest one or two final criticisms. You live for the British interest—for the present and the future. Everywhere in this country I have made that clear, and done my best to shape the current idea that Swaraj means the rule of the Indians and the British, and the system is of the past. How then can the necessary proposals of Sir James' Bill be any way really good? There has always been one point on which I have agreed with our worst English newspapers such as *Churchill's*—though I doubt whether they seriously care about it. They say that the so-called 'volunteers' are only designed to trouble and confuse the provincial classes of India and hasten their power over the British nation. I agree with this, and I have always said, 'Swami is that that it is the opposite of that it is the gathering of the present conspiracy between British Imperialism and Indian Capitalism, and its reinforcement by a long and corrupt democracy, which always has protected the classes were socially or economically depressed. If that is true,—and nothing less would I have led me to the national Swaraj,—whereby perhaps from Capitalism of persons, Zoroastrian, reformers and the like? I know there are men among them who are above the interests of class, but what do these as a body represent that is not more liquid up with British Imperialism than with Indian democracy?"

I have received a thing from the letter except demands and personal references— I publish the letter of Mr. Kanyappa's wish. And I do so with pleasure as I know, that though by reason of amazing high as on the Congress endorsed the past there are Indians who share Mr. Kanyappa's views. There must be the same Kanyappa, his father as he, who are pushed by Kanyappa give my message and accepted without any. I was, therefore, anxious to answer Kanyappa's complacency far but not their action. India will want their active help and sympathy for many a year to come.

The change of moderate to Liberal when Kanyappa who knew me have decided that I am as much a moderate as I am as radical. Hence perhaps my good fortune to have friends among these extreme types of men. The evidence is this, I believe, to my own self evidence.

Inconsistency is only apparent. It appears so to many Indians because of my inconsistency in saying circumstances favouring opportunity may really be close difficulty.

The real point is this. Changes of moderation or extremism or inconsistency ought not to matter. What men count with a public service is the application of his own conscience. He must be like a reflection in a mirror who, bearing the faithful image of his own conscience, will make in place and give the appropriate sign of the public. Service must be as one and rule unswayed. Whether therefore the argument and facts I am about to set forth were their purpose or not, it must be followed by the reader as it is, I am aware, by Kanyappa to know that in coming upon and asking the acceptance of the settlement, I have done what in my opinion was not only right but wise as well.

Right for the facts and the arguments, Kanyappa will hope who think like him have been led to see evidence because he and they have shared the historical perspective. A single new factor may change a whole situation. Kanyappa mentions four events— (1) The Delhi Manifesto of November 1929, (2) The Simon Commission, (3) The letter given to Mr. Chelmsford, (4) The Gandhi-Irwin treaty.

The Delhi Manifesto was an answer to Lord Irwin's famous declaration and was therefore just applied in the declaration.

The Simon Commission was written as a precursor to civil disobedience and not both the conditions on which civil disobedience could be avoided. It had therefore to be followed from the November Manifesto.

The letter to Mr. Chelmsford was given just after the commencement of civil disobedience. There was therefore a slight reaction from the extreme point later but no relaxation of it.

The Gandhi-Irwin treaty was given during the height of the movement and which was even all as usually and done by being that one of the world of a disadvantage. In all the four stages the Round Table Conference had not been held, the Government policy was not decided.

The settlement in the external condition from the first stage. Whenever the distance between the events, they are due to the varying circumstances. Differ as in the last stages, the Round Table Conference had been held and the Government policy decided before the fifth stage, i. e., the settlement was reached.

All at other time was it possible to offer co-operation at the Round Table Conference because the

British Government could not declare its policy and the intention of the Congress in the Conference was not known. But in Delhi last March the demand of the Congress declaration was known as was also known the British policy. The demand was Government Secret. The British policy was a declaration independent in the knowledge of the demand.

Not that either the Indian demand for Dominion Status or the British declaration apply the Congress requirement, especially as there are led to by the so-called interests which, according to the Congress action, are really not set designed in the interest of India.

Nevertheless this is an considerable advance upon the past movement. And when it was acknowledged that it was possible for the Congress to move forward as even to the latest extent, it was felt that the Congress would not dwell in the matter if it had decided to get back as demand and come for an acceptance at a Round Table. The Congress would have been bound at any stage to enter upon a discussion of its claims after such declaration as has been made by the British Government. A Kanyappa's own words, can never miss a chance of compromise on reasonable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure he is ever ready to offer battle. He made no previous preparation, he made no change on the side. Surrender or continuation of battle is one and the same thing to him. His fight or refusal to give presently the same and, he does not always direct his approach. On the contrary he must grasp the hand of friendship whenever there is the slightest protest. The present time was the unexpectedly small move before demand, the British response independent though it was and the war necessarily running through Lord Irwin's Government.

I have never defined any change of heart on the part of the person that he. That has still to come. What it means, there will be a settlement that surely prevailed but absolutely permanent. They hope will be full surrender on the part of the Congress, for change of heart means surrender to the Indian demand as here and without any use of compromise.

Lately throughout all the stages there never has been a lowering of the flag. Dominion Status was given up on 23rd December 1929. It is now Dominion Independence, i. e., sovereignty. If possible with the British as equal terms and with the right to make law partly to themselves it is well. Then this may not be achieved through Conference as yet in quite a while, but the so-called independence may come before then they are a also highly possible. If so the Congress will not be responsible for India, but it will come as with enhanced moral strength and as desired as to fully known and a really fully justified. It is true that all the political prisoners are not liberated. Therefore, change could not be demanded as part of the first round settlement. They will be discharged if full settlement is reached. If it is not reached, then who are temporarily not will then be a not prevent the story of political prisoners. For a Kanyappa's a person's life is no disability, no disadvantage. Prison for him is the gateway to freedom.

Lately he there be no mistake as to what Parrot Shree means to the Congress. It is full surrender freedom by the ruling nation. It is my ready alliance with my latest by their legislation. Any change more than their declaration.

Notes

Mahatmaji and Working Committee

A letter from "Vijay" explained to the Suburban Committee at Karachi why you kept out the members from the South, whom you had who you kept out from Mahatmaji. The explanation was in substance that you do not call for it. There could be no question of excluding Mahatmaji. He is above being excluded. No explanation was told to his name or importance by excluding him as a member. His membership was still in its prestige. The Working Committee deliberately kept him out in order to preserve his independence and freedom of action at a given moment. Without being a member, when the release of India, he has always been attending the Working Committee meetings and taking an active part in its deliberations. Valuable as his work on the Committee has been, the members thought that his being subjected to the Committee's discipline might prove embarrassing to him. Indeed Dr. Ambedkar was to move for Mahatmaji to be on the Committee that he preferred to be dropped out in favour of Mahatmaji. But the consideration I have just mentioned was so effectively urged by Jinnah that Dr. Ambedkar too became convinced in Mahatmaji being kept out. This arrangement permits the Committee to work itself of Mahatmaji's advice at its deliberations and at the same time from behind has been in of action. Indeed even the Government has recognised his unique position in country by recently appointing him to the R. T. C.

Reports through Khadi

Last year there was a big increase in the production and sale of Khadi all over the country. This was in the main due to the phenomenal demand stimulated by the attitude of which Khadi of mass became the symbol. Sales on the ground the demand that workers were kind put up to increase new fields of production to meet the existing one in demand.

The period that passed during the year of national movement should not be lost, but on the contrary, should be made the basis of still further expansion. The duration of that time must continue during the period of peace, if the fruits of the work are not to be lost. The Congress attitude in favour of Khadi towards the -time in spite of the completion of independent work as a part of the boycott programme. It must not mean suppression of Khadi. Mill manufacturers in to supplement Khadi, when the latter is also fairly satisfactory. But at the present moment Khadi can control all the demand that can be made up to it. Khadi holds the key position in the foreign cloth boycott programme. Not merely is an effective boycott of foreign cloth possible without making up the new production of Khadi production, but if the fruits of the national boycott are to benefit the millions of our village population and not merely the educated few, it can be done only by the widest possible spread of the Khadi programme. That is why the Congress at Karachi has taken the decision the major portion of Khadi in the boycott programme, and has appealed to all Congress organisations to send cloth buyers to actively develop cloth bought by increasing Khadi production. The experience of the last year has shown the capacity of Khadi production to supply promptly to any demand it created, and

we have to maintain not merely the existing work, but extend the spinning activities still further. The least that we must do is to reach the level of last year if we cannot share a substantial increase upon it.

M. K. G.

Question of Safeguards

[The following was condensed translation of Gandhiji's speech before the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce at the old Council Hall, Delhi, on the 14th March.]

I hope the English friends here will forgive me for addressing you in the national language. I read in the papers on the Viceroy's Conference in Delhi which was held on the very day in 1910 and in which after some discussion with the Viceroy I participated to participate. But when I answered to do so I suggested the Viceroy to permit me to address the Conference in Hindi or Marathi. I know there was an order to forbear for this permission, but courtesy required that I should do so, but my speaking in Hindi should shock the Viceroy. In this very room last night I propose to follow the same practice. And I would suggest to you, members of the Federation, that it is your duty to carry on your proceedings in the national language, looking to the fact that the members of the Federation are all Indians and that you are allowing permission to be addressed by the present national spirit. While I was listening to the President's address with attention, I wondered whether in speaking in a foreign language he would succeed in making us pay and so on the arguments that he desired. In another country, dependent or independent, was made an attempt to be not with. In South Africa, where a white people of colour, there has been a long struggle for freedom between English and Tael (in dialect of Hindi) with the result that the English succeeded but to yield to the lower Dutch in accepting Tael as the official language on the same footing as English.

Your President has clearly all things on the influence of the Englishmen that in any constitution which may be granted to India the status of Englishmen, especially of the English commercial and mercantile class is being, should be safeguarded. The Congress has considered this question carefully, and I should like to state as position. It has been said that Indian money will be the rule of the currency committee; i. e., the Indian Rupee could not be a given outside that. If it were to be so, I for one would oppose it and I think and would fight it with all the strength at my command, for in the Hind Swaraj in the rule of all the people, is the rule of justice. Whether under that rule the interests were Indian or Mohammedan or Sikh, and whether the legislation were exclusively filed by the Hindus or Mohammedans or any other community they would have to be unshackled justice. And yet as a community in India need have any fear of Swamy being monopolised by any other, even so the English should have no fear. The question of religion should not come in at all. Swamy would be not Swamy only when there would be no restriction for monopolising any such right.

But Federation has Clash of Cultures

Now is it that the influence on equal rules by European capital to, or with a spirit of respect?

How is it that it does not strike us as an natural and legitimate? The answer you are in risk of an accident in South Africa. You know that I taught General Smuts in South Africa for a number of years. With reference to the question of race prejudice and colour prejudice there, he once told me a story which impressed me very much. "When I was about the same time as you studying in England," he said, "I had no race prejudice or colour prejudice against your people. In fact if we had fought each other we should have died as friends or brothers. Why is it then that now we have become rivals, that we have unfeeling interests? It is not colour prejudice or race prejudice, though some of our people do apparently talk in those terms, but race is not thing which I want you to magnify. It is this I may have to moral legislation, but we will you when the difficulty about the fundamental difference between our colours? Let alone the question of inequality, there is no doubt but that your civilization is different from ours. They must not be overwhelmed by yours. That is why we have to go to for assistance which must be effect your disabilities as you?" I understood what he said and recognized that we could not have any other standard there. I also apprehended the fear of being swamped or three days of self-consciousness. If, therefore, we wanted to live in South Africa, I said to myself, we must adopt their standard of life, as long as it was not against morality.

Let us try to understand the present of this talk of equal rights in the light of what I have said. What all difference I would tell the Englishmen that at the back of their intolerance in their prejudice at their their standard and civilization. There is a wide gulf between our way of life and that of the Western however good he may be. Our people, when they go abroad, adopt the manners and customs of those countries, but that does not mean as they come back home, and if they think them they become stronger. It is a pity that the Western way of life has not yet taken deep root in our country. But the fear at the back of the Indian's mind is that he should be swamped by the march of Western civilization. In this problem I find the help of all Englishmen who, if they choose to stay here, must live in conformity with our way of life and in the interests of our country. The main cause has been at the root of the clash between the Chinese and the European and the Chinese and the American. I want our English friends to understand this line of sight. The whole trouble comes out of the Englishman's weakness on living according to his Western way of life and according to Western standards. I am quite sure that our civilization is different,—unconquerable is an Indian state in civilization and I have called it unchangeable,—but I do not want to give Hindians up, for the simple reason that I was born and bred in it. I would purge it of its weaknesses. If there are any complete meanings in the world of equal rights in the light of Indian's mind, it is not because of moral standard but because of moral superiority. Truly varied rights may not another manner independent an expression.

Members and Congress

Your President has put a motion in the Congress, I suppose, that the Congress should gather into

unimpaired experts to economic matters. I welcome the suggestion. The Congress would always be glad of your advice and help. I may tell you that the Congress does not belong to any particular group of men. It belongs to all, but the population of the year present, it is the lower the bulk of the population, must be its primary concern. The Congress must, therefore, truly represent the poor. But that does not mean that all other classes,—the middle classes, the capitalist or landlord—must go aside. All that is meant is that all other classes must observe the interest of the poor. The Congress stands for the bettered prosperity and progress of India. The industrial classes are slowly coming within the Congress fold. During the past year they desired a help for which we cannot be grateful, to last your invitation to not to address, you are not due to my name, but because I am a humble servant of the Congress and representative of the Indian people. I cannot forget the service rendered by the non-cooperation classes, but I want you to go a step further. I want you to make the Congress just one and we would willingly consider the more to you. The work can be better done by you. But if you decide to assume the name, you can do so only on one condition. You must regard yourselves as leaders and servants of the poor. Your programme must be regulated for the benefit of the Indian nation, so, we Indian Members would put it, you must be satisfied with making the 'poor people' a name, an internal matter. I do not see a serious failure that non-cooperation is incompatible with such honesty. I know businessmen who are absolutely honest and incorruptible in their dealings. It is this early open to you to make change of the Congress. You know that there is no objection to an advertisement there. The Congress organization, I have noticed for five years without a break. It is based practically on self-sufficiency.

If we want total incorporation in our list, I want that of the Englishmen too. I want to remind the men of the members rendered to the Congress in the past by distinguished Englishmen and Englishmen like Hume, Vile, Whitehead, and Dr. Broom. In fact the Congress must be back to the parties of a large-hearted Englishman. And I want Englishmen now to join in it not with of saving the point. It is entirely a matter of good will, a matter of character. Give your heart to the poor of India, be convinced I suppose that the Congress exists to represent all. Our nationalism can be applied to other nations, because as we will explain some part as we will allow some to go on in us. Through money we would save the whole world in this and I want your greater cooperation in the old Indianism may it have to be renewed. With your material and intellectual superiority how by goodness, we demand for money would be absolutely reasonable.

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Young India

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

A Point from the Point

It is a matter of course, I conclude, that as my effort to change my view has proved so fruitless, my general attitude towards the Muslim population of Yemen will not be affected.

as president of the Town Comptoir Committee. It makes up Chertsey. If you do not, here is the hundred of us will go and be done so. The village lives!

¹ "The road has never been," I used to declare.

"Government may tell us what to do, but we will do nothing to hurt the people of the People's Temple in California. We will do nothing to hurt the people of the People's Temple in California."

"Well, let her come in and travel with us. Gooding will speak to her in the morning."

But when I was thus saying good-bye, a woman rushed in from the upstairs door, accompanied by two other women, and rushed on rushing down, because they had come over Saturday's night. She was a little girl of twenty. I do not know who introduced Gooding's mother to her, who told her what hour with her. She there it was. The said her name was I; moved towards with us as if the most chance and then left us. As the time moved closer of people along in the marriage hallings, a whole of something, among them there have more women.

But that was the Pack's, and if we did not leave it it was our fault. But this night was a different one. As American we are supposed to be in charge, and many are assumed to be so things. An undisciplined, derelict, going around with all weapons, for order disappears in the general revelry, and it is but as though we would use the club to get out on the streets. Getting up out of the back door, having to find some way out of the crowd, but it was a better place. She was again surrounded and lay over as they were turned about from one end of the platform to the other in a confusion, pressing about all sides by a mob of human flesh which moved and moved like the green dancing to gradually lose at every moment. There is the mad scramble, or perhaps in consequence with it, the eagerness to take his last walk and his enjoyment, and again and again he has been broken down. An engine was sometimes found here a fireman working near where he was passing and waiting for the crowd to disperse. But they did not want they had broken out of the place on the doors and the windows, and the place, which we might have reached on the way, might be put up only after making a two hour's conversation with it.

When shall we understand that this small deviation means? When we read Harvey, it can only take us away from it. When shall we see that it is not that, something less that takes us at the root of small deviations into Consciousness?

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

All the place where I can keep that and get out the
money place. It was a beautiful day. I was the

The game will have two modified digital, independent
 modes: a 2D and a 3D game mode.

¹⁰⁰ "I think old ideas gave up the breathing," wrote the poet in 1922.

The d_{eff} was used by Lord (1980) along with ratios to d_{eff} .

1. *It is found, perhaps not intended, "Lips here, to look to me with a constant smile."* I only say

moment, at his arrival—at several hours before it was late at night, the house was already besieged by crowds which all hours of the day pulled and pulled until they smashed Ghadhi to the ground and then to the balcony to "give her direction." It was most terrible, but inevitable. Going out of the besieged house was out of the question and breakfast and newspaper made conditions worse. The Sikh friends, who had now realised everything, were seriously sorry by having called Ghadhi and discussion suggested, that he should not go to the Sikh League. 'No,' said Ghadhi, 'I was prepared to meet and discuss things with as many of you as you like.' The city leaders had noted an address and they were keen on presenting it to him. This was as the nearest approach to the room where he was sitting, his only being accessible to all except a couple of men sitting in front of him. 'How you find me prisoner of my own people,' he said with a way of surprise. The Sikhs came out in the evening. But they had all met him in Delhi only a few days ago.

'But tell me now what you want me to do. Have you anything new to tell me?'

'No.'

'Then why should you have said my presence was indispensable?'

'We wanted you at the Sikh League.'

Major Telling turned up the Sikh attitude as he had done in his own speech: 'We are glad to fight communists back and with. You suggest a national solution and we will submit to it. The total attitude that you suggest is not a national solution, we will not allow ourselves to be misled by a conspiracy.'

'No,' said Ghadhi. 'If you insist on the national point of view, the way you have adopted is hardly the way.'

'The only way to fight communists is by counter demands of the same nature.'

'You cannot fight communists by opposition. But there is the only solution, communist or national. The national you realise that we do not want a final peace to submit for us, we will let the common agree to surrender everything — not because it is the ideal solution or a just solution but because it is the only expedient. And why do you let willing surrender to a community as such? This is an attitude on the National that questions. The flag is my own personal matter, it has been before the country for ten years, a lot of movement has gathered round it, much sacrifice and suffering has been given through to keep it flying. Do you think it is a pleasure to me to agree to be being closed? But I know that you are dissatisfied and it only to please you community I agreed to have a Committee about the flag. In the same way we ought to be called upon to do many things to satisfy a particular community. But this did not seem to many reasonable. "Well then," said Ghadhi, "I suggest that you should meet the village and Modern, discuss the movement with them and advise of a solution which satisfies them and you and place it before the country." That is how the conference called.

What Gurus saw in Villages

Ghadhi's reply to the address presented to him last week by the Municipal Corporation Bombay dealt

with the other side to the village. I reproduce the speech, which was delivered in Gujarati, practically in entirety.

'I had thought, "said he, "that the one address you and I have met one year ago was quite enough, but here I have my hands and you have has prepared you to present to me another address. But you may be sure that I am not so unthinking as to appreciate all that has been said, but I know that as in 1920 now it has been given to me as representative of the tribes of the land, I think to live for the oppressed masses of India, and I think to live for the emancipation of those millions of slaves, I think I should be a creature of those who are the land and the lower masses will speak and with. That I think cannot be achieved by force, but by organisation and unity. Your address I like it is a token of your sympathy for Gandhian politics.

'You have as your address referred to my address by the name of the so-called communists. Their name should be not called that, but one of the respectable members of Bombay is that Hindu who was that day in Hindustan.

'India does not live as one town but as villages. But if the whole want to demonstrate that their population will live for the villages of India the bulk of their resources should be spent in maintaining the existence of and bettering the poor. We must not look to our towns, we must learn to be their servants. When the cities realise that they must live for the welfare of the poor, they will make their policies and institutions and the life of their institutions correspond somewhat to the villages. What therefore I am accepting as address here you for a second time you will permit me to hope that you will more and more make the town of the poor your own and as an extent of your desire to do so I want you to identify yourselves with the thousands of workers in the city. I want you to make them feel that the Corporation is there as it is of the welfare. Therefore I am accepting as address here the beautiful motto do beautiful things for the poor. If Bombay is the poorest city in India it is a really because of the India where the world reception to the most generous in their character. Does not the Corporation owe an address to the great services of the Provincial India who was just called the father of the Corporation? You may say that you belong to the service of the poor.

'You have referred to the question of organized work. Let all of us Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, live sincerely as Indians, pledged to live and do for one another. Let it be our business to live for the children of the same nation, restoring our national faith and yet being one, like the countless houses of our land. You have blessed me with your address to achieve national unity. But it cannot be achieved by the effort of a single individual.

'One word more—If the appeal I have made to the sense of the poor has been heard and if you will identify yourself more with the villages, a beginning can be made by introducing half-penny in your schools and making your 50,000 boys and girls take on the debt. This can be done at the least expense and without any difficulty, and is the wish of the

"This Kandi will follow in a series of courses. What can be better education for our boys and girls than that they should learn through spending to identify themselves with the poor. May God give you the strength and the will to serve the innumerable millions of India." M. B.

An Open Letter

Most Gentleman Mahatma,

Recent reports show that since the successful termination of your peace negotiations you have made several public appeals to the Revolutionary movement to call off their movement at least for the present and to give you a last chance by trying non-violence with. As a matter of fact, the calling off of any movement is neither an ideological nor a sentimental act. It is the consideration of the particular needs of different parts that force the leaders to change their tactics.

Let us presume that at the time of peace policy, you did not conclude the last time for a definite moment, and did not make a secret of it, that this was not going to be the final settlement. I think all intelligent people would have understood quite easily that after the termination of all the violence you express it would not be thought that the final stage was reached. The Congress is bound by its League obligation to carry on the struggle vigorously till the complete independence is achieved. In face of this predicament, the peace and compromise is but a temporary truce which only makes a little rest to prepare better arms as a better mode for the next struggle. The possibility of compromise and a truce can be weighed and justified in the light of the above considerations alone.

As regards the proper appeals by and the conditions on which any truce can be effected, it goes with the leaders of the movement to decide. In face of the League resolution you have thought it expedient to call off the entire movement for the present, but nevertheless that resolution stands. Nevertheless, as is evident from the very name,—the Hindustani Socialist Republican Party,—the revolutionaries stand by the establishment of the Socialist Republic which is not a half-way house. They are bound to carry on the struggle till their goal is achieved and their ideal is accomplished, for they would be sure not to change their tactics according to the changing circumstances and movements. Revolutionary struggle assumes different shapes at different times, it becomes more direct, open, more mass led, more times purely spiritual, and more mass + force led and such struggle. In the circumstances, there must be special tactics, the consideration of which may prepare the revolutionaries to call off their movement. But no such decision can be taken advanced by you. More occasional appeals do not and cannot count much in the revolutionary struggle.

Since your newspapers you have called off your movement and consequently all of your prisoners have been released. But what about the revolutionary prisoners? Dozens of Ghadar party prisoners imprisoned since 1913 are still lying in jails, in spite of having undergone the full terms of their imprisonments. Scores of married law prisoners are still buried in their living tombs. And so are dozens of Indian trade prisoners, Doghark, Kalyan, Mathura Kumar and Lakshmi Gangadhar and prisoners are amongst these prisoners

still locked behind bars. More than half a dozen revolutionary leaders are going on at Lahore, Delhi, Changan, Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere. Dozens of revolutionaries are ascending and descending these and many locales. More than half a dozen prisoners are actually waiting for their sentences. What about all of these people? The Ghadar League comprises some confident prisoners, who have lately come into prison and who have accepted enormous public sympathy, do not lose the bulk of the revolutionary party. Their fate is not the only consideration before the party. As a matter of fact these prisoners are expected to do greater good than the continuation of their sentences.

But in spite of all this, you are making public appeals asking them to call off their movement. Why should they do so? You have not mentioned any very definite thing in these circumstances your appeals mean you are joining the hands with the Government to crush the movement, and your appeals amount to promising treachery, desertion and betrayal amongst them. If that were not the case, then the best thing for you would have been to approach some of the prominent revolutionaries and to talk over the whole thing with them. You ought to have tried to convince them to call off their movement. I do not think you also share the general conservative notion that the revolutionaries are devoid of reason, residing in destruction and destruction. Let us inform you that it is really the case in quite the contrary. They always consider the past and even of every step they take and they fully realize the responsibility which they incur and they weigh its importance in the constructive phase of the revolutionary programme that is very often, though in the present circumstances they cannot but identify themselves with the destructive part of their programme.

The present policy of the Government towards them is to deprive them of the sympathy and support of the masses which they have won in their movement, and then crush them, to realize they can be easily broken down. In face of this fact any movement appeal to cause destruction amongst them makes would be merely selfish and counter-revolutionary. It would be involving direct assistance in the Ghadar aim to crush them.

Therefore we request you either to talk to some revolutionary leaders—there are as many as fifteen—and agree to meet with them all to stop these appeals. Hence for problem with persons one of these two alternative courses must pursue it wholeheartedly. If you cannot help them, then please have mercy on them. Let them alone. They can better take care of themselves. They know that the legitimacy of the revolutionary party is in the face of political struggle is secured. Masses are rallying round them and the ship is not far off when they will be leading the masses under their banner towards their noble and lofty ideal—the Socialist Republic.

If you sincerely mean to help them, then have a talk with them to understand their point of view, and become the problem is cleared.

Hope you will kindly consider the above request and in your view be known publicly.

Yours,
One of the Many

Young India

Foreign Cloth and other British Goods

[By M. K. Gandhi]

It is desirably to be noted that Englishmen in general and Lancashire millowners in particular will realise that India is to free her clothes and her goods need for ever British foreign cloth whether English, Japanese or any other. This is an economic necessity which will not be removed even when India attains the most complete independence. Among the very first acts of a popular government would certainly be complete prohibition of foreign cloth.

And foreign cloth will be replaced not by indigenous materials but by Khadi or spun and woven in Indian villages of India. Though the indigenous mills undoubtedly and economically benefit by the foreign cloth boycott, the Congress conceives its main aim to be the support on behalf of Khadi, i. e., the Indian industries. Let all the Congressmen understand that this boycott movement is a mass movement, it is a home-rule movement. Foreign manufacturers will in the end advance their own and their agencies' interest by realising and recognising the history and the policy of the movement. It has political consequences, but being a purely economic and humanitarian movement it should command the support of the whole world.

And yet evidently higher and unestimated agitation has been launched not against foreign cloth boycott in England. The tremendous advantage gained by England owing to the removal of the boycott of British goods is hardly ever noticed. This is not fair. The experience of a fact of very great importance makes much more difficult the solution of the Indian question which is already difficult enough. Do the English public know that the British goods boycott movement is over thirty years old? Do they not see that it gained the greatest impetus during the last struggle and that it created success almost as great as the successful boycott foreign cloth? India will for a long time to come, if not always, need certain things from foreign countries. Today the movement is successful. Suppose there is a halting movement and no responsible partnership between England and India will cut the trade with England in other articles that India may need to equal more than compensate for the loss of the goods and the raw materials which England must bring in every year?

The thing to realise is that India can no longer be the dumping ground for every thing English or foreign whether she wants it or not. The days of dependence are over. We may in any case achieve complete unity. If we fail, we may achieve complete independence. But the world will find that all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jains, for whom India is their home, will have unitedly to resist the exploitation of India's resources for the benefit of the foreigners. They will want the teachers and doctors which serve all the communities with uniform impartiality.

Foreign Missionaries

[By M. K. Gandhi]

Correspondents writing on various have and still disagree from the point of their statements on what has been mentioned as to be improvements on the subject of foreign missionaries. Only one correspondent has been unqualified enough to ask me whether I am seriously opposed. Even Ganga Janghi, my ardent co-workers and greatest help in Mahatma, has gone into hysterics without consideration to verify the report. That is the standard set of all.

This is what a reporter has just told my secretary.

If instead of making themselves to be missionaries with and material service to the poor, they do propaganda by means of medical aid, education, etc., then I would certainly not have to object. Every man's religion is as good as my other. Certainly India's religion are adequate for her people. We need no converting anybody."

I have given so many statements that I cannot read the time or the occasion or the content for the statement. All I can say is that it is a survey of what I have always said and held. My views on foreign missions are as above. I have more than once expressed them before numerous audiences. I am therefore unable to understand the lay over the distorted version of my views.

Let us return to the statement as I should make it.

"If instead of making themselves purely to be missionaries with an education, medical service to the poor and the like, they would use their activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytising, I would certainly like them to withdraw. Every nation considers as one fact to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great facts told by the people of India are adequate for her people. India needs no kind of conversion from one faith to another."

Let me now amplify the said statement. I hold that proselytising under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unethical. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion after all is a deeply personal matter. It touches the heart. Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity or his religion has cured me of some disease or why should the doctor expect to suggest such a change when I am under his influence? Is my medical relief as one reward and stimulus? Or why should I think I am in a missionary educational institution here. Christ is looking down upon me? Is my religion these persons are not uplifting and give me to recognise if not more nobility? The methods of conversion must be like Gandhi with above examples. Faith is not imposed like another religion. It is given through the language of the heart. If a man has a living faith in him, it spreads on some like the sun in world. Because of its universality, the nature of its influence is far wider than that of the visible beauty of the colour of the petals.

I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against the method of it. Conversion nowadays has become a matter of business, like any other. I remember having read a missionary upon saying how much he had got paid by church and that receiving a budget for 'the new harvest'.

Yes, I do maintain that India's great sufferings are all, nothing for her, Apart from Christianity and Islam, Hinduism and its offshoots, Islam and Zoroastrianism are living faiths. No one kills in protest. All faiths are capable done in their respective names. What is wanted therefore is living bloods contact among the followers of the great religions of the world and not a clash among them as the English attempt on the part of such minority to show the superiority of its faith over the rest. Though such lively contact it will be possible by and by to rid our religious faiths of superstitions and superstitions.

It follows from what I have said above that India is in no need of intervention of the hand I have to send. Government as the source of self-pollution, self-criticism is the crying need of the hour. That however is not what is even meant by protest. To those who would correct India, might it not be said, 'Peoples hand itself'?

'One of the Many' (3)

(By M. K. Gurus)

The open letter written by "One of the Many" in the late *Swadeshi* issue, Sri. Sathya was Sathya Bhagavan's cousin. The letter was delivered to me after his death. What of him prevented me from giving the letter earlier publication. It is printed without any alterations.

The writer is not 'one of the many' Many by not with the policies for political freedom. Numerous considerable political murder may be, it is not possible to withhold recognition of the laws of the country and the courts which anyone such would break, and let us hope that the rule of political assassination is not growing. If the Indian represent towards, as it is bound to, the acceptance of the political demands will be gone for ever. At any rate I am working at that task.

The writer does not have time before when he says that I have made no more than occasional appeals to the revolutionaries to call off their movement, and I think on the contrary that I have given them lead lines which, though they have been often repeated in their policies, will have recognition.

1. The revolutionary activity has not brought us any new goal.

2. It has added to the military expenditures of the country.

3. It has given rise to expenditure on the part of the Government without doing any good.

4. Whenever revolutionary murder has taken place, it has for a time and in that place demoralised the people.

5. It has in no way contributed to mass awakening.

6. Its effect on the masses has been chiefly bad in that they had to bear the burden of military and additional expenses and the indirect effect of Government wrath.

7. Revolutionary murder must drive in the Indian soil. Indian tradition, its history teaches us, being unfavourable to the growth of political violence.

8. If the revolutionaries wish to control the masses in their 'struggle', we would have to wait for an indefinitely long time for it to permeate the masses and then to gain freedom.

9. If the method of violence were to become popular, it is bound to spread, as it has done in other countries at one time or other.

10. The revolutionaries have no better demonstration of the efficacy of the appetite method, a, my misfortune which has given us in spite of socialist mass of violence on their part and in spite even of violence occasionally done by the so-called masses of non-violence.

11. Revolutionaries should accept my testimony when I tell them that their activity has not only not done any good in the movement of non-violence, but it has on the contrary harmed the cause. In other words, if I had a completely powerful strength we would have pointed out and already.

Thus, I claim, are kept back and no appeal to violence. But the writer further objects to my making public appeals to the party and suggests that thereby I help the bourgeoisie to crush the movement. Surely the bourgeoisie is in no need of my help to deal with its movement. It fights for life both against the revolutionary and me. It wants more danger than the non-violent movement than from the violent. It knows how to deal with the latter. It is helped by the former which has already shaken it to its foundations.

Moreover, authors of political murder count for next before they start upon their useful career. No nation of states are possibly weaker than this.

And seeing that the revolutionary party must work in secret, I have no other way open to me but that of making public appeals to its unknown members. I may say parenthetically that my public appeals have not altogether failed, as that were I could carry out revolutionaries among my co-workers.

The same letter complains that persons other than Subhaschandra have not been selected. I have explained in these pages the reasons why it was impossible to limit to the names of the other, present. Personally, I want the release of all of them. I would make every effort to secure their release. I am aware that some of them might in have been doubting if long was. The Congress has a resolution to that behalf. Dr. Narayan has been appointed by the Working Committee to collect all names. As soon as he has got the list, steps will be taken to secure their release. But those who are not much help by supporting revolutionary murder. We may not have the side and also not it. Of course there are political persons who should be discharged in any case. I am only given the evidence in all concerned over the delay is due not to want of will but to want of ability. Let it be also remembered that when the first settlement comes, if it does, in the course of a few months, all political persons must be discharged. If it does not come, those who are trying to secure the release of the other political persons will feel themselves in prison.

To Subscribers

Government not having still returned the confiscated machinery, we are encountering great difficulty in bringing out the paper as usual. Subscribers will therefore kindly excuse us if they receive their copy a day later than usual.

Struggle, Young India

Vadapalli Shooting

[The following report describes public situation and scenes. Since my discharge from prison, I have had many stories of police high-handedness in the South. The impression left on my mind was that in no other part of India was it worse than in the South and in the South no where more than in Andhra. This verified inference perhaps brings out the previous evidence. M. K. G.]

On the 21st March, 1951 vague reports reached Hyderabad that there was serious trouble in connection with the car festival at Vadapalli on the previous day and that the police opened fire and several persons were killed and others injured. On the succeeding days newspapers reported different versions of the incident. We at once decided to go to the spot, inquire into and report on the matter. We accordingly left Hyderabad on the 1st instant and visited Vadapalli, Latta, Ryali, Kattapeta, Gopaband, Annapuram and Uthala on the 1st and the two succeeding days and witnessed several scenes not only at the above mentioned but also at other villages. As we have come to definite conclusions as a result of our survey and as we feel that immediate action should be taken by the Government, we venture to submit this report.

Report

There is an ancient temple of Siva Venkateswara situated at great distance from Vadapalli, Ryali Taluk. The place is 15 miles from Hyderabad and is situated on the banks of the river Godavari. Every year on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of Chitra, a great festival is celebrated in the place. The deity is taken in procession on a big car or open chariot between 1-30 and 3-30 or 4 p. m. and Kalyanam is performed in the night. People of the district as well as of the neighbouring districts, over 50 thousands, gather there for the festival. People who also come during the past also go there to make offerings to the important deities. There is a Deity placed in the temple for receiving gifts from the pilgrims and there will be a collection of such and ornaments, of the value of a few thousands of rupees in the Deity. Pandanas, Kales and Madras also come to the place on that day in large numbers, and they celebrate their festivals separately at a distance of a mile from the place where the main festival of Siva Ravana is celebrated.

The temple and its properties are managed by trustees appointed in pursuance of a scheme of management framed by the District Court of East Godavari for the purpose some thirty years ago.

This year the festival fell on 20th March and all arrangements were duly made for the car procession, but the gathering, about twenty thousands, was not so large as in previous years on account of the score of cholera in the neighbourhood, which was duly noted. The police of Annapuram, Kattapeta, Ryali and Annapuram attended the festival, as immediate duty is owed and the Deputy Superintendent of Hyderabad, the Deputy Commissioner of Kattapeta, and the Tahsildar of Ryali were also present. But the Deputy Collector and Magistrate of the district did not go there on that day.

In the morning the attendants of the Temple, who conduct the festival, was sent for by the Circle Inspector and a statement was taken from him as to the persons that should be on the car when it proceeds. He asked the attendants whether he had any objection for Mahatma Gandhi's photo being placed on the car and he asked that there was no objection to it and neither Mahatma nor anyone prohibited such a thing. The Inspector then suggested to him that the placing of the photo might cause some trouble and the attendants assured him that there could be no reason for such trouble and if there were any trouble, he would stop the procession at once. Thereupon he said that matter need not be included in the statement.

In the middle of the day, the photos of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as also a brocade flag were placed on the car by some persons. Some time after, the police Sub-Inspector of Ryali and Annapuram came to the car with some constables and got the photos and the flag removed in spite of protest. The people on board of the car sat on either side of the two long ropes tied to the car for pulling it. Thereafter the Deity was taken in procession and placed on the car and all the formalities preliminary to the procession were gone through and the attendants and the Secondary school the Circle Inspector present to give permission for starting the procession. But he said that until the arrival of the Sub-Inspector and the Deputy Superintendent, the procession could not be started. Accordingly they had to wait long for them, but the crowd was patient and peaceful all along, and waited for their arrival.

At about 1-30 p.m. the Deputy Superintendent and the Sub-Inspector came to the spot, followed shortly after by the Tahsildar. The Deputy Superintendent as soon as he came asked the Sub-Inspector where the car was. Under his orders they went at once to the car and posted behind the car. Then the Deputy Sub-Inspector asked that the procession might start. But the people would not run and pull the car as the photos and the flag were removed. The Deputy Superintendent, the Sub-Inspector and Tahsildar talked to each other for a while or so and the Deputy Superintendent abruptly began talking with the Kattapeta Inspector of Ryali. Several Subordinates of Ryali and others, who were standing on board of the car near the officers. When the Deputy Superintendent started the beating the police Inspector and assistants joined in the lathi charge and many people were beaten. As they would lathi charges, they used to go away to a distance. Whenever they gathered near the car, there was fresh lathi charges by the police. The object of the lathi charge is to break the people so that they might come forward and pull the car without the photos of Mahatma Gandhi and others. So the police began to beat and drag people to the ropes to pull the car, but they were unwilling to do so and used to leave the place. Thus the police caught hold of others and compelled them to pull the car. But the car did not move. Thus the process of continuous lathi charges went on continuously for more than half an hour.

One who was far out in front of the crowd with folded hands and hands up, was arrested by the police and taken into custody.

There were some who got up a strange tree to witness the procession. A Police Inspector went up the tree and began to beat them. Some fell down, some jumped down. But before they could get up, they were beaten by the police who stood under the tree.

After some little changes, a portion of the crowd moved to a distance of about half a furlong to the south themselves from the hotel, as the photos were not allowed to be placed on the car. As all efforts to induce the people to pull the car failed, some Praesidents and others were hastily brought to pull the car and the police, including the Deputy Superintendent and Inspector and some village officers, also joined them. But the car did not move. The police then fired at the car with the object apparently of intimidating the people and making them pull the car. But this had not the desired effect. At this juncture a batch of men were chosen from behind and the police fired on the crowd without any warning. A number of shots were fired and five casualties were inflicted upon the strikers. Two young persons, one a Kamma of Kottapeta and another, a Kshatriya of Alur, died on the spot and two other persons died some time after they were taken to their houses. Many people received gun shots, one person at Gopichandram and another at Kottapeta were in a very precarious condition when some of us visited them on the 16th instant. We were informed that many and received gun shot wounds but we have been unable to trace them. As they were laid upon, the crowd was greatly agitated and began to throw sticks of earth, mud, upcharakam etc. The police apparently after their ammunition was exhausted fled from the place. Some people themselves went to officers' quarters and burnt some of their articles and records before the strikers when the officers took up quarters. On account of all this trouble there was no Rajaswami at all that night and we learn that it was postponed on the 17th instant that the necessary preliminary ceremonies.

In reviewing the situation, we are of opinion that the crowd was thoroughly peaceful, but did not want to pull the car without the photos of Mahatma Gandhi and others in view of little changes and the threat of the police. There was no difference of opinion among the people about the placing of the photos on the car. They could have let us Mahatma Gandhi be so universally recognised by all classes of people. They did not want to quarrel among themselves or create any disturbance whatsoever. The Deputy Superintendent of Police and his staff did not want the procession to go on with the photos and tried their best to prevent the car without the photos while the people were equally determined not to have anything to do with the procession unless the photos were placed on the car. Faced by their unwillingness to carry on the procession without the photos, the police at last resorted to little changes and then vainly stood fire on the crowd without any warning and killed at least four persons and injured several others.

In the circumstances above narrated, it is clear that the people were not willing to

car except with the photos on it and the Government had no objection, it was the plain duty of the police not to interfere in the matter and have tried to bring changes. Even if there were any difference of opinion regarding the photos and if there were any apprehensions of trouble in that respect, it was the duty of the police to carry out the wishes of the Government who was quite prepared to stop the procession in such a contingency.

It may now be said strongly of opinion that the conduct of the police was most governing and respectable and their actions justified by the law of innocent people in most circumstances.

We understood that after this tempo, the police were now trying to arrest ways and means for avoiding the losses. We have come to learn that one boy who was an inmate in the hospital at Kottapeta for a gun shot wound was taken on the 16th inst and kept in the police station at Kottapeta for the whole night and then taken on the way to Velupalli about 10 miles off the next day and left there to shift for himself.

In spite of the fact that this situation was perfectly peaceful, a strong reserve police is still posted at Velupalli and when we went to the village on the 16th instant a party of reserve police was made to parade the streets apparently to awe down the people.

We may assume that the people of Velupalli and the neighbouring places are quite satisfied and feel that they are at the mercy of the police. We feel bound to record the fact that that once and disturbance began, people think that the police have become lords of the land, the majority acting according to their will and the police feel embarrassed to deny the facts, though there might be no question for a time peace began and some people to carry out their wishes. We are of opinion that there is no security so long as the Government do not take strong measures to keep the police within proper bounds and make them realise that they are the servants of the rights and liberties of people.

Some bodies has made a solemn belief that the people of the district and it is heartening that with a temple should have taken place so continuous with a telephone instead of a temple and it is an exaggeration to say that people have completely lost all confidence in the police. We feel that the incident is so serious and the conduct of the police and other officers concerned so reprehensible as to call for an immediate independent and impartial inquiry regarding the matter. We are requested that unless the Deputy Superintendent of Police and other officers concerned are at once removed from the district, full and detailed information regarding the whole truth of the matter will not be forthcoming.

Dr. N. Subbarao, Kottapeta,
Madras and Indian Legislative
Council.

V. I. Narayanaswami,
Alur.

Chittari Indirya, M. L. C.

Ch. Venkateswaram, Madras.
The General, Madras.

Dr. Anantharam

Against Picketing

A refined Government officer from the South writes:

'I gather from the attacks of Mahan that you have published in Young India a new code of picketing. I just and forgive slight slips, and have invited your readers to read you for what rules for picketing they might think of. May I venture to suggest Purdie's famous advice 'Don't in this connection be your most zealous adherents in the pamphlets explaining the terms of the Poona Pact was told among other things that freedom was not worth having if it did not include freedom to set and even to sell, and yet picketed out that when Mahatma had himself had given the treatment of His Congress God himself was again it was questionable that one must should dare to deny the same complete freedom to his fellow citizens. May I just respectfully ask you then why you are telling night and day to prevent people from picketing liquor or wearing turbans that if they liked to do so if you would care to follow Purdie would you not be more exact and be more exact and clear? Besides there is one very important point that should not be lost sight of. If picketing were to be legalised, or more picketing as advocated by you is recognised as a lawful method, it might be employed in many cases with results that are undesirable to think of. I will mention just one such case. Religious manifestations are now being to persuade people to be 'non-violent.' If Christian and Muslim missionaries in any of our provinces were to picket Hindu temples for the purpose of inducing their adherents who would be the confusion of India? This might probably be done in such a way that the picketing was not to be employed in any religious ceremonies. But is that not what the picketing as a principle has been left to stand on? Further, besides religious there are several other deprivations of life in which picketing could be easily employed without descending on the laws from any of the provisions of post code, with such a list would be totally unworkable. I hope you will not feel to longer your last chapter in the matter and be quite sure that in encouraging picketing in any form you are not helping to 'save the world.'

The writer is pleasant but not convincing. He suggests that picketing is as old as time. It does not need legalising. The writer does not imagine that which was illegal before. Picketing is the right of a reformer which he may set up as a sort of going up his nose.

The writer has been betrayed into the common error of thinking that because a man has the freedom of air or of his very moving organs one would be an independent lawbreaker with the freedom. The fact is that individual freedom to air makes with it the freedom on the part of the public to wear the same from his own and even to legislate against it. 'The right of man is death.' We are one man or are we? Suppose I have picketed against what the world has always regarded as the strongest and strongest monopoly by authority to force people against their will to be 'good' and to share submitted by about the smallest of what is good and what is bad. Picketing picketing as the other hand is a friendly warning against a practice that a reformer ought to be had. What is gone beyond that point, and because

what, the law does it and controls the matter from interference with the known State. The writer has pointed the dangers of picketing in certain conditions. He is not even advised in his description. There have been pickets before now. Only the strongest of the world and was given up. And there is nothing to prevent any person from entering such a place as long as he observes the rule of the game and does not use public expenditure. Picketing of shops and door shops and houses slight shops has been possible and largely successful because there is a public feeling against these shops. There is therefore no chance of the Congress having 'given the word and seeing the whistled.' Picketing of the objection type has come to stay, for it has proved its weakness. H. K. G.

An Impassioned Beggar

A correspondent sends the following impassioned suggestion for giving the oppressed people:

"The Hindu and Muslim communities should have equality of votes in every province. As an adjustment of communal voting, this is obviously agreed to be the necessary remedy. The idea, however, is not to adjust but to satisfy agitated voters. The mode of adjusted my suggestion will be that every province in which the two communities had themselves agreed to agree votes at the polls will be then be decided by the vote of the other [communal] community. It is understood that these other communities will have proportional representation."

I make the comment on a lot the simple reason that everything will depend itself on me, if I committed itself to the community vote rule. Will the Muslims be satisfied, and how much of the State? H. K. G.

Charika Prize Competition

The Secretary, All India Spinning Association, communicated writes:

The Board of judges appointed by the A. I. S. A. to examine the spinning machines received for the prize of one lakh announced by the A. I. S. A. met on the 15th of March, and examined 22 machines but had been agreed for the competition. Only 4 competitors were able to give a demonstration to the judges.

From the last made a world apart that none of the competitors wanted to tell the conditions first. The judges, however, are of equal in that I do not as presented by another set. Another better result are likely to be obtained. Accordingly the time is hereby extended by one month. New competitors are also allowed to get copies of the samples on. The competitors should deliver their machines on their first visit at the Capital, Mysore, Madras, Bombay, Ahmedabad, for examination on or before the 11th October, 1931.

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Young India

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The Loin-Cloth

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A critic has taken issue of my remark made before the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce in India that the Indian civilization must not be allowed to be a jail, and by the means from the West. The critic has confused Indian civilization with the loin-cloth and has condemned it.

M. C. Chhabil has been kind enough graciously to challenge my loin-cloth to the whole world. It has become known the loincloth is taught at first the old way, but does not explain what it means.

In 1921 Mahatma Mahomed Ali was arrested at Yelverdale in jail. I was going on a tour to the West. He wrote from Bhopal Mahomed Ali who was travelling with me was deeply moved, also by the vigorous attacks and educated meetings in Madras. I left for Madras and went as far as Madras. On the way I saw in our department march, that was richly represented with what had happened. I was without any press they were hindered in getting a press. I started some conversation with some of them and pleaded for Khadi. For I had no other way open to me to secure the release of the Ali Brothers save through Khadi. They shook their heads at my word, "We are too poor to buy Khadi and it is no good. I realised the sublimity of truth behind this remark. I had my vest, cap, and tall shirt on. When these entered only partial truth, the millions of comparatively naked men, were for short having four inches wide and nearly as many long long dhoti. Through these have been the naked truth. What effective answer could I give them, if I was not to devote myself of every inch of clothing. I solemnly said and told them to a still greater extent being myself as a bare with the British nation? And that I did the very same morning after the Mahatma's coming.

Here then, there is no question of loin-cloth a civilization. The adoption of the loin-cloth was by men in their infancy. But as far as the loin-cloth also speaks language for it represents Indian civilization. It is a symbol of the culture represented by the different faiths and influenced by the geography and other environment in which the culture have been. Thus Indian culture is not the same in Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and India but it is well influenced by the conditions of the respective countries. Indian culture is Indian India, it is

Indian India, Indian not any other, wholly. It is a fusion of all and essentially Indian. I feel the whole that culture, and every man who calls himself or herself as Indian is bound to treasure that culture, be its virtues and beauties and its faults.

European civilization is no doubt richer than the European but it will never run for India, if we endeavour to copy it. This is not to say that we may not adopt and assimilate whatever may be good and capable of assimilation by us as it does not also mean that even the Europeans will not have to part with whatever evil might have crept into it. The human mind for material comforts and their exploitation is such as well, and I make bold to say that the Europeans themselves will have to model their minds, if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves. It may be that my feeling is wrong, but I know that for India to run after the Golden Fleece is to court certain death. Let us explore our own hearts the motto of a Western philosopher 'Plain living and high thinking'. Today it is known that the nations cannot have high living and low the low who prefer to do the thinking for the nations run the risk, in a vain search after high living, of losing high thinking.

His Eyes by Dying

Sgt. Q. V. Barker writes of an example of great bravery which is worthy of record.

"Sgt. Panchabhai, who was popularly known as Bapu Gopalchand, was a young warrior of Maharashtra. For the past few years he has worked as assistant Secretary of the Colaba public association of South India. He was also occasionally taking part in Congress and Nationalist propaganda. On the 21st of April a house in South India was, Bapu Gopalchand took a leading part in the work of spreading the fire. On learning that there were children in the house he rushed in without caring for consequences and rescued all the children. He continued the house to save the children also. Unfortunately the fire had spread all over the house and a burning beam crashed over his head. He was badly burnt and lost all over his body and was taken to the civil hospital where he succumbed to his wounds on the 21st instant."

His parents, if they are alive, should be proud of their brave son. Bapu Gopalchand lives through his glorious death.

M. K. G.

What is Satyagraha

1*

Friends,

I thank you heartily for your invitation to address you on the meaning of Satyagraha as evolved and expanded by Gandhi. I don't claim to have made a close study of the philosophy of Satyagraha. I have always felt that Satyagraha can be and should not be made by a scholarly study of a stationary and finished, but only by a strenuous effort to live the life of a Satyagrahi. The doctrine is itself a beautiful temple. It can be put in a single sentence "Truth is a quest of love in all circumstances to what you perceive to be the Truth in all circumstances and never mind the cost." But even this is proper understanding and appreciation of this temple depends largely on the response within. Very few are so equipped by a whole life of single-minded devotion; but to describe it in others implies something more, viz., a life of exceptional goodness or virtue. I can claim neither. I, therefore, come here not so much to give as to receive. Moreover, I am interested under the leadership of regarding myself in a language in which I am little good. Having devoted so much attention my own people to the language of our land I studiously avoided the use of the English language for the last twenty years and more. I am not sorry for it, neither am I ashamed of the numerous mistakes I would make in the grammar and choice of the tongue in which you are all used. I rather hold that it might be have been possible for this late gathering to conduct its proceedings and original talks in Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi. As it is, we are under the influence of the doctrine of Imperialism rather than Internationalism even in the matter of language. We, here, then, do not yet see the universality of working in one work in a language understood by the Indian people. The educated people of India have varied against the manner by always choosing an vehicle of spoken language not understood by the millions—English, Persian and English. The Gujaratis speak, Lord Shastri, A-himsa and the vast galaxy of "hims" preferred to speak in the language of the masses and they were all internationalists. They all believed that Humanity was one family—as the Gujaratis used to say—*"સર્વે સદૃશઃ"*! They were, therefore, devoted to the service of God through the language of the people.

I am told that the International gatherings in Europe was there in that European languages were not and an army of highly trained interpreters make the work of the gatherings as easy as it is humanly possible. In the absence of any such arrangement here you will, I hope, put up with my Indian edition of the English language.

To return to my subject, Satyagraha is as I have said above, an universal doctrine in Truth as we perceive it in all the walks of life. It is a progressive search after Truth as the meaning and purpose of life. Truth is as wide as the universe and as deep as life. It is a privilege of Truth to be perceived progressively. It presents itself to us in its naked form and yet none can say that he has understood the whole of Truth.

Truth is not merely a statement of facts. It is the method of life as all as practice. The great philosopher Tyaga, the author of the *Udhishiksha*, declared the following Supreme things as the aspects of Truth: Integrity, equality, self-control, absence of jealousy, forgiveness, modesty, selfless, clarity, non-violence, reverence, sobriety, humility, and wisdom beyond time. These qualities, according to him, are the essence of Truth. One will not perhaps that they are more or less a means to the attainment of Truth. They represent the changes rather than the definition. But Bhaskar-charya says that a subject matters the ideal and the means for its attainment coincide.

In scientific parlance Truth has a two-fold meaning:

1. A correct and unvarnished statement of facts.
2. Scientific regard towards attainment of a process given.

1. A study of and a willing submission to the highest laws of life.

2. An unceasing search and effort towards the attainment of the ultimate meaning and purpose of life as a whole.

But I must not state here in a formal dissertation of what Truth is. I must thank Gandhi to give me a definition of Truth, he said he could not do it. I do not wonder at his reply. It is impossible to arrive at a correct or complete realisation of Truth, that is a reason why we have to dedicate the whole of our life for its search. But we all have an inner sense for the perception of Truth. We all can, for all practical purposes, know what Truth is and the more we are loyal to this perception the closer is our perception of Truth. Krishna has given us what is a fine definition of a Ethical sentence, "The quest of Truth will lead you to 'All Truth'." This may well be the motto of a Satyagrahi. It is debatable by the words of 'All Truth'—a Satyagrahi is determined to be loyal to the spirit of Truth as far as he can under any circumstances for the whole of his life. Satyagraha, therefore, actually stands in the dignity of a universal religion. It is more of a discipline than a doctrine, that is what makes it universal. It is Truth here, Truth has and Truth is the middle. It requires a life of intensity—a life of intensity—a dedicated life. Satyagraha is the response of love of us toward and to all creation of life. Satyagraha is, therefore, a religious pursuit, an unintermittent love or rather the flow of love towards life in the end that the Truth and the meaning of life may be attained.

The ordinary man of the world is hardly a conscious or a conscious workshop of Truth. His actions are chaotic. His thoughts are such. He feels that life is not safe on the hands of Truth. He, however, feels that Truth is important and, therefore, he is led by physical force, individual or organised. The expression of a Satyagrahi is totally different. It is his working conviction that Truth is living, Truth is omnipresent, that Truth is the greatest force—the greatest solvent, Truth is created and sustained when it is led by love force. The Satyagrahi knows that the eternal force of Truth is love. Non-violence is, therefore, regarded by the Satyagrahi as the greatest of Truth.

The discovery that non-violence is the only means for the attainment of Truth is Gandhi's original contribution to the philosophy of life. It is only his

* The first part of address delivered by him before the International Fellowship at Delhi in January last. Ed. T. C.

conscience to the art of life. To the man in the street, the Sanyasins are a cruel experiment in weakness, a sort of new religion and working group. This is but a partial view of Sanyasins. A Sanyasin is a fighter in so much as he never allows things to go down. His is not a philosophy of defeatism. He would not die in his responsibility because it happens to be unpleasant. He would never seek to ease his conscience. He is not a man to avoid pain. He would not suffer through or palliate, leave his life, to secure comfort, pleasure, peace or the great solace of his fellow-men. He can never reconcile himself to a life of inaction or moral inertia. He knows that there is always probability of a noble individual being in the right and the whole of the soul of the world being in the wrong. He knows that the world has produced no yet but a small number of adventures and explorers in the domain of Truth. He, therefore, is never weary because as conscience happens to him in the mystery of joy. He may not have even the conviction of a living faith that with God we but abide but in the mystery. It is not the nobility of Truth but the absolute loyalty to the spirit of Truth that matters here. He, therefore, is ever prepared for every conflict, with life in himself and a faith in the ultimate beneficent action of Truth. "Right wrongs no man" is not a moral legal matter with him. It is a moral action. It is an article of faith. It is a moral because the sacrifice he now for the achievement of right is not the sacrifice of others but self-sacrifice. "I must suffer for the sake of this Truth because I see its essence." Without this sense of responsibility life would become mean. It would be a mean.

But a Sanyasin's soul can be considered as an eternal light. He is not free to conquer but to convert, to convince and to prevail but to persuade. He, therefore, is infinite patience and all humility. He knows that life is a continuous progress from error to Truth. He is not like the learner who believes that he and his teacher is both absolute in the pursuit of Truth and that the soul of the world is shrouded in ignorance and error. He also knows that objective error does not degrade a soul because objective error does not reflect against the spirit of Truth. What matters most is not the mechanical possession of Truth or making but it is moral and universal integrity that counts, and the articles of faith but the attitude towards life. That is what leads again to a moral being.

A Sanyasin also knows that Truth may manifest itself in an infinite number of forms. In fact, there is more expression and truth in Truth. It was Shirdi Baba, Paramahansa, who said and that the living and the dead are synonymous. The Sanyasins, therefore, always have to discover Truth manifest beneath the golden lid of form. He is a master of forms but never a worshiper of them. He, therefore, has no difficulty in recognizing truth in any shape or form and even where he cannot recognize it he has the humility to respect the testimony of others as much as he respects his own, only so far as his life is concerned, he must be loyal to his own conscience. He, therefore, refuses to follow the multitude of the ordinary consciousness. Not being subject to the influence of good and evil himself, he feels it better to dignify his appeal to the, respect or conviction in other men. His appeal is always to the highest and

sublimest in man and the appeal is not an act through the agency of a consciousness, and through mere consciousness, but through a life lived in accordance with the highest of Truth and Love. The Sanyasins, therefore, are a constant source of a real victory that is higher. Persistence, patience, sacrifice, sacrifice are his methods. They are and ought to be the methods of every true follower.

Let us consider what is underneath the faith of the Sanyasins. The Sanyasins believe that every creature has a soul. That each soul responds in a greater or less degree to every appeal to its nature. There is no soul so low as to be utterly insensitive to the moral appeal. Apparent failure in this appeal should, therefore, be considered not by conscious but by passive. A dormant soul can be awakened not by appealing to the human instincts but by believing in and appealing to the highest patterns of the previous world made in one's self. This infinite patience can be cultivated only if we believe that death is not the final end of life. Death is not the final step of life. Otherwise Truth manifests only through the destruction of the body through which it is a preparation for self-expression even as a new appeal takes its birth when the old soul has ceased to live. The Sanyasins feel that the soul is of Truth, since creates. Everything else is of an value measured to the achievement of Truth. Just as pain is converted into love by submission to life is converted into suffering through sacrifice, through suffering and that is called the process of Sanyasins. This process is eternally going on in the life of a man of Truth. It is completed by where only when a spiritual man grows in a difference or transformation in the evolution of life. Submission is also made when an when moral nature comes to a conflict with animal ones. Spiritual nature or spirituality is always a spiritual through Sanyasins with oneself. It is also known as a process of self-discipline. It is in the heart of all social evolution of a spiritual man, in all healthy families it is the part of Sanyasins or appeal through self-sacrifice that keeps the family life pure and more and dignifies the moral standard of life.

It was the genius of Shirdi Baba he extended the universal law of the family life to the wider field of international, universal, and international struggles. He has proved to the world that this law alone can establish who we are all working, when today, surely to tomorrow he dies. I would recommend to you to prefer the most healthy to following even your master teaches the teachings of God and the universal of all human souls. It is the right direction to the moral law that grows in the Sanyasins, he recognized nobility to break all national laws with a view to save the values of universal consciousness. Sanyasins, even in his most are a form, can never be a destroyer of two civilizations. It is merely the process of love. We all know that the love of love can never be held as a champion. It manifests itself in more new forms. It may be necessary at one time, patience or sacrifice, self-sacrifice or a trust, and self-sacrifice in the end it need be. It is a way against all kind of love, against self-sacrifice, hatred, pride and jealousy. A Sanyasin has, therefore, to require those he has given him. Like a true lover he is prepared to sacrifice every worldly thing that comes in the way of the operation of love.

(To be continued.)

Young India

The Cujarat Farmer

[By M. K. Chatterjee]

'Oten a dog a bad name and long. Man' say that the Cujarat farmer is unscrupulous and will lie out. In a press interview I said some days ago that it was unfortunate that Mr. Khosla was misled into saying that the Cujarat farmer was not paying the going rate other words, he was not japing up. When the newspaper was first made I was shocked, for I had faith that the Cujarat farmer though he had would carry out the terms of the Settlement to the full extent of his ability. The Settlement reports nothing more.

The complaint made by me to Delhi was that whereas large sums were collected in Bardoli and Velod before 31st February, only Rs. 1,232 were collected during the fortnight ending 15th March. The implication was that even the Cujarat was not able to pay.

Now, the Settlement was announced on 7th March. Sardar Vallabhbhai and I reached Bardoli on 10th March. It is clear that nothing could be expected before we arrived in Bardoli and explained the position to the farmers and they could return to their homes. I am, however, an old friend of payment.

Revenue Collections in Bardoli and Velod

DATE	BARBOLLI	VELOD
Collections before		
13-3-31	Rs. 2,500-0-0	Rs. 25,000-0-0
On 10th March
17th "	300-0-0	..
18th "	400-0-0	..
19th "	200-0-0	150-0-0
20th "	..	220-0-0
21st "	300-0-0	375-0-0
22nd "	1,700-0-0	1,114-0-0
23rd "	300-0-0	340-0-0
24th "	1,000-0-0	..
25th "	1,000-0-0	120-0-0
26th "	2,000-0-0	2,251-0-0
27th "	1,500-0-0	1,595-0-0
1st April	4,000-0-0	1,204-0-0
2nd "	2,000-0-0	1,200-0-0
7th "	10,000-0-0	1,830-0-0
8th "	900-0-0	2,010-0-0
9th "	2,000-0-0	2,420-0-0
10th "	1,500-0-0	1,375-0-0
11th "	4,500-0-0	1,700-0-0
12th "	20,000-0-0	4,912-11-0
13th "	4,000-0-0	1,400-11-0
15th "	10,000-0-0	1,011-12-7
16th "	12,440-0-0	1,750-3-4
17th "	3,000-0-0	1,710-0-0
18th "	5,000-0-0	5,000-11-0
20th "	11,510-0-0	6,590-11-0
21st "	1,000-0-0	1,000-11-0
22nd "	8,440-0-0	3,620-0-0
23rd "	8,750-0-0	1,870-4-0
24th "	10,000-0-0	4,800-10-7
25th "	7,120-0-0	1,800-0-0
26th "	..	5,200-0-0
	2,14,480-0-0	65,510-12-0

I show that the Bardoli farmers have done exceedingly well and this is made of the fact that the indebted lands had not yet been returned, that some of these had even been sold, that the old Pabla and Velod had not been returned, that all the prisoners had not been released and that proceedings against them were still pending.

But how I went down the surface. I may say that great difficulty is being experienced in establishing friendly touch with the local officials. The result is that many things that should have long ago been done on behalf of the Government are still not done and though there is an unwillingness to pay, forests of coercive measures are being taken. The Government must save the heads of the people. The power has begun with Kazi. They do not seem to realize that there is a wide view—provisional though it is—between the people and the Government and that efforts are being made to make ordinary what is today only temporary and permanent.

The difficulty is in the way in which. But I have pledged my word to Lord Irwin that so far as it is humanly possible, I shall govern the most honest manner. The Settlement has been called a Gentleman's Agreement. I know that Lord Irwin was sincerely anxious to see that it was fully carried out by the Government agents so he watched more than ever that I was to see it being so fully carried out by the Government.

It has been said to take the public into confidence with the subject I have done. But I feel that I can no longer suppress the fact that there are serious signs on the horizon. A Government has no weapon at its disposal but that of public opinion and suffering. Let the public read no more into this article than the writer, assuming the widest world coverage. I shall hope and pray that next week I may be able to report that the Government stand firm.

Our Duty to the Villages

The latecomer political thought of late years brought out prominently the importance of foreign cloth banact in the fight for national freedom. That the boycott movement has been as a national objective, is evidenced by the fall in the import of foreign cloth. We have reason for satisfaction in the attitude of the masses of the people, but the true picture and explanation of the boycott movement. Let us remember, that our nation lives on the produce of village farms and the true and primary aim of the boycott movement will be achieved if the boycott is not confined to such a way that the benefits accrue predominantly to the villages. If it is to benefit them it can only be by the means of the banact to limit a position where all other indigenous cloth.

In order to do this it is necessary for us to realize our true. We must take to cotton, silk, wool. The cotton grown in India is mostly that staple and can yield only low count yarn. The spinners who have been operating generally only for themselves in the neighbourhood are accustomed to work of the count only in the spinning of coarse yarn and it is difficult therefore to work to raise the count of pure spin. This is the case with practically the whole of India.

India, is the French Reaction, U. P., Bihar, and Bengal, whose holders of unemployed or partially employed Christian men, only wish Khadi as being woven. A limited quantity of fine and medium Khadi is available in the South, but even there the largest variety is only made of low count yarn. The interest under the auspices of the All-India Spinning Association, such as they have, grows, have not reached even a tenth of the income and definitely shortened facilities for production in these provinces. There are practically no limits to the possibilities of Khadi Khadi production and if only the nation can give the necessary preference to their Khadi, it can to a very large extent take the place of now accepted by foreign cloth and the funds of the national movement will go to benefit the vast majority of the population of the country and not merely the small few.

The general plan for Khadi from the point of view of the buyers is further strengthened by one peculiar feature of the economic structure of the country in the current year and the year that is just. The abnormally low prices of cotton and indeed of all agricultural produce, have caused great distress in the villages. The price, prevailing in fact, in many cases, falls most even on the cotton and other crops. The smaller cultivators of cotton, therefore, have sought to earn something more on their cotton by spinning it or two spinning wheels in their houses. The cultivators of other agricultural produce have also absolutely sought to add to their family income by spinning. The result is that in many parts of the country farmers from our poorest villages to great centres like the famous Khadi districts offering the price for sale. The output of handspun yarn even before last year was very much more than what the existing demand could absorb. But now the problem has become more difficult still. With their very limited capital resources, the farmers are unable to take in all the yarn and have therefore to spin away many of the spindles. If the demand for Khadi can be increased the consequent increased turnover may enable the farmer to afford a greater amount of credit to the spinner. More spindles spun may also flow into Khadi as to some extent it did last year. Both from the general viewpoint of the buyers, therefore, as well as the suffering of immediate relief for present distress the duty of the country is to give preference to Khadi in villages.

It takes centuries of people, even if they had it difficult to wear a Khadi cloth or even because of its toughness, thousands of Khadi for their other requirements—tools, clothing, cutlery, and other, sugar, and tea like—so well known products are nearly as cheap as the handspun yarn that is produced today but also many times the price of sugar. It requires only a proper system of imagination to realize all the possibilities. And if we would adopt our dress to the changing requirements and the progress of villages, we would discard the many woollen, reduce the size of the shirt or coat, change the collar for the cap and in the houses where greater comfort and greater cleanliness, not by speak of the great advantage in the way of clothes.

H. E. G.

What is the Truth?

MR. D. K. Kulkarni of Barisal writes a letter from which I take the following.

"I have just noticed that in a letter addressed to you and already published in the press Mr. Motilal Banerji, one of the leaders of the 'All India Muslim Conference,' referring to the minority problem in Egypt, says, 'In my opinion, the attitude of the Hindus here should be what England's was in Egypt, i. e., they should not have blundered the demands of the minority . . .'

"Without concerning myself here with any other statement made by Mr. Kulkarni or his letter to you, I should like to draw your attention to the true facts about the case above, where a parallel is sought to be drawn from Egyptian politics. The enclosed excerpt from a leading article in the *Journal of India* of August 15, 1933, which was directed to deal with a similar statement made about that time by Mr. Banerji Babanand, will show you how the truth about affairs in Egypt (where the Muslims are the majority, and the native Christians called Copts are the minority) is just the opposite of what your correspondent Mr. Kulkarni would have you believe.

"Every single statement in the excerpt, I am sure, can be verified for by reference to my work on contemporary history or any standard work of reference."

From the excerpt referred to by Mr. Kulkarni, the following relevant parts are taken.

"Indeed Mr. Banerji seems to have mislaid history. Look, for instance, at what he says about Egypt. In speaking for a generous treatment to be accorded him by the majority community to minority communities, he cites the example of what Lord Portal (Egypt) did to the Christians in Egypt. He explains to think that England's measure regard for the rights and interests of the Copts protected the latter to accept the rule of the Muslims. The facts, however, are just the contrary. It is the favouring on by the Copts of their lot unreservedly with the authorities in Egypt that has protected the Muslims to treat them as inferior as they have done. The Copts were not entirely free from persecution before. The improvement was solely due to the fact that they were not only not hostile or indifferent to the national movement for freedom, but took a very prominent part in it. This was a very wise policy for the Coptic community as follows in which they see the inclusion of Copts in the Ministry."

I give the extract for what it is worth. I have verified several of the statements made in the letter and the case in which it purports to be an answer. Not on I interested in it except for the sake of truth.

As a Sanyasini I believe in the absolute efficacy of full surrender. Numerically Muslim happens to be the major community. Without reference therefore to what the Egyptian majority did they may give to the minority what they may want. But even if the Hindus were in a, numerically, as a Sanyasini and Hindu I should say that the Hindus would have nothing to be long run by full surrender.

To this argument a rebuttal has thoughtfully been made. "Why then do you not advise ladies to surrender to the English? How then for themselves they must not be happy." The happy nation agrees the real fact that I have not advised surrender to the English. In the code of the Satyagraha there is no such thing as surrender to being happy. Order surrenders them to the demands of suffering and not to the will of the master of the English. A Satyagrahi's surrender has to come out of his strength, not out of weakness. The surrender advised by me is one of hunger but of healthy growth. There is no loss of honour in surrendering unto and pursuing of nonviolence. There is loss of honour in hunger about them. Let the Englishmen give up the boycott and live in our midst as simple human and I should plead for them. The law of nonviolence and suffering is a universal law including all our oppressors.

M. K. G.

Weekly Letter From Rajkshi Mandal

A friend from Ranchi takes exception to my note on 'Pam Rajkshi Mandal, Kanika' and desires me to correct various details. I should not have described the body as 'Pam Rajkshi Mandal' which it had actually in some times 'Pam Rajkshi Mandal'. The Name 'Pam Rajkshi Mandal' is apt to confuse it with a body of the same name in Ranchy, of which the Ranchi committee is not a branch, and with which it is in any way connected. I am also asked to correct the misapprehension that Sp. Jashod Mahan or Sp. N. F. Bhattacharya had anything to do with the formation of the Mandal. "The Mandal" says the correspondence, "has the sympathy and the Message of Sp. Jashod Mahan, but he is not even a member of it and the Ranjaya Bhattacharya who belongs to Ranchy has had nothing to do with the formation. It was his function in the demand of a few representatives from Yashpur whose representatives proposed by Ranjaya Mahan to start the Mandal." The correspondence, Sp. Narayan Chandra, who is one of the promoters, adds that it is obligatory on the members to wear saris. "In all the members and workers" of the Mandal and that the members of the executive body as which there are three ladies are of Indian blood women. The membership fee is four annas and number of members is 20.

I am glad to have an opportunity of correcting and supplementing certain details, inasmuch as it affects our endeavour to make a suggestion of one to them in changed the Mandal. The membership fee creates the conditions which make any difficulty for being a member. The condition, I repeat, "of wearing saris" as all the members and workers" of the Mandal does not seem work. If one of the principal objects of the Mandal is promotion of Hindi and educate the members ought to be helped women of Hindi or at least Hindustani. The members do it with in protest against them the option to wear foreign cloth which not engaged in Hindi work. The members of a body like this, it should be clearly understood, is a discrimination, and discrimination is always and everywhere maintained and nothing but discrimination. The other object is prohibition of drink, and the membership fees must make it obligatory on the members to be entirely free

from intoxicating drinks of all kinds. It may be an economic rule but it should be made economically clear. I am glad the members of the executive are of Hindustani, but it may not be unreasonable to make only Indian blood women eligible for membership of the executive body.

'Dakshina Mandal'

The foregoing note attracts me of making another, I equally willing, correction are that the body described by me as 'Dakshina Mandal' as 'Dakshina Mandal' and of which Dr. Chandra Chandra is President is not a 'Mandal' but a 'Mandal'. Hence and this I proceed to say something about this Mandal about which I was writing a few weeks before I wrote anything on Young India. This is the only committee in India whose object is to acquire public services through the agency of Hindustani women, either in the capacity of provincial ministers or temporary members. Public activity of this character has had its antecedents in India, as elsewhere, and it was not until after Gandhi's visit to the province in 1917, "and as a result of his suggestion and encouragement," that "the work of the institution was extended and a revised scheme constructed as follows." The Mandal has Dr. Chandra and Sp. Jashod Mahan, Sharda, Chandra Mahan, Harman, Seelchand and Chandra as its permanent members. The Mandal began the first two very well but the last one has been known by their work in the province. Prof. Chandra Mahan has been in charge of propaganda and Sp. Mahan and Harman carried on work during the Satyagraha campaign with the above confidence and involvement of Mahan Mahan. Sp. Mahan has been in charge of what work principally and Sp. Mahan has been in charge of the Social Science at Uda, the women leaders of which are active in the Congress Nationalism of Ranchi down to such condition. The work has been a pattern in the experimental conditions of Thapsara District, who produced Rs. 15,000 worth of cloth in 1920 and orders for Rs. 25,000 worth have been placed for this year from various parts of India. The Mandal has also women who give all their time but who have not yet found their legs and become permanent members. The Mandal has developed a series of work among the Kulu and the people of Kulu who are placed down under the weight of Gandhi and even continue to stop at the oppression of government servants who neglect their duty and working. "With a view to save these poor people from the illegal members of the revenue Mandal, they are being asked to pay their dues through the Mandal. In 1920 out of a total number of 1,700 Kulus in the area more than 500, i.e., over 30 per cent, of the total holders paid their dues to the government through the women of the Mandal," and then several themselves have been handicapped in the shape of paying dues which has become a sort of economic change forced by the revenue officials. The Mandal has been also government work among the oppressed class like Kulu and Kulu. The Mandal has received dues from members in Rs. 10,000/- from 1921 to the Mandal 1921, which is nothing in view of the sum amount of work but the Mandal has in hand of itself. Besides Rs. 15,000 which the Mandal has received as a

members for Members' allowances fund, at least was a balance of nothing more than Rs. 5,000.

As I have not before an account of the constitution of the Mandal I do not know whether the present permanent members have joined it along with their wives and children. I take it that they have done so. I know that Mrs. Jaramba was during the Congress going all the time when home to all the little duties of a Congress wife and I also know that Mrs. Khanna, wife of one of the permanent members and a niece of Prof. Khanna distinguished herself as much as, if not more than, her own dear Mr. Lalit, by her untiring labours in the cause of Indian cloth buyers and protection of the Indian and foreign cloth shops. If these ladies are also members of the Mandal along with their husbands the Mandal has to be the most perfect in that supplying all the things that is needed for the social and practical work in the province. I am making the activities of the Mandal as more than to get that the English who have gone out to all parts of India and of the world, to make a fortune, may know what work their own brothers and sisters are doing, what they achieved in making the Kancho Congress a unique success and what financial support they deserve and will continue to expect from them if the work they have undertaken has to be carried out.

For a Public Worker

While I am writing this note about the Mandal and appealing to the rich Mandals out of India to support it, I know I would be expected by the readers in response, for their benefit and of those whom some considerations as when possible from using the best way of passing the Mandal Gandhi's speech to the members of the second Assembly.

"The history of the last Satyagraha struggle shows that the movement Mandal is not possible any where there were leaders of this character. The late Gopal Krishna Gokhale said, when he founded the Servant of India Society, that our country was so small all those who gave all their time and heart to the work, even in the British Empire to run by them who think of nothing but the Empire of the twenty-four hours of the day. The more we have full time workers of this type the better, especially where we are plagued by and the power system.

"The question has been asked me whether the workers who give such contributions should receive some allowance for their livelihood work. There are many who think it a hardship to receive any allowance and would prefer to work without pay. They do not seem to realise that if we act on that principle we shall have to search for millions of workers. Millions are few and far between and it is very rarely that we get volunteer workers from that class. I must say that there is a subtle selfishness in the substance that we should work without drawing any allowance. There is not only no justification in receiving an allowance for one's livelihood but a clear duty. Gokhale began his life of service with an allowance of Rs. 10 a month and went to his life drew more than Rs. 25 monthly. He continued himself with that until all his life, and though as member of Constituent and Congress he used to get his honorarium or allowance he made them all go to the Servant of India Society.

I may tell you that he did not feel it proper to draw an income allowance for his livelihood, but considered it an act of duty and of merit. Why then should we prefer to have a higher amount of self-respect than he? Even a millionaire's son if he becomes a member should, instead of depending on his father, make a gift of his income to such a society and draw his monthly allowance as other members may be doing.

"There is one thing more which I should like to bring home to you. Before this there ought to be governed by strict rules and regulations. A man without a pledge as a code of conduct in life is a ship without a rudder.

"I am told that a worker in India finds it difficult to live without less than a hundred rupees a month. I don't think to realize this. It may be so in India because we have artificially increased our wants. But our experience tells us that it is possible to do with very much less. Late Mr. Karam of the People's Bureau and Gokhale's Secretary of India Society we know because of the great success of these leaders, but there are many other agencies of voluntary workers where the individual allowance is not more than Rs. 10 to Rs. 20, in United Rs. 25 to 30 in some instances and Rs. 25 to 30 in the rule. We have therefore to cut our cost according to our cloth, and limit our needs as according with the conditions of our people.

"We have used a little while ago concentrated our work in cities and we have arranged our plan according to the needs of cities. We have to remove the process now. The more we expand of taking care of ourselves, it is the village we have to live in. We have to develop them of their progress, their experiences, their native culture and we can do so in so many natural ways that of working amongst them and sharing their joys and sorrows and spreading education and intelligent help in the various forms. Let this language draw a large number of men to dedicate themselves to the service of their villages."

M. D.

To Subscribers

Subscribers whose subscriptions have expired are requested to send us their subscriptions without further delay. Individual subscribers were recently informed by personal letters of the expiry of their subscriptions as also the extension of 3 months granted in cases where it had not been possible to send the unduplicated copy of Young India during the civil disturbed area period. For the present we continue to send Young India free to those subscribers whose subscriptions expired in the last or 19-4-30. Now we request them to make their subscriptions before 15th May, failing which their copy of Young India will be stopped.

We trust that subscribers will ensure the punctuality of their copy by the observance of the conditions of last year and help the management by sending in their subscriptions without any delay.

Manager, Young India



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Power of Ahimsa

A correspondent writes a *Guardian* letter of which the following is a translation:

"For all that you can see, the support that world opinion has given to India in her present struggle has been most halting and feeble. In it not surprising in the face of this, to find Gandhi declaring that we have secured the fullest support from world-opinion! He assumed that struggling to win back to one from a civilisation representative system as such accord to the task, was only to be compared to a poor, helpless woman defending herself against a bully in the face of heavy odds. Imagine that woman being brutally struck over the face and arms by the American police, would it not make the blood of any brave being hot with indignation? Yet do we find signs of such moral indignation in the world today when asked to what was done to India? And does not the absence of this moral indignation bespeak an indifferently developed sense of humanity in the world? And if we admit that the question arises, can the weapons of ahimsa bear all effective in a world that is so devoid of humanity? Why should Gandhi say that the world has failed in one of the signs of moral India's blood in the place of moral indignation which is accorded to the success of such and ahimsa?"

If I have anywhere referred to India having received the fullest support from world opinion, it should be set down to an accidental misstatement. I should like to be shown such a statement of mine if I have made one. For myself I have absolutely no idea of having made any such statement.

The correspondent, by comparing the position of uneducated India, pinned against the British military power to that of a defenceless woman thrown at the mercy of a bully, has done us injustice in the strength as well as non-violence as of women. Had not even a few kind sentences created woman's soul as for her done as for the man, she would be 'the enjoyment she would have given the world as a sacrifice of the selfish struggle that is known as war. What she showed in the last fight was but a human and imperfect glimpse of it. The world that was it is all its might and glory when woman has secured an equal opportunity for herself with man and fully developed her powers of mental and moral coordination.

Had it been my way that a person is accused in the name of being mad, who has ahimsa as his weapon. The correspondent is evidently a stranger to the real use of the immeasurable power of ahimsa. He has used it, if at all, only mechanically and as an

expedient for want of a better. Had he been saturated with the spirit of ahimsa, he would have known that a man uses the wildest beast, certainly the wildest man.

If, therefore, the world's blood did not boil when the foundation of the past year, it was not because the world was bored or lawless but because our non-violence, although thought it was, good enough though it was for the purpose intended, was not the non-violence of the strong and the lawgiver. It did not spring from a strong faith. It was but a policy, a temporary expedient. Though we did not shrink, we had halfhearted eyes, our speech was not free from violence, our thoughts still less so. We generally retained from violent action, because we were under duress. The world scorned even at this limited evidence of non-violence and gave us, as of any propaganda, the support and sympathy that we are of and needed. The rest is a matter of the rule of faith. If we had the support that we needed for the limited and mechanical non-violence we were able to practice during the recent struggle, how much more support should we command when we have come to the full height of ahimsa? Then the world's blood will certainly boil. I know we are still far away from that direct aim. We walked our weakness at Congress, Bombay, Haripur. When we are saturated with ahimsa we shall not be surprised in our fight with the international and racial among ourselves. When we have a living faith in non-violence, it will glow from day today till it fills the whole world, it will be the simplest propaganda that the world will have witnessed. I live in the belief that we will realize that real ahimsa.

M. K. G.

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Ahmedabad, Young India

Indian to adjust the basic process with regard to export effort is going to be decided by what is called a convention. This would not only divert from the responsibility of the legislature and on down the heads of the administration, but would do a course of surface avoidance as an Indian Government will be helpless enable the country to keep about a situation that our Indian settlement. It will be better to pay a tribute, which is the old method of acknowledging the superior strength of an outside party. The tribute has the merit that the tribute is known. When England wants of India by these subjugation and by the convention, means that India has to refer to an inferior interest but no tribute is paid.

When the private contacts of Indian are properly developed, restricted on trade with Britain first, but in the name of hospitality and of courtesy, what England can only expect be granted.

Taking separate cases of British trade in India, mining, in which British have been fairly good in frequency and there is the constant from the Indian hand, often a first where it would be legitimate for an Indian Government not to reserve the license when it exports, or if the terms of the license permit one to demand it, it would be free for it to do so. This same thing applies to forests, where very few really is taken. The Rubber Export Trading Co., has built up an enormous amount of money from profits on forests, which should have really gone to the state, but because the price of rubber has risen very much more in England was fixed, the profits were not adjusted from time to time, because the rubber barely falls at the point of the foreman, the Indian Government will be on the back seat. It may want to run the state forests as state monopoly, or it may want to stand on its full rights under the license, or transfer the license or reserve the profits. It is no use saying that existing rights must be preserved in such cases. There is the case then of English managing agency firms' managing concerns in which there is a majority of Indian shareholders. Nothing will prevent these shareholders from joining together and establishing a new firm of managing agents. This is not an wrong right but one which comes from the confidence of the shareholders, and if such confidence is lost, or if the shareholders acquire greater confidence in somebody else, they should be free to act without restriction.

In the case of shipping, coastal and foreign shipping is at present done by Europeans. British herself has several lines including the old crown one too. One of the lines is English from the number of non-British owners that shall be employed. There is a law in Australia, which prohibits the entry of any ship in any port where employs a single deck seaman. Great Britain in the convention would also be bound to do this. Australia has followed the plan of subsidizing the maritime staff of her own and through she has lost her money on this, she is persisting in the programme. Maritime matter is the basic element of a proper navy and, as the first step, it might be to publicly guarantee for India to encourage Indian shipping by subsidizing others, and the British claim that these are trading vessels, cannot be justified. It is a suitable concession for Britain, but it is not a right. No shipowner can claim that he has a right in the matter of a party vessel because that party has not in the past great shareholders.

In the case of insurance companies, this is provided in other countries, which confer a monopoly of foreign insurance companies there. Similarly in the case of banking, the position in India is so important that neither in the foreign trade nor in the internal banking, can any Indian insurance survive for any long, competition with powerful giants. It should be, therefore, open to the Indian Government to say that they will encourage the extension of their own people and being about confidence, in which each enterprise can prosper. It will be for the company and the policy to decide what members they employ in bank, but if the company decides that they are going to have confidence in this way, then the claim that existing British rights should be respected, cannot be allowed to stand. The foreign banks have come to this much paid license but the benefit of our country. They have shared their profits and built up enormous vested interests. They are now seeking the perpetuation, but it must be free to determine what kind of banking institutions shall work here and under what conditions. She must be free to ask her subjects to put their money in institutions registered in India, alone and not in any foreign institution. She must be free to ask that branches of foreign institutions shall not be established in the interior, because foreign trade really begins when the shipping documents come in and a sale when the goods are shipped from the port. At this point let them have offices, but not in the interior. In order that they may not dilute the object of these conditions and these institutions as Indian institutions, it should be obligatory on every bank of Indian registered bank to see that the controlling interest in these institutions does not pass to any foreigner. These conditions will be essential and it should be made quite clear that existing rights do not encourage a condition in which these conditions would be put. The object of these rules type is not to hurt the foreigner, but to build up a favorable atmosphere in which Indian effort can prosper.

Finally in the field of electric houses, it is essential that most of these houses in India have been passed on to the hands of powerful Americans or British corporations. They have taken advantage of India's backwardness out of their political strength for the purpose. The way now is to put right that before study can move. The Indian state will be free to encourage the conditions under which the houses were given, and wherever these conditions appear to be faulty, to cancel the license. In other cases it will be free to allow monopolies on local bodies or local supplies, to buy the works of the houses at a fair valuation and that otherwise after it is properly substituted upon, would houses that had the control must pass into Indian hands. This also comes under the category of existing rights except a few cases to have value put to them for what they have spent. For whom what is spent belongs to Indian shareholders, the controlling interest of a house will have much less ground for a monetary compensation than otherwise. Similarly there are monopolies or predominance, and English companies under monopolies and quasi-monopolies conditions will have to have a close scrutiny. If everything is alright, they need not fear. If they fear too much, we are entitled to infer that something is wrong.

Young India

Dangers of Democracy

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is no human institution that has no danger. The greater the influence the greater the chances of abuse. Democracy is a great institution and therefore it is liable to be grossly abused. The remedy does not lie in the weakness of democracy but in the lack of possibility of abuse in a democracy.

The Congress has become a vast democratic body. It is called a 'vast' assembly because the past leaders worked within fairly definitely set boundaries within which possession of it and added limits to it. But now when the control has passed to a much larger body than before it was inevitable. The arbitrary rules provided for the selection of members were gradually set aside during the last stages of the struggle. This must be borne in mind when these gentlemen talk of the 'rule' of the Congress. These gentlemen have now been furnished with freedom if they will use it for the money demanded of them. Of course, government provides for the take advantage of the members and pay their bills.

The wonder is that the cause I have in mind are so very few compared to what they might have been, and have led to the great mass movement. My wonder is that this happy state is due to the Congress mind of non-violence, even though we have long greatly followed it. But there has been sufficient suppression of government to make us to take time by the hand and adopt preventive and precautionary measures.

The members that engaged themselves to us are mostly well educated and many intelligent and thoughtful expression of non-violence. In the first place if we had a little bit of non-violence that we have shown, and one man or woman who did not strictly adhere to the rules regarding the admission of volunteers would have been taken. It would be no wonder to say that in that case there would have been no violence during the final stage and therefore there would have been a great failure. My experience teaches me to the contrary. It is possible to fight a non-violent battle even with one thought. But, I, I, a non-violent leader, cannot be fought with a million non-violent. And I would welcome any or more failure with a non-violence unswerving rather than depart from it by a little bit of violence in a doubtful success. Without adopting a non-compromising attitude as far as non-violence is concerned, I can see nothing but disaster in the end. For, at the official moment we may be found weak, weak in the eyes of non-violence, and may be found suddenly surprised by the mass of disaster that might suddenly be visited upon us.

But having made the mistake of non-violence, nothing has been done to repair the mistake in a non-violent way. Non-violence means courage of the highest order and therefore weakness to suffer. There should therefore be no flinching in holding, kind or more, even though it may mean the loss of a few precious lives. Without of thousands lives should

be made to make that these lives will not be lost to the fact that at the same time these lives will be dignified and people treated. Even the greatest are just of us and therefore they must be treated gently and respectfully. People generally do not like to go to the limit of it. It is a symptom of a degenerated character in the body politic. The same law should govern our relations with internal government that we apply to our relations with the government of the system of Government. And if we have this that we have the ability to deal with the highly organized government, we should not think that much more should we find the ability to deal with the internal government by the same method?

It follows that we may not only police ourselves to deal with the danger although it is open during the time, in my Congress to work it generally in the same manner as we other times. The way I have suggested in the way of reform ourselves, law-making police ourselves in the way of punishment, law, want of action of not action ourselves. The two methods therefore cannot be together. The way of reform appears at some stage of time to be different but it is in making the same.

For "Followers"

A friend wrote me the following:

"I will be very happy if you will kindly guide your followers about their conduct when they have to engage in a political controversy. Your guidance on the following points is particularly needed."

- (a) Violation as to to leave the opponent in public confidence.
- (b) Kind of conduct of the opponent permissible.
- (c) Level to which hostility should be carried.
- (d) Whether effort should be made to win allies and power.

I have not before in these pages that I about my followers. It is enough for me to be my own follower. It is by itself a sufficiently lasting performance. But I have that many claim to be my followers. I must therefore answer the questions for those who follow. If they will follow what I understand to stand for, they will see that the following answers are derived from truth and science.

(a) Violation of an opponent there can never be. But this does not exclude a limited characterisation of the war. An opponent is not always a bad man because he opposed. He may be so because as we may think in the end yet there may be vital differences between him and us.

(b) Our conduct will therefore be if we follow him to be policy of words to meet it with truth, of discovery with honesty, of following with calm example of violence with suffering, of acceptance with humility of will with good. 'My followers' would seek not to condemn but to convert.

(c) There is no question of any limit to which hostility may be carried. But there should be no hostility in person. Hostility there must be to men when they are obstructive of means to the good of society.

(d) Gifts and power must be avoided. Either way be accepted when it is clearly for greater good.

M. K. G.

Implementing the Trust in Gujarat Training for Survey

Perhaps perhaps too the work of the people in implementing the Trust has been more difficult than in Gujarat, perhaps less the stress on their personal loss greater. The reason is not far to seek. Harder during the last struggle was the contact with Government forces, breaking all the impediments and the resistance of the latter. The village therefore could not readily turn to the Government. Both Gandhi and Sardar had to work secretly. They had ultimately to break their work, Gandhi going to Bhopal and the 'trader movement' in Bhopal. There was no breach the threat of capture processes. Gandhi's long association with the Collector of Kutch, however, had cleared the way a bit.

It might have been expected that officials would trust us to do our best and accept our opinion. But this blessed state we had not reached. The real reason was in official unapproachable attitude and particularly the authorities with it. This meant that we had to overcome every one of the hindrances of Kutch, direct indirectly into the houses, open questioning too, obtaining documents and signatures.

But Gandhi was accessible. He said I have no other way of helping the poor suffering. He was often told of his too suffered heavy losses and can prove them. He never knew much more and Gandhi was satisfied in the work, it has not to be done. And it was done and is being done.

He gave detailed instructions. Everyone who would pay was bound to pay the current year's dues. No Sarvagada was bound to longer be content in order to pay the dues but he was done to do so. If he chose to, or was not prepared to undergo the time of capture processes, in the event of a breakdown.

Only absolutely payable losses should the struggle was to be taken into account.

Now Sarvagada were to be asked to pay even though they might have to borrow, i.e., if they had enough property to borrow.

In strict accord with these instructions questionnaire was made with one village. Formerly the Collector Mr. Perry is usually accessible to all our workers and great to every one a patient of questions bearing. The survey began together with a police of houses in each registered area was placed before him. He was struck, I think, with the thoroughness with which the survey was made. He had therefore no difficulty in accepting our figures which were so well supported.

Further examination is necessary in all the steps. These affected villages of Bhopal. I went right to another house a description of some of the working houses occurred to the people, not with a view to getting all notes but to show the great losses of the people of whom we may well be proud and where the Government may well respect as I know some of its officials do, secretly if not openly.

While Gandhi is making the situation in Bhopal under 'Self-Help' in Bhopal or actually in Bhopal probably according to the same methods. I have a letter from him describing in detail how a difficult situation was solved in a village where the refusal of Government to continue an unapproachable Patel had led

to a strike. Then the village workers against the Patel, but in house, under the 'Self-Help' of the Government had been organized. That had would not be asked from the village. The Government had more than one job to do. The Government asked the people to pay up. They said 'We would give it to some one else you might appear in this world, but not to him. The result was that the village was decided to go to the village, which he did, the people paid the money to him, and gave themselves to him about the changes they had to make within the new field. But there were people who could not pay—perhaps some of the village. I believe the Minister visited the old Patel in order to clear the case.

Other Difficulties

The meeting of the old and the new field had to be met in the second difficulty in the situation. If only the village had realized that their work in years would be rendered by order by maintenance of the old village officials there would not have been that resistance in keeping the new. Some of these are characteristically had in, unapproachable persons. They are being gradually worked on. The Sarvagada early makes the necessary record of such cases.

M. D.

Self-Reliance Through Khadi

The Sarvagada movement of last year, except as it was with the programme to harvest all savings clubs, actually gave a stimulus to the promoters of self-reliance in many places. But the highest success in several cases went and without anything really of permanent value, largely for the reason that only by taking only the organization of spinning adequate arrangements were not developed for converting the raw spun into cloth. This was, perhaps, to some extent, inevitable in the circumstances but what could not be achieved as promoting self-reliance, individual as well as organized, in the matter of cloth, particularly in our villages, may be seen from the facts of the work done by Sri Jethalal and his committee in Bhopal.

Bhopal is the centre of the Ahmednagar which has a population of about 1,200. Sri Jethalal started work in this area towards the end of 1933 with the object of making it practically self-reliant in respect of cloth. Although the 'spinning machine' was, in some actual sense in this sense, there were great difficulties in the way—defective implements of spinning and spinning, inadequate facilities for weaving and practically no dyng arrangements. But Sri Jethalal and his workers were casual men, well acquainted with all the processes from cotton to cloth, and cloth, therefore, except the necessary weaving and carding in the village people. More important still, they were well skilled with their hands in the production of self-reliance and eager to help in where the same task. Three years of persistent and devoted work practically surmounted all difficulties. Large numbers of people were taught weaving, and introduced in ordinary methods of house dyng was also reported in many villages round. The result was that by September, 1936, Sri Jethalal and his co-workers felt that the work had taken such deep roots that there was no longer any need for their presence in this area and, therefore, they turned

Foreign Missionaries Again

Dear Madam,

Thank you for intruding in this editorial matter when you are occupied with the important task of writing our last's diary. The circumstances force me to respond from you which you signed the following week to a press note written in an issue of New India on March 24, when you were asked whether you would favour the retention of American and other foreign missionaries whose India secured self-government.

"It is a lot of mischief-makers in purely humanitarian work and material service, they do everything by means of material aid, education etc., that I would certainly not like to withdraw. Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religion is adequate for her people. We need no converting anybody."

A friend of mine gave me a copy of the Modern Christian Leader of the 15th March and it is there that you are reported to have given expression to the above remarks. But I doubt if you ever read these words. Hence my writing them to you for confirmation.

If it is true that you made these remarks, I am sure you had good reasons for doing so, though they are not apparent to me. At the moment I cannot believe you said, "Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religion is adequate for her people. We need no converting anybody."

I am a Christian, but I certainly am against Christianity being brought in as an instrument of Imperialism. But as a messenger of love and fellowship, who will deny it a place in India's life? In this great struggle for Swaraj, we are not fighting for liberty, liberty is working out God in no place, liberty to ourselves and fellow who are willing to be converted by an liberty to be considered by our fellow who are convinced as I have the greatest respect for the great religions of India and pay for these missionaries who come to India with the unregarded and to "civilised words" for Christ. Enough of such missionaries who depend on political, economic and some other physical influence to bring religious conversion to the people. Enough of them, I say. But will you deny that a home who comes to add to India's great spiritual heritage the treasure of his own spiritual experience? Are you against him who comes to teach by example and precept and not by compulsion or unfair means, those of you who will come to them to him, the great Truth that he had learnt? Is India so backward as to think that India has not absorbed all the values of the world, all the treasure of knowledge and human experience?

I cannot believe that you said, "Certainly India's religion is adequate for her people." What was India's religion? I do not hesitate, Islam and Hinduism living in the world were on Christianity and Why did Swami Vivekananda go to America with his inspiring message of Hinduism? How could anyone call Islam as "India's religion" and with the same breath say that Christianity is not a religion of India? Religion, I deem, is a matter between an individual and his own conception of Right Conduct. Religion belongs to the great realm of thought and personal experience which leaves neither boundaries nor walls.

As one of the catalysts of your nation's religious ferment the world, I when you said that you are intruding not in India alone but to the world, as the subject and general achievement of our era. You have numerous Christian workers and workers, India, who are your devoted followers and adherents. I am sure many of them will be interested in your reply to this letter. As for me I shall not be disappointed even if I am told that you made these remarks several days ago. For my belief in your sincerity and good faith is unshaken. But I would like to know, if you made these remarks, what you meant by them, for I cannot sleep at a meeting to me.

May God help you in your great struggle for India's Swaraj and may there be soon peace in India and the world alike.

In Yours,

Varanasi, U.P.
(24 April 1931)

I remain,
Yours respectfully,
Jagannath Prasad

[I do not know that it is right to this letter I read do more than relay the letter to my article in Young India. It might be as well to add that in welcoming Hinduism, Islam, Christianity etc. to India's religion, I and we do not intend them to India exclusively or to exclude Christianity. The word was Christianity on the one hand devoted to the one true religion and other religions as the other being regarded as false. In private talks I concluded that the great world religions when they Christianity professed in India were no less true than Christianity. It is then rather relevant and necessary for us to want India's Christian missionaries and their propaganda that Christianity was true. However, with my known sympathy for the Swami on the Mount and my repeated declaration that the nation was one of the greatest among the teachers of mankind I could not suspect that there would be any change against me of understanding Christianity. As for Christian India, I cannot suspect there were many friends and I have had no difficulty whatever in maintaining friendly talks with the Christian masses wherever I have gone. Nor is there any hint of my estranging even the foreign missionaries among whom I often meet personal friends. The attack against me has therefore surprised me not a little especially because the views I have now expressed have been held by me since 1926, and were deliberately expressed in a carefully written address read before a purely missionary audience in Madras and were repeated on many a Christian platform. The same address has not confirmed the view, for the criticism has happened continuously even at friendly relations. The missionaries knew that despite of my persistent assertion of their methods, they have in India and among non-Christians no reason feared that I. And I remain in my place that there must be something wrong about their method as, if they were, themselves when they will say which means expression of an opinion different from mine. In India while living I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be as likely to do their goodly work, as I would say, in the wrong way but they would be expected to learn with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong.

Notes

Said Lands

To sell a farmer's land and that for a song is objectionable. The sale of hyphenated lands in Gujarat was such an operation. The clause in the Settlement about these lands was for Shambhu Vallabhdas the biggest hit in evidence. But he realised it became ultimately to show my faith that the lands would not long be withheld by the buyers from the original owners and in any case they were bound to be restored when the full settlement was attained. It must be said to the credit of the buyers that they are not by overvaluing the necessity of restoring the lands they made the mistake of buying. The market already knows how through the land intervention of the Gornal Jhaaga, Nya, Narwan, Virabhai and Nadi, Sagar Gada had agreed to restore to the original holders the lands bought by him in Baidol Taluka and how Sri Ganpat of Baidol Taluka and Thakur Phuranmang of Baidol have returned lands bought by them without asking for a refund of money paid by them. The latest instance was those of Shri Vinodan in Baidol and Thakur of Dehvan in Baidol. The Thakurs would not think of having even the price paid by him returned to him. He had paid Rs 10000 for nearly 120 acres of good land. Three years since he returned above same which they had bought for Rs 4000—standing in their letter addressed to me that they were sorry that being paid they had to ask for the refund of the actual amount paid by them although they recognised that they should not ask for it. It reflects credit on all these buyers for their having practically returned the lands. I say gratefully for these was no pressure now that of official public opinion brought to bear upon these buyers. Their friends certainly approached them but there was no threat or coercion employed by anybody. Healthy public opinion has an influence of which we have not realised the full significance. But we are not yet out of the wood. There are yet tough buyers who have not come forward. But I have little doubt that if the market don't lose patience and the Settlement does not otherwise break down, they will also respond to the influence of that market. Public opinion becomes formidable when it becomes united and aggressive.

I am happy to be able to inform the market that otherwise the things in Gujarat were to be moving, enough very slowly, towards a settlement. That we are employing the Trower-Guinness brand of the Congress is partly told by Mr. M. K. G. in his weekly paper.

Police Training

A correspondent asks: "Do you advise taking legal proceedings against the police or other officials for their lawlessness during the struggle?"

What has to be provided for in the Settlement, I cannot advise such proceedings except where the lawlessness persists in some shape or other and where it is possible to produce satisfactory evidence of the past lawlessness. But generally speaking, we must as men of the Settlement try to bury the dead past and begin and work for a healthy Settlement.

In the Name of "Cashmere"

Dr. Khand of the A. L. S. A., Kaskash, writes:

"People here by now begin to know real Khand from the base imitation. They know what is real while others Khand and what is real made copies. Not as with reference to all and modern

craft. I refer specially to wooden things. The copies things come only from Kashmir up to 1000 but because the Indian workshops to get of better wooden as Kashmir, I a. Indian hand upon and hand women in Kashmir. These last work in wooden and also from Italy, Japan and Germany come to Kashmir, some Indian dealers is independent on them, and they are then sold to the public as Indian or Kashmiri and good Kashmiri. Can you not do anything to stop this fraud?"

Let there always be for less wooden and other like sale of the wooden. One must be justice every article to its source. This can only be done by putting men's eyes to things manufactured in their own neighbourhood. But this is not always possible. The next thing therefore is to keep from certified signs of true things whose managers are personally known to us. Such is the case with every other article they are. While Khand is both the cause and the circumstance of Kaskash, there is much aim to fill in the intervening space. A person who, among Khand, gives himself as himself the license to buy everything else longer does not longer the spirit behind Khand and Kaskash.

To Private and Personal Correspondents

The pressure on me has been increased to an extent I can hardly cope with. The danger of Kaskash has left traces which I have not yet been able to rid me completely and may never do. In the common stream and in spite of willing and able assistance my personal correspondence which is daily growing has been hopelessly in arrears. The correspondents both family and Indian will kindly excuse me if their communications remain unacknowledged by long. Every effort is being made to provide the arrears and arrange the day to day work. Correspondents should also know that it is impossible for me just now when the implementing of the Settlement occupies the greater part of my time, personally to read or to acknowledge, as has been my wont, all the letters. They should know that if all the letters do not reach me, it is not the fault of my assistants, it is the fault of the system against that face me. Correspondents will considerably help me and help themselves if those who are in the habit of sending me copies writers additionally send, even after that not, directly, will kindly make their letters as brief as possible and write only when they must. They may be sure that of receiving prompt attention.

M. K. G.

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plans within one full year to get the girls to their great destiny. Meanwhile let them sleep, if they will, the ignorance and the superstitions which they proved to abundance about Indian affairs in their land.

W E C

What Is Sustainability?

11

Telaviv, I have on the ground before you a general idea of Serapagos. I know there are in making now for you on all that I have said so far. Careful however when registered in the office of Serapagos for the past twenty years. A policy initiative may possibly collect all the various discrepancies in Serapagos and were a complete transfer. The I have taken the trouble and carrying the major part, and all before you what I have on Serapagos the method of Serapagos and the same also making it. It was necessary for me to analyze the way in which the applied the method of Serapagos in the case of it.

It was most unfortunate that Saragatova was in the initial stages confused with passive resistance. The passive resistance used a weapons of war for the simple reason that he possessed none. The author's paper is similar but an objection to a strong defensive weapon. Passive resistance, however, is absolutely a weapon of the weak. The Indians in South Africa among whom the first experiment on a mass scale was made were both unarmed and numerically weak. They were for the most part uneducated. Saragatova, however, could not but be regarded as the possessor of the armaments of the situation. Saragatova was, therefore, asked to be but an Indian more for the passive resistance movement compared to Kropotkin. Saragatova tried to build, therefore, with arms/defending and oppression then in very meagre. A better vision of the whole happened in South Africa given Gandhi's his last opportunity of passing to the collection that his opposition was not based on ill-will, that Saragatova really came out of the imperative call of force to do good to those that have none.

From now on, the Christians had begun the joyful singing of a song.

to improve health care for the underserved.

'The only success in life who renders good as nature has it. He is the real Comedian!'

Now, the major element in Gandhi's life operates in this that he always tries to live what he believes. This drives him to intense thought and reflection on the one hand and to give him an abiding warmth and peace to the other. This intensity and this peace are inseparable for the rapid development and complete accord of his thought and life. Like to him has been based, for thousands of years, on a recognition that Truth manifests itself in an infinite variety of forms. Inevitably, therefore, as regards to the Hindu view of life, The Hindu has an instinctive sense for the recognition of unity in all diversity. It is natural therefore, for him to accept the equality of persons for all the different ways of life. Acceptance, and not mere tolerance, to the Hindu implies to the various outlooks and schools espoused by men in different times and ages. The Hindu, therefore, as we explained in the last part of a number of

he is the director of his own life. He does not want out of any indifference or apathy, but in the reality of a higher understanding. He does not care for a mere exchange of labels or mechanical allegiance to a doctrine. The balance of the intensity of a life lived for the realization of an ideal.

Following by Geoffrey he came early in life in contact with a variety of religions and even the had to contend in different standards of life. He had in him as the maker of different degrees of culture. He had to find his way out of the widest extent of the West with the East. His people consciousness and his extraordinary literary sense all these difficulties into a unity appearance, and he gradually evolved his philosophy of life based on the historic and where dominion is Truth. He came and to me that every thing good that he has in the result of intense cultivation, but his devotion to Truth is unswerving and that to come had to struggle to cultivate it. He went to England with the new spirit of Truth and liberty and found there more than his teachers accepted. An admirable clarity took him to South Africa. I think in it it was a mere chance coincidence, but there he found a unique opportunity of meeting the East and the West in actual ground. The Hindu, the Moslem, the Parsi, the Christian, the Jew, at one time or other, learned members of his family form. It was that in the time of the Southern Cross that Geoffrey encountered a united India, breaking the spirit of universal brotherhood and universal. It was in South Africa that Geoffrey received the only ideas of man's belief to live. He could recognize these in his own life the biggest problems of the world today. He was faced with the noble patterns of triumph over every misadventuring, almost self-sacrificing and moral progress. And this he achieved not through means and logic but through a life of action and sacrifice, through suffering.

Confronted on occasion by a sense of isolation, He applies himself to the solution of every problem with all the energy that he can command and he voices his thoughts as he works. It is the attention that draws him to the work.

But the use of action is always contextualized. Action is a language that cannot overstate and yet, it cannot understate. And the remedy lies in action itself. Action follows as persuasion through challenge. It forces attention. It dignifies the needs of the poor.

And what was of that Oneida man in South Africa? Indaba knew enough about it, enough to know to which side he was leaning. He knew that the people of India knew very little about it. There was nobody of their age to teach their students. The Government of India has never been an Indian Government. Gandhi saw that industrial labor was getting short of a dash of humanity. His theories stood against it with all his might. Cotton production was confined and this is a disease which Europe has developed during the past century. The whole man was placed to replace the world. He must therefore add bread to meat. He was true with conscience there when he repulse and ignore. Gandhi had to apply his truly-discovered system called Satyagraha to these two crying evils. He fought for full nine years before he could make himself understood. He did not

Young India

Danger Looming

(By M. K. Das)

The public knows little of what took place in Kanadu the other day. A full-crescent moon lit the sea by moon. Chaudhar Shri Gopi, General President, led a little band there as in Kanadu. They took the boat that he would establish Kanadu in a few days. He collected the unemployed and other labourers, promising them two rupees per day and demanded no contribution to the movement and wanted that they should stop export and import business, stop the manufacture of articles, collect one rupee export in a fortnight and refuse to be going employment to all who were to need in a hard stage of two rupees per day through the opening wind and the sea. Meetings were held and large numbers were present. Kazi of India was demanded. The respectable Mayor of Kanadu met the case and in a bold manner Shri Chaudhar said to stand stop his activity if I disapproved of it. This was good enough for Shri. Jambhik Shrivastava and his friends and Shri. Chaudhar who by the time had become a Minister came to me on the 10th Shri. Shrivastava and Shrivastava. I recognized in Shri Chaudhar an old correspondent who always told me and my co-workers persons by sending long letters and even worse. His language became so tight. I had to give him nearly one hour I could scarcely spare. The object of it all was that he proposed to stop his activity though I did not carry conviction to him. Whether he will carry out his promise remains to be seen. Even if he does not, the workers of Kanadu will be able to deal effectively with any case that may arise.

For the workers of Kanadu is a protest. If the acts of Congressmen are not firm and absolutely correct, there is every danger of the Congress and all other leading activities being rendered up by the existing facts for want of the necessary reinforcement of discipline, order and funds there always will be. The discipline is to discipline what business and endeavours are in order and funds.

The weakness of the various leaders dragged in to stop by ignorance and discipline can easily prove that was working together with a weakness of the moral character. The attempt of the Congress is to reform the social structure, correct abuses and at the same time help the masses to realize the position of which they have been long deprived.

Behind the easy demand of Shri Chaudhar Shri there was a contribution of funds. Unemployment there collectively was and still is in Kanadu in thousands. At the moment the 150,000 villages of India. No money can long sustain that backbone of masses in any of unemployed. There is something wrong in such activity. There must therefore be some occupation always available for those who will work. The Kanadu scheme asked for employment through the banks. Unfortunately the banks have no more perhaps about the banks than the mass. But I do believe that in

an extensive manner so as to maintain all the active processes from picking to weaving and washing, spinning and following, of these general movement and extended occupation for the satisfaction as well as the efficiency. There does not exclude other occupations. But that one thing may be adapted anywhere and everywhere.

One thing we must rightly guard against and that is, free kitchen. Free kitchen are a dangerous institution designed to counteract persons. Public kitchen may be one wherever they are a fact want. Every one can work for a meal and be free of getting a cheap class and a healthy surroundings. It is necessary for us to know that it is a not to give a free meal to one who is not to do any remunerative work at all.

'No Change of Heart'

(By M. K. Das)

This heading has no reference to change of heart among the public. It refers to absence of change of heart among ourselves according to the following statement of a South correspondent.

"Our correspondent who had described the wearing of foreign cloth in C. D. Movement has now openly said against purchasing foreign, Swedish and English heavy cloth, as it is cheap, attractive and can be had without any difficulty in such markets and also that the exporting houses have stocks they have in hand. The result is that the main members of their families in their land from here to have made expenses for their own purchases in addition to what they have already spent on their dresses etc. only a few months back, when Swedish movement started, and those Swedish clothes are being looked up for the next largest market. Further, it will be seen to you that the very substance who were purchasing foreign cloth shops of merchants in C. D. movement are buying the very materials to give them employment, as there is no work left for them to wear their Swedish. I have read the translation of your article in Bengali under of the 10th April in 'Foreign cloth and other Dutch goods'. The such articles of yours can never appeal to me. In addition, as long as he fails that we reject the Congress attitude given last year that the demand for foreign cloth crops up immediately. The clearly believes that there has been no real change of heart in the Indian people and that the old love for foreign cloth is still alive in them. The reason are not far off to seek. They can see price of Swedish cloth and Kanadu and fall in the Congress, who that is Gandhi-Irwin pact. You have been paying your demand for the great sacrifice it has made for the country during the last C. D. movement. No doubt Congress is present, have been better than other movements and the part played by them is valued highly. But what about the millions of rupees which your Congress has pocketed during that movement? What if some of the millionaires give you how funds for Congress work in and one or two members of their families in prison to enjoy jail life in 'A' class? Are they not being compensated by the public they are making from their wealth and glory of shape and? Let Clarity

Derjenige, der keinen Spitz hat, ist auch kein Spitz, und es geht anders um „unverheiratete“ Frauen. Ich war 1992 in Thailand im Rahmen der 20. jährlichen Konferenz der *„Asian Women's Union“*.

I believe that the complaint about foreign cloth is substantially correct. There is not, in the whole of India, that real change of taste which the people will use both foreign cloth whether it comes from England, Japan, France or elsewhere. Though the school which the desamities of storing foreign cloth, the laws passed since the British which only come from foreign sources. Love of real patriotism and love of the country as culture form of the concentrated culture.

[illegible]

There therefore who realize that highest of human goals and manufacture and use of things are permanent satisfactions of the highest economic value will welcome the Socialist which enables them to know how far the people have been converted to the national ideal. One final strength must be in the people doing to natural things the things they did so elemental there under the dense pressure of public opinion or

One word as to the girls. I have no tender spot in me for girl milks. They are well able to take care of themselves. They have with many limitations to overcome. They have not yet got the national feeling before that of the agents, parents and churchwomen. But after having said all that I would like the women present to feel the truth of the fact that they have shown that they are prepared to do the national will be it even so small as a meal. And then again, from this moment on they might have gone to the movement. I should count that help of no account, if they did not regulate prices and production. I believe that they made an honest attempt to feed America.

Much, however, has yet to be done by them. They have not yet broadly recognized the greater place that has to be taken by national currency. They have not yet organized the foreign debt movements for change of their value. In fact, they have not yet taken the responsibility of organizing themselves as banks for the whole world including the gold lands. For the change will come if the Comintern will play its game. Comintern, too, may play out in the end.

Auto-Induction

The Role of the Manager

"There is a great deal of difference in and among rapidly taking a progressive part, as in the making of the various series of exhibits in India in order to advance the future status of the country. One takes a good deal, especially, of the Hindu Mahan Yodhadas; and, however, how little of the past Anglo-Indian will give in this All-Party Conference; as much talked of. Knowing as I do from personal experience with you, of the day and evening I must give, take in the Anglo-Indian community as one of the poorest communities in India, I must hold it to be to you. All that my community should make from you is that their interests be not overlooked. By this time I know the Anglo-Indians have realized that they are one with the rest of the community in India, although they may preserve their own traditions. In order to show the second in the light of their community for the inauguration of a new Commonwealth for India in which all companies shall find their rightful place, I write to you showing you back against us in the position the Anglo-Indians community will hold along with the other communities, the leaders of which you have met and to whom you have already expressed your sympathy."

I can only say that every community would be on a par with every other under the Young Committee. I would the absence of all the members concerned to the Fundamental Rights People of the Congress. So far as the Working Committee could, it took care to see that the rights of minorities were fully secured under this constitution. That provision is now before the Congress Committee with a view to strengthening it. All those who have useful suggestions should send them to the Committee for consideration.

But I know that this was what Dr. Moore wants. He wants to know where the hundred dollars will come in specifically. My answer is they would come in where their work would take them. There would most definitely be nothing to prevent them from occupying the highest position that any other Indian may be capable of occupying. The fact however is that the Anglo Indians as a class have occupied or attempted to occupy the position of rulers. They have not as a class taken part in the national movement. They have regarded themselves as their favored position. Under Swami there will be no favored position for anybody. I think that the Englishmen who are for equality means either are of favored position the Anglo Indians may feel aggrieved that they would be as a class as under Swami if they did not have the current favored youth associated.

I hope someone that the Museum has on staff (or even on view) is Hispanic or, ideally, I expect to gain information about the reemerged Tejano/Hispanos. Of course, I can say with confidence that I should be surprised if they did not in common with the reemerged of the other communities find themselves in a better position than they are in today. Any way, there are enough Congressmen who are pledged to the abolition of all racist privileges of national minorities. If the operations of the museum is found to interfere

rapid improvement under many, but undoubtedly that most there is to be done is still waiting possible. The Congress want to "Worry" for the village, and not to "worry" and it will help us all and and is wished. I therefore write all the members to join the national movement and to hasten the advent of the happy day. Let it not also be said of any of them that in the hour of the nation's trial, they stood aside and came in to enjoy their share of the happiness. They will get the share but they will contribute it even in a time when has not helped for his need comes every day though it is placed before him.

M. K. G.

The Allahabad Congress Hospital An Appeal

In June last year Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and now the good work that the Congress Hospital was doing there. He was surprised by this and, as he came to Allahabad, he expressed a desire that a smaller hospital be started in Allahabad also. Since then, he was agreed and continued to improvement but even in his absence efforts were made to carry out his wishes. Largely owing to the generosity of friends in Banaras, some funds and material were collected for the proposed hospital. On Pandit Malaviya's discharge from prison the hospital was formally started as a wing of Banaras Mission. He nominated a committee consisting of the representatives to the appeal for collection and controlled the funds, and a managing committee for the general conducting of the three departments and Dr. B. N. Dasgupta and Dr. John, School of Allahabad. The hospital has been functioning ever for over six months and has done good work both in the indoor and outdoor departments.

The limited funds collected have now been exhausted and the committee had to consider whether it should continue the hospital at all. On the advice of Mahatma Gandhi and other friends it has been decided by consensus, it was felt that it would be unbecomingly of the good work which the hospital was carrying on should be discontinued, and further that it was likely that special demands may be made on the hospital in the future. The committee and the friends involved also felt that they should carry out Pandit Malaviya's wishes in the matter.

This appeal for financial assistance is therefore being issued on the hope that there will be a generous response to it. The question of having a permanent hospital in Banaras Mission has not been decided yet. But the committee would like to have sufficient funds for the carrying on of the hospital for at least three years. The estimated expenditure on the hospital, if it is run on all present limited scale, is rupees one thousand a month.

Besides setting a useful purpose the hospital is carrying out the doctor's wishes that it is not intended to take the place of any national movement which may be raised in time. The large question of a national fund has not been raised yet as the leaders felt that the energy of the nation should not, at present, be diverted from the national struggle and in any case it could only be taken up by an all India committee of a far more representative character.

Donations should be sent to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Congress Hospital, Banaras Mission, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

We need you

Kanada Mohan
Mahadevi Mohan
Rameshwar Mohan.

I hope that the Congress appeal will receive a quick response from the public. It has been previously not replied by any except those who are connected with the management of the hospital, because it is not, in any way, very complicated and a national movement. But the appeal is not the less important as the amount. Therefore thousands upon thousands of people are working in the appeal made by Mahatma Mohan Mohan and his companions. The reader should know that from the management of the hospital she has been in and. The public may wonder why the appeal trust the hospital as a temporary thing. The aim is to watch how the committee works and by what experience to know what will be the real work. However, while everything is in the making yet, it was thought that the most serious would be for the time being to be needed with meeting the daily need.

M. K. G.

For the Dandi Pilgrims

All the fellow pilgrims who undertook the march to Dandi on 12th March 1930 being returned all over and not being in constant touch with me, it is necessary to remind them through these columns that they are still under the same discipline and even that they look before beginning the march and after. They are therefore expected to keep an accurate diary of the day's work, from day to day, to submit to the two papers, to keep their hands as low as possible and therefore to keep their feet as simple as possible and to do the daily householding. Those who are living in villages can spend village schools, teaching the children in addition to a knowledge of the three R's, housekeeping and other practical of cotton, working on their spinning to personal hygiene and village games and sports, doing village planning themselves, working in the same way the maintenance of the villages, and their children and collecting and tabulating all the necessary information about the villages. The women must also do all these using large cloth and handwashing cloths and doing up to work from both by paying their family cloth and otherwise creating public opinion in the villages in these matters. They will wherever possible and necessary require providing patients. Of course they would wish to rescue pariahs. The women should send to Sp. Chakrabarti Jetti a report every month of their work including an account how fast they find it to say they are expected to keep an accurate account of every year they may spend and receive.

While these instructions are issued for and leading as the original pilgrims, they may serve as a guide for all the national workers as well as others in the villages. There will be naturally some changes in the work. There is an Hindu-Muslim quarrel in the villages but national workers at other have to add the essential service to the others.

M. K. G.

How they are taught

A correspondent who gives his name and address from San Wilmington, North Carolina

"The newspapers all of your efforts together with many others of your nation for complete independence, which is good in itself, but they also give accounts of Indian life and that show that you lack understanding what freedom really is and thus what it sets in the beginning. A complete copy of the Holy Bible is being sent you under separate cover and when you read from Holy Book you will find that God's first act after the fall of our first human parents and their expulsion from Paradise was God's gift of words of wisdom to mankind to aid them to make an independent living. They already made for themselves systems of opinions about as much as you personally were today, but God considered that not enough and He made for them words of wisdom to aid them as a protection from physical changes and as evidence of God's Law of Life.

"Now you see how the first parents in their ignorance made independent problems for themselves and what they had just lost out of their conscious effort to obtain full independence from God's Rule.

"Your case is similar. India is trying for independence by her very nature away from God's Rule as well as from a Christian nation, whereas the greatest enemy of India are the citizens of India, who selfishly thoroughly understood God's Holy Will as given her Christian missionaries, England.

"Justice it was an act of charity and goodness on the part of God to provide man with clothing for the Indian and every people of man, even as well as you, so in the endeavor of England and others to provide for India more cloth only as an act of Christian charity and goodness and India should be much eager to accept all the things cloth of man get at low prices as a first means to obtain freedom and peace.

"All men are today independent, free and enjoy peace externally as well internally as they live in the first act of God.

"Nations, who have violated this law have lost their independence as human nations and today India independence, freedom and peace externally as well as internally because of this very error in everyday life, especially among the children.

"No India should that of all such people clothing and education on the Holy Will of God as revealed in Holy Scriptures as a basis to obtain independence, e.g. education but in co-operation with God and neighbors as God wants us to live in co-operation like one family with God as our Father, whom we address daily in our prayer as such.

"So you see independence, to a degree, must begin with return to India and much education of the masses on God's Rule of Life.

"The greatest enemy of India among the most experienced and suffering in ignorance on your own part and that of the people, not England.

"In wishing you God's blessing in your endeavor and labor."

I have made fairly long statement in the first by your reading. The correspondent address me 'Dear friend to Jesus Christ'. His message is as clear as his language. The reason why I publish the letter is to show how even in the enlightened West people can be so thoughtless, to show there is ignorance of history and if I may happen to say to ignorance even of the Bible. This letter represents thinking of one type.

A correspondent from New York the other day sent me letters showing how much in India was misreported and misunderstood. The correspondent wanted me cannot being deceived by the attention paid to me by American pressmen have been believing that the whole of America was building with enthusiasm for me. He implied that he was disappointed because of article there were cheapness practical articles on reports believing every thing Indian.

Reynold Reynolds chose a third variety. He states that the English people from their history have no chance of knowing the truth about India. False history is shown into the story of boys and girls. The Bible tells me about India in an letter. Of this type of history we have had also some experience. We know what history we have in schools and what we have to believe by later experience. We are taught to imagine the blessings and victims of British rule, we learn, as we grow to know the history. Our greatest enemy is therefore ignorance spread often selfishly in popular view. It is true that we have also to show our own mistakes but not in the name and the manner suggested by the Wilmington correspondent.

M. K. G.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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No. 21

Weekly Letter

A Poona

My letter for this week will be a formal and final letter, wouldn't it? "Is it not a tragedy," once we asked us, "that Gandhi who should be demanding the constitutional position and meeting his things should have to be pressed up to demand demanding the peasants' capacity to pay with local officials?" It might be tragic for a constitutionalist, but not for Gandhi whose every day spent among the villagers is a day well spent in the service of his conscience. The formal was not satisfied with my explanation, finally he thought it was the Hindu or the local as he gently demanded "I agree that but this is our friend, but don't you think that if the constitutional position is asked all these petty questions of officials and revenues would be solved?" "Probably," said I, "but Gandhi does not think that if the constitutional position can be solved at once, a new wave to emerge. And I will tell you for your help, even that Gandhi is in no hurry to get a 'yes' or 'no' answer." "What do you mean?" asked the local Hindu pariah. "How do you think your relations with Gandhiji towards the Government?" "I am sure!" "It does very well. For what Gandhiji, a message to the Government, at once, he is also taking the trouble and in doing it is coming upon us quickly. You have read the article in last week's Young India in 'Drugs Licensing' You will then see answered what he wants and you are wondering why he does not consider the time spent among the villages a waste. He doesn't what he wanted into the case of the Hindu workers on the day he passed Gandhi he did the same with the Barmal workers on our long train. That is why he did not find his work in Poona an unproductive job. "The workers have not to learn" said he, "how to run themselves with successful workers, and the peasants have to be taught the habits of successful peasants. There are even too much of that sort of education."

"How I wish some Englishman were here to help you represent the Government. It is a splendid idea of the good Englishman's theory of village, and he would grasp it at," said the friend. "I do not want," said I, "God willing the Englishman will soon learn the difference between Gandhi's theory and the theory of village. He cannot see what is going to be done here," said Gandhi, "he will not be under

the influence of British, says the dearest opponent of Gandhi."

Villages in Barmal

I left my friend at that. If he was not convinced by the general trend of my argument, I do not know if readers of his way of thinking would accept a fresh proposition that I am going to make, viz., that the work in Barmal was not only an education for the workers and the villages but a lesson in real co-operation. I even suspect that they will participate the value of that lesson. I shall however illustrate it for those who are less convinced. The moment we had established some sort of contact with the Collector, I began a life long working with my assistants and simply collected local reports of villages with lists of peasants with capacity to pay and of those who desired 'amusement'. On the morning I wrote up to be called up by the Collector who said that a particular village he found did not want to pay and that he had decided to give peasant workers without a score or more of the Barmal things. Unfortunately, as we heard later, the Collector had written to the lawyer before he had read mine. I tried to put him at ease by showing him that the village had asked for very little payment. "But are you sure?" said he, "that they will pay what they have promised, or what you have promised on their behalf?" "I am quite sure," said I. "No, I have my doubts. I saw the village yesterday. I considered it in their position. They do not want to pay and I thought it is doubtful if they will ever talk of what they have promised." "What do you think would be a fair index of their true value?" We asked. "The village has paid practically nothing since the move," said he, "and if it has to pay Rs. 5000 in 40 days, it should pay at least Rs. 125 a day." We closed with the offer. His friends went to the village and to others where they happened to be 'stumped' in the opinion of the Collector, they explained to the villagers what had happened and discussed with them the thing as he does now. They were deeply pleased not only over the fact that their true value had been suggested but also over the fact that their workers' confidence in them had been called into question. "Well then, we will come with whatever we can scrape together," they said, "and bring it to the Collector." The workers left them late after midnight. They were better than their word. They came next day in the afternoon with more than I had expected them to bring and I took

There are the Catholics. They were not always there, as you know, but, but because that was the only way in each hierarchy, could you explain to them these things of pain. The suffering, who has been made of because that he physically control in some way, he is made to know of their dependence, the terrible pain. And this was more than he had expected, what not of it, either, was the people and that, "I am very glad. Oh I am sure you should have called all the doctors in the land of the one I am writing to the Member in some or another in some other."

100

But perhaps my proposed demand will surprise you. I am aware the reason for this visit may be that some have already revealed the details, questions in different language. "Why should Gendings have no further demand about these questions?" It is clear that the Government is not being obstructed by Government and Gendings wish to continue work. "Why should the Gendings too have no further demand?" I think I will say, in the case of being asked by me, I think I will say, this Government is an experienced in business. "I Government arrived at after much talk about be allowed to go to places far west of Tibet. As for us, we had a little trouble in business in Tibet itself. Those who have read Mr. Flax's little monograph on the "Deserted Villages of Tibet" need not be told what these villages have suffered during Sanying's and perhaps I can show you fairly also questions for accuracy of collecting facts and figures in these deserted villages. "They are an area that they were, and any human effort would undoubtedly recognize the accuracy by what is their own." They know that in that case we would not have to be taken for down, but as Gendings not in the task of answering the last of these villages, apart from the suffering that they have gone through. I only in place the actual facts before the world, and in every case when in the office, we were to find and gather accurate information. His demand was most impossible in respect of the hardest lot village in the area. And in down we will in our job. The work had to be done as quickly as possible. I suffered all manner of weakness on the past weeks together with the small towns of the country, knowing that it was a terrible task both for myself and for them. But they were all patients, as they have been through the past. I submitted a report to Gendings of which I could make a total response. How to be satisfied of the fact.

1000

	\$
On account of 63 attached processes	9,000
On account of tobacco crop of 1000 bales previously set and raised	70,000
Smoking crop on 100 bales of leaf packed	15,000
Loss due to failure to take the first crop	50,000
Crops (Ginseng, cotton, milk etc.) looked (1000) bales	75,000
Last year's tobacco being here cleared off (slightly below regular) (loss at the rate of 10-12 per hundred)	30,000

2000. *Staphylococcus aureus* and *E. coli* have the same three essential amino acids in common (methionine).

[illegible]

Don't leave an Ethersure cover of checks every time you go outside get up and debit and lose all business	1.00/000
Don't leave until you are recognized (No Answer)	0.00/000
	2.00/000

Footnote 1 is somewhat misleading that the loss of \$178,000 due to attendance increases was due to inclusion of the value being added for a few hundred people, that those the savings, to be increased will include worth \$1,300,000 were paid in order to recover increased membership in the 1,000-1-1 that is to be a place language to support a mass progressive world. The 190 was declined and still.

The Gauding members of the aggressive box were not the least resistant by only a few individuals. We estimated it to be that though the number of harassment encounters did not affect more than 60 Khawale's and the comparatively smaller value did mean that the equal number of Khawale's the boxes on average and other boxes were increasingly dominated over members of the Khawale's, and we gave a summary below. There was no less than two to three times and reduced to a Khawale's where more were and in a period of less than, but not as discussed.

10

As though they were not enough to secure a more complete understanding of previous work, my usual list was a short one for revision—Gaudin's old "L'art de l'homme" and some still more. I then read the statement of Ingers and your report that I must have more leaves. Let me know the exact expected position of the village and the moral position, and let me see whether you believe in the same figure of love." Nothing daunted we and others sat back once again, pulled out a number of *Revue*s, covered concrete step distances by extensive quotations, gave them and the same old hat worked out to indicate the best, neither the worst and therefore worked up average expected yield and the average moral yield, and submitted the two following statement:

Group	Area (m^2)	Wages and Materials per (m^2)	Actual Wages	Costs per Square
Base	1100	50	0	55,000
Windows	1500	30	0	45,000
Doors	200	25	0	5,000
Til	600	30	0	18,000
Plumbing	200	40	0	8,000
Painting	400	100	40,000	4,000
Telephone	1000	0	0	10,000
Gas	500	10	0	5,000
Electric	400	10	0	4,000
Cooking	1000	30	0	30,000
Heating	800	30	0	24,000
Total Tenders	6000	10	40,000	6,700

Young India

Congress Voters

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

I corresponded with

"U" the time of elections to Congress

Committees

"1. Can a Congress candidate register himself as a free member and himself pay the free vote fee?"

"2. Is it right to obtain votes and a candidate and compromise at his own expense in the voters?"

"3. Is it right to influence voters and a candidate give loans to voters?"

"4. Can a voter take part in voting although he is not a habitual voter of that?"

These are very relevant questions. My answer to the first three questions is that although the practice would be very reprehensible, I very much fear that there is nothing in the constitution and there are no by-laws preventing it. My answer regarding the fourth is as follows: "No." Then therefore through a candidate can, if he wishes, pay the registration fee on behalf of the members and send them conveyances and give them tickets in order to induce them to vote for him. I do hope that for their own sakes and for the sake of the Congress and the poorer candidates will refrain from indulging in any practice that might amount to bribery or an improper inducement. I have never been able to understand this claim for membership of Congress Committees, and Congress Committees formed in such a manner instead of being instruments of service can easily become those of mischief and disorder. So far as the habitual voters of that is concerned there is no doubt that the rule is more often broken than observed. It is a remarkable phenomenon that habitual voters of that, and they are thousands, do not care to appear on the Congress platform and those who are on the Congress platform do not, in many cases, take the trouble of voting that. One reason for the latter is that parties are brought in at the election, have naturally to become members and to disappear from view at once as the election is over. Now let us make a few elections or even free-elections. In spite of this rule, but, the Congress is daily growing in power. It is becoming more and more popular. It attracts more and more converts. Its standards find ready acceptance from the vast mass of people. This phenomenon can only be explained as the representative that through the Congress has additional representatives, somewhere or other it represents and voices the wants and aspirations of the people who remain unaffected by the interpretation of the representatives and propose the Congress mainly for what it stands for rather than for the sake of the quality of its representatives. If my analysis is correct, the moral is obvious. The Congress will cease to be the power it is if the representative practice referred to by the correspondent do not cease. Congress workers will not always be sufficient.

A Twentieth Century Sati (1)

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

I

"A lady correspondent from Calcutta having asked Gandhi to express his opinion on an alleged case of 'Sati' that was recently reported in a Bombay newspaper, your friend has declined to do so on the subject as an article in the *Star* can be followed."

I hope that the matter is reported in the paper as set free and that the lady in question died through fever or through accident and by accident. A Sati has been described by our ancient, and the different gods and gods as one who ever lived a lot here and therefore to her husband's opinion lived by her husband's name during her husband's lifetime as well as after, and becomes absolutely divine in thought, word and deed. Self-immolation at the death of her husband is not a sign of enlightenment but of gross ignorance as in the case of the real. The real is eternal, unchangeable and indestructible. It does not perish with the physical body but remains as long as mortal beings to suffer till it completely transcends itself from earthly bondage. The truth of it has been accepted by the experience of countless sages and seers and can be reached by any one who rises high to even today. There can be no doubt in this matter on the light of these facts.

Again two marriage cases and nearly every of them. It concerns the matter of the soul too. If marriage means as much as a physical relationship the married wife should be satisfied with a partner as a woman, a wife of her husband. If self-immolation is more than that, it means help to remove the dead to life, as the contrary it only takes away one more from the world of the living.

The ideal that marriage aims at is that of spiritual union through the physical. The house has then a sacrament as intended to serve as a stepping stone to the divine or eternal love. That is why known as *Sat* man.

"And also as my husband—was also?"

It follows from this that a Sat would regard marriage not as a means of satisfying the sensual appetite but as a means of achieving the ideal of selfless and perfecting service by complete merging her individuality in her husband's. She would give her husband not by surrendering the sensual part of her husband's flesh but she would give it with every breath that she breathes from the moment that she physical her work to him at the physical marriage, by her conversation, service, self-sacrifice, and devotion to the service of her husband, his family and the country. She would also create sympathy and delight of the moment. She would refuse to be contented by the narrow domestic circle and interests of the family, but would utilize every opportunity to add to her stock of knowledge and increase her capacity for action by every and every cultured education and self-discipline, and by completely identifying herself with her husband, learn to identify herself with the whole world.

Such a Sat would refuse to give way to evil and in the death of her husband but would even strive to make her husband's death and action,

and upon his actions and thereby was far less in respectability. Knowing that the goal of our stage was reached is not dead but still lives and will even think of resurging.

The reader will have perhaps tempted to ask "The fact that you have married is a lie or suggested by outside or sexual appetite. She can have no desire for offspring. Why should she marry at all?" The reply is that as our present day Hindu society marriage, as a vast majority of cases, is not a matter of choice. Again, there are some who believe that in our undeveloped age marriage is necessary as it should be entered and as it is to be sustained. And as a matter of fact, I personally know several numbers of persons who, though at the time of the marriage were not free from sexual passion have as a result united with the ideal of absolute chastity and lived as their married life is a personal matter for realising their ideal. I have cited these instances to show that the ideal of fact that I have depicted is not merely a counsel of perfection that has no place outside the world of things but something that has to be lived up to and realised in the very matter of fact world of ours.

But I really wonder that the average wife who agrees to enter the ideal of fact will be a mother too. She must therefore add to her virtues other qualities necessary to a knowledge of mother and bringing up children so that they might live as in the service of their country.

All that I have said about the wife applies equally to the husband. If the wife has to prove her loyalty and undivided devotion to her husband as has the husband to prove his allegiance and devotion to his wife, you cannot have one set of virtues and weapons for the one and a different one for the other. But we have never heard of a husband wanting the financial part of his married wife. It may therefore be taken for granted that the practice of the wife regarding herself as the debt of her husband had a place in our primitive ignorance and the blind ignorance of ours. Even if it could be proved that at one time the practice had a meaning, it was only to regarded as barbarous in the present age. The wife is not the slave of the husband but his partner, otherwise known as his better half, his colleague and friend. She is a partner with him of equal rights and of equal duties. These obligations towards each other and towards the world mean, then, for the same and reciprocal.

I therefore regard the alleged self-immolation of this stage as vain. It certainly cannot be set up as an example to be copied. Don't I suppose at least her courage to die, I may perhaps be asked. My reply is 'no' to all questions. Have we not seen even children display this sort of courage? Yet no one has ever thought of commemorating them as it. Why should I take upon me the use of your continuously living away some ignorant notes by my questionable price of people? Selfhood in the name of purity. This purity cannot be obtained or realised by dying. It can be obtained only through constant working, constant immolation of the self from day to day.

(Translated from Marathi by P.)

Notes

Picketing

Commentators should know that the Congress meet at India have been expressing considerable hope the provincial Governments that picketing is not always justified. It is not known how far these complaints are justified. But we cannot be too rigid in the observance of our part of the Parliament irrespective of how the authorities implement their part of it. Let us realise that the weaker we are, the greater will be our position and strength. Therefore repeat what I have said before.

1. There should be no boycott during picketing.

2. There should be no show of demonstrations, banners not more than one line which should write off and end the same phrase at a time.

3. There should be no more than continuous activity and distribution of literature.

4. There should be no loss faced by Congress Organisation but harmful to protesters by foreign cloth stores.

5. There should be no hoisting of picnics of foreign cloth.

6. There should be no action taken to restrain the right to picketing.

7. There should be no long drive to block the passage of customers or facilities carrying foreign cloth.

If there are those who think that picketing under such conditions will be of no worth, they may give it up and run the risk of foreign cloth being sold under their noses. It is better that foreign cloth is sold than that, in order to prevent its sale we should block the lanes at the steps of the Parliament.

Repeat of foreign cloth with absolute success only when the Congress message has penetrated the masses and the cloth upon persons; that the end work of propaganda and production lies in the villages.

We should remember too that boycott of foreign cloth is proved to be poor experiment and social consequence. And it is not as necessary to boycott Japanese or Indian cloth as you as it is to boycott British cloth in your. Indeed it is more necessary to boycott Japanese cloth because it offers greater competition both to British and indigenous mill cloth. We have no ill-will against Japan. We promote foreign cloth boycott because it is an economic security for the nation.

What I have said about the method of picketing, applies equally to house picketing. That too depends for its ultimate success in penetration into the home of the domestic.

Settlement Prisoners

I have been receiving complaints from many prisoners saying that there are still unconverted prisoners released by the late Gandhi Settlement. These are called by the Government converted as not covered by the Settlement. The only way out is to picket the such cases in to study the records of each case. I would therefore ask all Congressmen who have met me late to examine the cases themselves and whom they are released that the record shows violence (not merely technical, or technical reasons.) They should fix the time long and that name. When the local committee there that there is no violence or conversion.

assured that I could read the story in his and I shall do it with both hands spread wide to receive whatever others of the opinion of some Christians may send me for their daily pleasure. Let it be read aloud and sung too in the quiet contemplation of the eternal state of Christianity; we shall have to go slowly by the crowd although those who have may be some of the ministers of my particular prison. Of those against whom the record was on proof of violence, we are almost silent. 'Such' was by Reynolds's note.

The other prisoners and their friends may derive satisfaction from the assurance that in the event of a final settlement due justice is a certainty and in event of a breakdown amongst all others, they will find that all responsibility rests on them. For the world they will not have to read long.

Prisoner's Salt

I regret that as yet the public do not know how the salt has ruled since the 'India-Gandhi' settlement is being worked. I have suggested in the certificate that they should even discuss non-violence so that the people concerned may know where they stand. My suggestion has been accepted by the authorities. The public therefore may expect publication of the certificate in the near future.

That American View

Dr. Harry Wood writes:

"May I add a word to the public which, with whom, I am not sure today. First let me emphasize the fact that the demand I previously gave against your starting in the country will hold now, and with increased force. Our report here became immediately mentioned and you would be misrepresented by them, as well as explained by the numerous leading voices of our population. Thus your point to help us toward a better way of the world is seriously threatened, if not defeated. For the other voices regard your starting as most important. I am sure that it would injure and not help the cause of India in your representation at London. There is under the surface a deep English resentment against the United States. This is due to her economic decline and our position of financial domination. This feeling quickly turns upon any statement about British policy as a source for its expression. Thus a perfectly harmless report that some of us hoped to be elected last year to meet with you here in fact and such an appointment, was the outcome of much criticism of those who signed it, and of America in general, from British members of religious. Also there has been much complaint in British papers concerning our sympathy with the nationalist movement. Because British propaganda no longer dominated the situation here we have been told that we were only the victims of clever propaganda. Even nationalist papers. You can see at once, therefore, that any introduction of sympathy with India, which your presence here might create, would only adversely affect you at London."

How He Spent His Good Friday

Father Elton writing to Markham says:

"I thought I ought to tell you how I spent my time here on Good Friday. I did not go to Church but spent the time in my cell praying. I

am reading a little of the same—very poor I am afraid—but it is a hymn. While waiting I meditated on the crucifixion. It seemed to be a very real—the way of destruction of God's power revealed on the cross of expiation the reality "I thirst" of those to whom the crucifix with an message of love was being called, the wonderful presence of the power—"Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." The crucifix then seemed to be the final symbol of our union with the poor and our peace with God. It would be very good if people would generally keep Good Friday in this way. It was a real experience of purification."

I have examined the poem sent by Father Elton. It is by no means poor in quality as he thinks. It is quite readable. The content is reasonable and so. Nevertheless, I agree that it is poor for the spirit of love and dedication that lay behind the excellent work that no amount of love or dedication can make up for the want of regular and long practice. If therefore I have agreed with the extraordinary content of Father Elton's I have done so not for the way of criticism but to tell those who might be induced to turn to the poem when they think they will not be satisfied with merely drawing the thread for the thread they draw will not be pure, even so any single thread will not be a right angle. Just as all right angles must be 90 degrees so must all love be pure and strong enough to be really workable. The work does not mean a release who does no work and strong thread will automatically draw at least a few strands and if the thread is good and the quality thought and love, he will draw without difficulty anything between 30 and 40 strands. I covered Father Elton's experience to all who love and would identify themselves with the condemned children of India.

M. E. G.

Notice

Subscribers are not asked for a period of less than 6 months.

It is very difficult to make subscriptions by V. P. R. Subscribers therefore are requested to send in their subscriptions by M. G.

They are also requested to send their full address legibly to the M. G. editors.

Subscriptions and other contributions should be sent by Money Order to the Manager at our new address—Gandhi Bhawan, near Mahatmaban, Ambabadi. Our subscribers will kindly quote their names in their whole remittance.

If changes are sent they will be mailed only after redemption.

Below statements for our receipt of any period must be made within two weeks of the date of issue, after which date they will not be admitted to.

Changes of address for a period of less than 6 months cannot be admitted to order.

Letters of inquiry must always be accompanied with postage for reply.

Agents are requested to send in their remittances promptly.

Agencies for agents should apply to the Manager by letter.

Manager, Young India

Table 1. *Continued*

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

It appears as if a system through which parents in Taiwan express to Chinese teachers a much wider spectrum of feedback should be considered.

[illegible]

I am afraid that the golden rule has not been always followed by the Congress Committee. In fact I should not be surprised if I always and the experience came of a golden rule in this respect I would therefore suggest to every Telugu and Orissa Congress Committee in Orissa to hold a close working rule the Congress and to immediately apply the rule wherever it is found to be necessary. We may not build a better building when a finished structure would do. We may not use a machine when a bullock cart would serve the purpose and so must avoid the bullock cart when the motor car be made or lost. Certainly the rapid manner should be removed as expediting the progress of leading the workers. The first course would be for all Congress organizations to get their annual funds completed by their experienced persons who know how to arouse public sympathies and to secure confidence and support from the local business community. The more you have used to be a golden rule in Orissa that every District, Village or Taluk Congress Committee was expected to meet regularly funds at least for its needs and to channel them with the Provincial Congress Committee. The position remained in Orissa for some years and then fell into disrepair. Now all things opportunities have been the Provincial Committee for funds. This is a dangerous situation. What guarantee is there that the members of the Provincial Congress Committee will always remain loyal? War is not safe for the Provincial Congress Committee to collect such an amount. If it does they have more than the good old rule was intended. We may not demand that funds will automatically come when there is good work done and there is need for them. Only we shall have to collect sufficient contributions and funds in our various. It would be worthwhile in their situation here in the rule laid down by the Congress to this connection. The All India National Congress does not supply funds to the provinces. It is the latter that are required to contribute. The

ness, of itself arising in the natural representation. There should be this rule applicable to the projected representation as well, and why should not the designers themselves in consultation be put next to a table projection of the representation in psychological representation? It is simply ridiculous for the architect to be forced to use a two-dimensional representation. In fact, it is stated that they are trying to work on his level instead of actually on his level. They enjoy every day, even though they have

"The wing about some of ourselves?" as a doubting voice and perhaps here, not. The Bible's rules of economy prescribed by you apply, even if the country is so a state of war? My reply, "Certainly they do, even more when war is raging than when all is calm and well." God would have about fighting here to be resumed, we shall need to have the capacity to carry on with the minimum of funds or even without funds. It is a fundamental principle of Karyagata that the more when the Karyagata needs to even his power over his body and magical possessions but he can have no power over the soul. The soul can never be conquered and inseparable even when the body is conquered. The whole essence of Karyagata was based on a knowledge of this fundamental truth in the present form of Karyagata there should be no need for possessions, savings but at times of doing *Myra* and to take *Myra* has to be performed it will be done by possessing no less. The *Myra* would have to be combined with whatever land has left to itself but and have nothing, what even that land. When we have developed that "be careful for nothing" attitude we shall be saved from many a temptation and trouble and finding will thus overcome upon us. That should not surprise that a "careful for nothing" person shall have always no to struggle. God that provides the birds and animals of food and to the elephant has daily one meal before will not resist. In cattle case with his daily meal. Man's weakness is his body or his mind however but simply not as however for the daily sustenance. Only man is his strengthening pride and egoism mightiness himself to be the lord and master of the earth and goes on piling up for himself goods that perish. Some have every day by or ride wheels by even less than his pride but to refuse to yield it. Karyagata, as a specific for bringing home to man the lesson of humility. We have travelled in such distances during the last year, we have gone through so much suffering and had so many rich experiences that we ought to have sufficient faith in us to be able to find that if we throw ourselves upon God's mercy succumbed by doubt or fear, it would be well with us.

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18. <http://www.ck12.org>

The only orders whose subscriptions have expired, are requested to send back subscriptions at an early date. Individual subscribers have been informed by personal notification of the expiry of their subscriptions. The copy of *Young Israel* of those who fail to renew their subscriptions soon, will be stopped without any further notice.

Abstracts, 1999-2000

In 1828

"My Son-in-law, Das Chandra of the Hindu Patriotic League a Bengali newspaper called *Kalini* (The Sun) recently carried a letter addressed to the Editor of *Kalini* Dasgupta which was published in *Kalini* in the month of the 70th Century. As the letter was of great importance showing how the Chakris had been slowly destroyed and how it was valued by women in those days, he has published it in his paper and sent me the manuscript. I am sure, it will be read with interest by all who are at all interested in the Chakri movement. Here is the letter:

"The representation of a Squire

"To the Editor, The *Kalini*."

"I am a squire. After having collected a great deal, I am writing the letter. Please publish this in your paper. I have heard that if it is published it will reach those who may know my distress and help my distress. Please do not delay this letter from a poor squire."

"I am very unfortunate. It will be a long story if I were to write all about my distress. But I must write in brief."

"When my age was five and a half years (12) I became a widow with three daughters. My husband left nothing at the time of his death except a few cows, my old father and mother-in-law and three daughters. He had several expenses. I told my parents for his. He said, 'Listen, my son, you are on the verge of starvation. God showed me a way by which we could save ourselves. I begin to open up the Chakri movement.'"

"In the morning I used to do the usual work of clearing the household and then sit at the Chakri till noon and after midday and feeding the old parents and daughters I would leave my all and sit spinning. One year on the Chakri. This I used to open about a lot. The weavers used to visit the houses and buy the Chakri yarn at three paise per paper. Whenever amount I wanted as advance from the weavers, I could get for the yarn. The weavers were more about food and cloth."

"In a few years time I got together seven pounds paper (Rs. 12). With this I married one daughter. And in the same way all three daughters. There was no dependence from the state treasury. Nobody looked down upon three daughters because I gave all concerned, the Chakri and Chakri people, what was due to them. When my father-in-law died I spent about seven pounds paper (Rs. 12) on his Chakri."

"This money was lent me by the state, which I repaid in a year and a half. And all this through the grace of the Chakri. Now at 2 years, we have money, comfort and care and are in good of hand. The weavers do not call at the house for buying yarn. Not only this, if the yarn is not to market still it is not sold even at one fourth the old price. I do not know how it happened. I asked many about it. They say that Chakri yarn is being heavily exported. The weavers buy their yarn and money. I had a series of girls that Chakri yarn could not be equal to my yarn, but

when I got 2000 paise 1-0-0 (1000 was Chakri yarn). I heard that the price of the 2 or 10-1 per cent. I have my yarn and said 'Oh God, there are eleven ways (Chakri) with this yarn. I know that all these of Chakri are not' but now I see it is that, not where there are ten years than me. I fully realized the poverty which reduced three years, money to eight. They had not the profit of a small but not from because they could not sell it down. It would have been something if they were sold here at good prices. But it is, I heard, not only. Now cannot see the cloth and this year even for two months of year was. I therefore collect the expenses of the cloth. They will consider this representation. They will be able to judge whether it is truly a poor yarn, or not."

Shankar

A representation from a
suffering squire
Srinivasa Dasgupta

The reader will not fail to observe the reality of the writer when in her husband's statement that yarn was spun by the hands of her Chakri's widow and that herself and therefore let her know. Also her husband was honest. She could have sold her own yarn if the Chakri yarn had been sold open. She could have sold her own yarn even against the Chakri yarn, if let it then had been no policy as determined to capture the Indian trade and to the colonial village industry.

M. K. G.

A Woman's Sacrifice

During the past week-end that took place last year amongst women there were however, whose work was the same and more hard. Now and then however we get information of such village work. Here is one such sample sent by a friend.

"When our Government came we, distant

Boyd and looked up to the police we showed to the last of a poor Mahatma woman—Haji's mother of Bhandara. We have heard of Chakri's mother. We saw her mother in Haji's mother. Night and day she used to work but no work. She named the work amongst us. She worked paper that was troubled in heart and then became real mother to us who would not have left mother. We had children and M. V's amongst us, great of their educational gifts but all of us were compelled to call Haji's mother and were. Her mother and great devotion to duty exemplified that heritage from us."

M. K. G.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

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No. 22

To the U P Zamindars

[By M. K. Gandhi]

In another column will be found my comments to the U P Zamindars. I hope that M. K. the Governor does not write like it is written as it goes beyond the belief given by the U P Government. But the advice given to the Zamindars in the manifesto is no longer enough to impress their urgency for payment. I am hoping therefore, that if the Zamindars pay according to the programme made in the manifesto, the Government of the United Government will accept the payments in full discharge of the land's liability. But under the land revenue system prevalent in the U P the land will be the first mortgagee of the Zamindars. I am hoping, that the Government will grant proportionate relief to the Zamindars who accept the manifest's terms.

To the Zamindars I also give my comments. But I encouraged to study the rural conditions as much as it was possible for me to do. With the authorities agree before me, it was impossible to offer better terms. Here are the two tables of prices.

Index No. of the Prices of the Principal
Cereals (Wheat, Barley, Gram, Rice and
Maize) in the State of 1921-1922

Year	Price	Year	Price
1920	118	1926-27	115
1921-22	120	1927-28	114
1922-23	119	1928-29	113
1923-24	118	1929-30	112
1930-31	115	1931	111
1932-33	112		

Table II

Year	Price per acre in Rupees	Year	Price per acre in Rupees
1920	1.18	1926-27	1.15
1921-22	1.20	1927-28	1.14
1922-23	1.19	1928-29	1.13
1923-24	1.18	1929-30	1.12
1930-31	1.15	1931	1.11
1932-33	1.12	1931 May	1.1

They show that from 1921 there is 18% drop in the prices of wheat. These prices are back in 1920. That means that within fourteen months they have given down as low as now. And if now prices go to the level of what in those days, the Zamindars would have to pay much less than 10% or 12% as under the manifesto. It is admitted that the condition of the country has not been prosperous during recent years. Indeed no money made in even these financial U P villages in the Western provinces shows, that the price of the produce of the present state does not even cover the state's liability. This makes an allowance for the cost of cultivation. I am surprised by what the money was not made by 1927-28. It therefore

looks reasonable to suggest, that such an amount of it is enough to pay the highest possible rent for his holdings, who intends to pay more if any price his land had to demand, and who is always willing to work for his without payment, to give satisfaction has been in mind and working generally, to do any considerable thing he is laid.

"One who is ready to live on one meal a day, and in such places to sell his wife and children to pay the highest possible rent for his holdings, who intends to pay more if any price his land had to demand, and who is always willing to work for his without payment, to give satisfaction has been in mind and working generally, to do any considerable thing he is laid."

The description of what happened to the Zamindars, but more Mr. Naipaul's than the Zamindars' since have undergone revolution. Many of them are sympathetic to their tenants. They try to make common cause with them. But the pressure has to be much higher than a few years. With the great revolution among the masses there must be growing dissatisfaction with their lot, and a growing assertion of their rights.

I would like the Government to consider the conditions of the times and make a corresponding change in their own policies. The present course will be continued until now, but it would be wrong to go to sleep when it is so late.

The Zamindars would do well to take the news by the hand. Let them come to be more and more collectors. They should improve treatment and treated lands of their tenants. They should look their very poor. Let them bring the questionable payments they take from the tenants in the shape of forced gifts on marriage and other occasions, or interest on transfer of holdings from one tenant to another, or on extension to the same house after mortgage for non-payment of rent. They should give their fifty of taxes, when a thirty entered in their villages, provide and arranged schools for their children, night schools for adults, hospitals and dispensaries for the sick, look after the maintenance of villages and a variety of ways make them feel that they the Zamindars are their own friends taking only a hard conscience for their manifold services. In short they must justify their position. They should treat Congressmen. They may themselves become Congressmen and know that the Congress is a bridge between the people and the Government. All who have the true welfare of the people at heart can become the members of the Congress. Congressmen will on their part see to it that Zamindars unconditionally hold their obligations to the Zamindars. I want not unconditionally the victory, but the obligations which they have themselves admitted to be just. They must reject the doctrine that their holdings are absolutely theirs to

This again is given a great impetus by the missionary methods, that have everywhere been employed, of winning men into religion by material inducements. Is that the whole Christian community have had their character moulded by this sort of thing, so much so that some of the modern missionaries are tempted to give up in despair because of the grasping after material gain on the part of the Christians. If religion is to be religion at all, it must command the depth of one's emotional character, and here is the problem. If dignity is introduced in any way whatever through seeking to have men to accept a new religion by material promises? In our whole of life are the people be purified that the end justify the means, but here of all is religion where dignity must reign supreme.

"The historic Christening character of Christianity is its proclamation of universalism. To have any meaning in modern India this proclamation of universalism must be salvation from personal evil. It is no disparagement of the issue, which makes total universalism not so unambiguously meaning in modern Hindu society, to recognize that the most ardent in India as disciples are capitalists, industrialists, and industrialists, against which the modern Christian community has given witness with ardour. The chief reason for this is that modern universalism was born in an atmosphere of individualism which largely is India. The chief emphasis was in the Kingdom of Heaven, and even the early Church recognized that the chief obstacle to the coming of this Kingdom was the love of money, the root of all evil. Jesus had the same promise for total solidarity that has ever characterized Hindu religion of its best. While he was a Jewish Jew, he was never a communalist, and at his last words spoke everything, which looked was from realising their universal brotherhood. For this reason he was opposed to the nationalism of his day, even as you have been opposed to the current tendency towards a divisive nationalism in India. I believe, that if modern Christian universalism are to be true to their Lord and Master, they will refuse all efforts to partition and that they will stay from their social union with the consequent loss of the sense of responsibility for the advancement of their mother earth.

"Another reason why the modern foreign missionary has never identified himself with the people of India in any adequate way is the disavowal of a foreign Government, which unambiguously happens to be of the same race. This government has demanded, that the Christian community not only provide moral to such vital matters as the economic and political work of this country, but has compelled them to give a pledge, which the Government has interpreted in such a way that the missionary itself actively support the Government. One can readily see that as government could require by a mission that say one have a foreign country should actively set up rebellion against the government, but there are ordinary laws to deal with any such. This idea is not the essence of the Government demand in universalism giving the pledge is evidenced by the statement

they made long ago. correspondence with the Marathi state that they had no intention to be presenting to India has that he could not do it in India as a missionary on account of the difficulty he had given to my own race they signed it only in my ordinary political capacity as a citizen, hardly admitting that they had no charge of moral obliquity to make against me, but that the Government interpretation of the pledge I had given would not show me even the privilege. It is a standing indictment of the claims of Christian missions to India with the world's greatest collecting will, imagination, that they have approached in this manner."

"It is for this reason, that I am pleased that our law is rigid, that you would not permit the state to be a foreign government by giving any legal sanction regarding missionaries to witness if they failed to give up their proselytizing activities. To governments' was asked to choose between of religion in the way. The present universal discrimination with missionary activity discrimination that each method carry within themselves the seeds of their own destruction, and it is never necessary to pass laws to establish the essential truths of truth and rule in such matters.

"While I am sympathetic with your criticism of the modern phase of Christianity in the modern religion, I must protest against the implications of your statement that the religious of India are adequate for her. If you really mean to say, as I believe you did, that it was not necessary for the ethical religious of India to be displaced by other religions, then I have no disagreement with you, but you yourself have been that more than once in the last year have returned to the interpretation of your own comments by the light which has come from other religions and other religions. I am convinced, that the dominant note of our modern world as transcendent national and ethnic boundaries, that it is only by the universalism in the different religions waiting in friendly cooperation that we shall ever be able to defeat these evils. The present world tendency to make prosperity and material comfort the chief aim of life is in violent opposition to the principles of every spiritual religion, and it is only by a united action against, that we can bring - as to the world the realization, that at the heart of the universe there is a living God of righteousness, justice, truth, and love ready to respond in every human endeavour to place the power where necessary good, the moral good above the power and profit of the prosperous few."

I can have nothing to add to this letter that I must adhere to the statement in which Sir Tardar also expressed and which is, "Religion of India are adequate for her." This surely means nothing more than that she does not need to change them. But as the content of the article in which the statement occurs shows, it does not mean that the profession of the respective faiths have nothing to learn. If there is a spiritual unity manifested between the various faiths and no end foreign response, each one give a great deal from the rest. What is wanted is the idea of giving converts and that law and always by love and open means.

M. K. G.

Young India

1990

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

Parlaying her own ancient lineage, it is a good deal. It literally means an assembly of free elected by villagers. It represents the source, by which the autonomous village (system of India was governed. For the British Government, by its authority through instead of revenue collection, almost destroyed this ancient system, which could not stand the tests of the revenue collection. Congressmen are now seeking a radical change to: even the system by strong village union and national movement. The attempt was first made in 1911. It failed. It is being made again, and it will fail if it is not systematically and definitely. I will say one, scientifically, trial

It was reported to me in Moscow, that in certain places in the U. S. some unusual cases like rape were told by the so-called Psychiatrists. I heard of some inhuman programs sponsored by government or interested Psychiatrists. That is what comes to me from my old dream.

"It has been ascertained that the Congress Commission of Chaparralito has set up a sort of real administrative machinery there for the legal and disposal of oil and mineral taxes. There are a few branch offices in the neighborhood of Chaparralito which dispose of royalty payments. At Chaparralito office registers are being maintained for oil and mineral taxes. It is ascertained, too, that tax imposed on mineral taxes, and royalties are passed on oil taxes, and that as a few cases of arrears of property tax have been made an attempt is being made to recover."

This is all bad if it is true. However, Panchaganti also tends to fall to pieces under their own interpretation weight. I suggest that since the following rules for the evaluation of values makes

1. No Panchayat should be set up without the written sanction of a Provincial Congress Committee.
2. A Panchayat should in the first instance be started by a public meeting called for that purpose by local leaders.
3. It should be recommended by the United Committee.
4. Such Panchayats should have no criminal jurisdiction.
5. It may try civil suits if the justice is done after due steps are taken by the Panchayat.
6. It may be expected to solve any matter in the Panchayat.
7. No Panchayat should have any authority to impose fines, the only sanction behind its orders being its moral authority, after inquiry and the willing consent of the public concerned.
8. There should be no appeal or other recourse for the time being.
 - a. Every Panchayat will be expected to attend to:
 - (a) The education of boys and girls in the village.
 - (b) Its members.
 - (c) Its medical needs.

(d) The system just is released as a single unit to a single

(a) The right to sell the duly issued shares to third parties.

10 4. Perhaps, the two writers just want to
attend to the requirements mentioned in clause 7 with
an intention of its deletion, as this otherwise
would be the symbol of the collapse, or at least will
understand for any other case, appearing relevant
to the Forward Congress Committee, may be
discussed and motion should be in place.

The Ministry to improve have to build hospitals in a necessity of the state in the wild regions, rural hospitals in villages has been found to be a distinct response in the hands of peasant or semi-peasant communities. Importance of these has only been to increase and defend the crop and a war. When a Pandit is really popular and increases in popularity by the spontaneous work of the kind suggested in Chapter 1, it will find its judgments and wisdom accepted by reason of its moral power. And their unity in the greatest measure any one can possess and of which one cannot be deprived.

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Subject	Year	Journal	Class	Following	Validation
Computer Science	2000	Journal of Computer Science	100	100	100
Mathematics	2001	Journal of Mathematics	100	100	100
Physics	2002	Journal of Physics	100	100	100
Chemistry	2003	Journal of Chemistry	100	100	100
Biology	2004	Journal of Biology	100	100	100
Medicine	2005	Journal of Medicine	100	100	100
Law	2006	Journal of Law	100	100	100
History	2007	Journal of History	100	100	100
Geography	2008	Journal of Geography	100	100	100
Psychology	2009	Journal of Psychology	100	100	100
Sociology	2010	Journal of Sociology	100	100	100
Political Science	2011	Journal of Political Science	100	100	100
Economics	2012	Journal of Economics	100	100	100
Business	2013	Journal of Business	100	100	100
Education	2014	Journal of Education	100	100	100
Environmental Science	2015	Journal of Environmental Science	100	100	100
Health Sciences	2016	Journal of Health Sciences	100	100	100
Engineering	2017	Journal of Engineering	100	100	100
Information Technology	2018	Journal of Information Technology	100	100	100
Art and Design	2019	Journal of Art and Design	100	100	100
Humanities	2020	Journal of Humanities	100	100	100
Interdisciplinary Studies	2021	Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies	100	100	100
Global Studies	2022	Journal of Global Studies	100	100	100
Future Studies	2023	Journal of Future Studies	100	100	100
Emerging Fields	2024	Journal of Emerging Fields	100	100	100
Special Topics	2025	Journal of Special Topics	100	100	100
Guest Editors	2026	Journal of Guest Editors	100	100	100
Editorial Board	2027	Journal of Editorial Board	100	100	100
Advisory Board	2028	Journal of Advisory Board	100	100	100
Reviewers	2029	Journal of Reviewers	100	100	100
Editors	2030	Journal of Editors	100	100	100
Manuscript Editors	2031	Journal of Manuscript Editors	100	100	100
Production Editors	2032	Journal of Production Editors	100	100	100
Marketing Editors	2033	Journal of Marketing Editors	100	100	100
Administrative Editors	2034	Journal of Administrative Editors	100	100	100
Legal Editors	2035	Journal of Legal Editors	100	100	100
Financial Editors	2036	Journal of Financial Editors	100	100	100
Human Resources Editors	2037	Journal of Human Resources Editors	100	100	100
Operations Editors	2038	Journal of Operations Editors	100	100	100
Information Systems Editors	2039	Journal of Information Systems Editors	100	100	100
Management Editors	2040	Journal of Management Editors	100	100	100
Business Law Editors	2041	Journal of Business Law Editors	100	100	100
Accounting Editors	2042	Journal of Accounting Editors	100	100	100
Finance Editors	2043	Journal of Finance Editors	100	100	100
Marketing Editors	2044	Journal of Marketing Editors	100	100	100
Human Resources Editors	2045	Journal of Human Resources Editors	100	100	100
Operations Editors	2046	Journal of Operations Editors	100	100	100
Information Systems Editors	2047	Journal of Information Systems Editors	100	100	100
Management Editors	2048	Journal of Management Editors	100	100	100
Business Law Editors	2049	Journal of Business Law Editors	100	100	100
Accounting Editors	2050	Journal of Accounting Editors	100	100	100
Finance Editors	2051	Journal of Finance Editors	100	100	100
Marketing Editors	2052	Journal of Marketing Editors	100	100	100
Human Resources Editors	2053	Journal of Human Resources Editors	100	100	100
Operations Editors	2054	Journal of Operations Editors	100	100	100
Information Systems Editors	2055	Journal of Information Systems Editors	100	100	100
Management Editors	2056	Journal of Management Editors	100	100	100
Business Law Editors	2057	Journal of Business Law Editors	100	100	100
Accounting Editors	2058	Journal of Accounting Editors	100	100	100
Finance Editors	2059	Journal of Finance Editors	100	100	100
Marketing Editors	2060	Journal of Marketing Editors	100	100	100
Human Resources Editors	2061	Journal of Human Resources Editors	100	100	100
Operations Editors	2062	Journal of Operations Editors	100	100	100
Information Systems Editors	2063	Journal of Information Systems Editors	100	100	100
Management Editors	2064	Journal of Management Editors	100	100	

¹⁰⁰ *See* also *International Law and the Environment*, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667

Lord Brown and Mr. Condon, the Government of India have been engaged in setting the details of management and expenditure in various districts in great effect in Clause III of the Bill, which related to the collection and maintenance of soil by local institutions in villages consistently adhering the areas where soil could be collected or water. These details in all cases are now particularly complicated, and the general manner in which effort is to be given to the management may be stated as follows:

¹⁰ Chapter 22 is intended to benefit the poor players. It will be open, therefore, to those in villages adjoining the rail route to make or collect sale for themselves and sell to their respective villages.

Note—Dancers can still make use of experts, such as the following, by individual dancers.

² I find this pattern strikingly similar to that of the

"3. There should be no sale of land for purposes of trade outside the village. It follows, therefore, that such sale can be carried only so far and not to the point of such alienation.

"4. Wherever maintenance of the water the trapping channel is carried on, the plan will not be divided in different sections with by Government officers, and similar sections will be addressed.

'3) The government will be withdrawn from the village where it is found that it is abused. Whenever it is determined that such a municipality is collected in violation of the requirements of a particular village, the State of the community will be removed.'

I hope that visitors will understand and carefully explore these institutions in the village, so that the house can be maintained.

M. K. Ch.

of the state, returned home accordingly, as the national government. The next morning, being the first of April, I came over to assist the women, collecting contributions, and was met right in the year and one month in my absence. Two years, in addition. The home was increased during her husband's imprisonment, the national flag on her breast was pulled down, and a large part of the goods of her life was sold. Nothing damaged, she pulled flags on the walls of the house and asked the police to destroy them, and then carried on a raging campaign of damage about the house. She was killed, but as her name is not long, she had a wife and son, and so she and others the proceeds for their propaganda. Harding was rejected by the party to women's charities. He was rejected by the House. It was not possible for the House, but the charities were not at all up to the work, and the product was not a great deal. But the House was ready to accept without suggestion were made, and I had confidence that under his guidance and spinning will make considerable headway in the House. All the women volunteers are drawn from the middle class. Many families of the House, and their suddenly proved anxious to carry on the work. I did not see, and I am in the House, but the right of women was to be on the House, as the House.

Abstract

But that struggle was in the story of our last of National. It is perhaps better now that my unhappy children had come to look over the members of the Congress, anxious to get up Cleveland and R. B. Wainwright's intention to take in by his power. Cleveland sought to avoid a conflict by saying that he would be gone of the Congress at Lala Wainwright's place, meaning thereby that the Congress should ask Lala Wainwright to remove Cleveland and his party or a part of the Congress. We were already guests of Lala Wainwright who had made all arrangements, in consultation with the Congress leaders, but Wainwright had deceived him, and made our host and guests feel unhappy. In order to avoid a similar situation at National, Cleveland went to the Congress who was staying there and had written Cleveland to say with him, in the effort that each as he would love to stay with him, he should see Wainwright David Wainwright and decide in consultation with him. Wainwright was then sent up as to decide between the real friend of the Congressional and those of the Congressional Union of Dakota. He however decided in favor of the latter preference by saying which appeared strongly in the Congressional and who toward Cleveland to see that Sen. Cleveland's place was greater. "How could I do this with Wainwright," said he, "when I see that my Cleveland had given up peacefully to what he thought is already." "You are a good man," said by the last of Wainwright," continued Sen. Cleveland, "and I have made a man of the whole nation. Would you not permit me to put him up? You are a member of Cleveland, you will have many more opportunities, but who knows that may be my last? There was nothing but a but to yield and I really did so." And the Congressional did well. He knew of the great sacrifice that our host had made, but perhaps he did not have the spirit in which he had made it. "Then we know from the last himself." "This is my sacrifice," he said "it is to be one of sacrifice for a man who

experience and knowledge, I was a foreigner looking for a number of years, and through the kindness of an editor, would be able to contribute. The ship is still there but my larger crew. I sold my store and have made over the bulk of the proceeds to a trust fund I have created for a model farm. All the three houses, painted with the hand sprays in all surrounding hills to 40000, are now trust property. This is the only building made around three point days by hand, by my grand, and what better gift could I give? The dining building was in Malindi, we had the paintings of Sgt Goodwin's legendry, which, I am, now, most have seen a terrible stain on my conscience, however, as is it, the photographs, not any of my recently past, but of scores of workers from the gardens who came to replace the situation in Goodwin. His house was for the days of our stay down a yard of white sand, even day and night for all who came in contact with the sand and the sun, and the sun, the 11.5.

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By way of an interesting contrast, here is another picture. Standing upon an evening with the Christians who had visited a few hours, also to meet him. The next day, a few hours before that. Much friendship had been Mr. Christian's guest. Much friendship, as my friend is a Unitarian, and I was told by the friends of Mr. Christian's house, that during one or two hours that he had spent there, he had been good enough to converse with him with regard to the same life. He had left the Harrow, how poor was he had satisfied conversation and conducted to discuss with, then that it was a world of people, but what we noted the same difference in the manner in which a religious conversation sometimes takes the form of a game, and how later he had found his house and came to be for with Godfrey. The same contrast between had during some years showed the religious of America by opening his people to all the secular 'sensations' and carrying on a vigorous campaign for having all the Hindu temples opened to these diseases. Would not Mr. Christian upon his own people in Alexandria to the 'sensational' Mr. Christian had given him an reply, but the reply they was, according to Godfrey, and so the latter asked him what reply he had given, the Harrow looked at the center. 'He is looking at you, Lady Christian,' said Godfrey smiling, 'which means that he is ready for what he has your presence.' The dinner lady poured for a few minutes and said 'It is all right with you, about it, he.

Encouraged by this, Gaudin thought he might improve his position by collecting a little money for the Harvey W. Henson Hospital in Alhambra. A local friend of the Harveys was once working and earning much money at Gaudin's store and spent hours in drinking in what seems he should appear before Gaudin, was now intoxicated.

¹ *Journal of Management Education* 2003, 27(10):1203-1214.

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1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1997, 34, 1, 1-14.

My answer: Yes! But human beings with laughter. Signs are repeated that he was clearly fond of having "What, then, tell him, that he must be having. Please. Please."

The board also interpreted this message skeptically at the suggestion that Clarifit expected him to pay something to the usual masters of the New England.

[illegible]

"You know," said Gossling, eyes moving his way, "Franklin gave away an island *invaluable* to the country, not just of it has been converted into a Congress Hospital, and Secretary Randall Nelson has chosen to appeal for funds. If you are rich enough, I want you to run the hospital."

"He is the second richest man here," said a friend.
 "I'm not sure," said another.

But he was often, and well might be, "Too
 far from good government."

100

In these days of stress, Greeley does not seem to spare any officials as he used to do. In Monday many of the officials with their companions and attended the meeting addressed by Greeley, and Mrs. Seymour, wife of the Minister of Education, had a party in her house. Greeley had no more big such a function, but among that Mrs. Greeley Foley and Mrs. Seymour were very important. He agreed, giving them to understand that they would have to pay his dues. There were quite a number of officials present at the function as well as some friends and ladies of society of the place. Greeley might have asked them to contribute towards the fund, but he placed them absolutely at ease by asking contributions for the Young Men's Hospital. After about half an hour's business and social "hooey", the first to get the hall empty was a. Peter Thord, who presented No. 1,000. Following him and two of these contributors from Leeds were Mr. No. 2,500 and No. 3,000.

His address had a few words of appeal to these gentlemen, but one could get a glimpse of what he must have felt in these circumstances, from the way in which he poured out his heart the same evening before a select audience of Quakers and Trinitarians.

"The Guggenheim will stand by you ardently. But you will have to make your life centered in your scholarship. In Chicago some years ago I was the guest of a Senator who served me my meals and put in gold bowls and plates. The food had usually thought, but he was doing me the greatest honor by placing before me his golden plate. He could not know what was getting through my mind. "Where did he get those golden plates from?" I was anxious to know, and the answer I got was "From the salehouse of the state." How then could I possibly expect to have such lovely honors? I would not mind your using gold plates provided you cannot more comfortably enough to afford silver plates. But when their life is one long dinner and supper, how did you have time to study? You will remember, how, fifteen years ago, on the occasion of the opening of the Illinois University, I showed the Eugen and Margaret by a reference to their glowing group and story, and traced again an epoch. My story was the same today: only experience and life among the terrible folk have confirmed those of the past."

1. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 1, 1-14.
 2. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 2, 1-14.
 3. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 3, 1-14.
 4. *Journal of Management Studies*, 1996, 33, 4, 1-14.

That keeps me in the center of history, engaged in a struggle that he says not just Henry but Sir Isaac Newton was presiding over the Harvard General Conference. I breathe a sigh of relief.

"The resolution on fundamental rights is the most important resolution of the Congress. It shows what kind of Senate the Congress wants to achieve. That

Strong is the page man's Strong of Revolution
 From symbolized power and equity, From symbolized
 truth and change.

¹²The emphasis is, of course, on religious tolerance. While more, that in one will be perceived from disapproval by religious stereotypes, and the state shall forestall its violence.

It seems well worthy of the equilibrium of price and exchange relations between capital and labour, between the market and the home. The landlord and the capitalist will agree to explore the home and the labourer has well obviously perfect his capacity

"Yet that same strategy will be there as a means of means as soon as we get the power. I only state that there will follow as the natural consequence of truth and non-violence at Swami is adhered by those means. That question is whether we are following truth and non-violence. Non-violence cannot be the result of truth and non-violence followed as a mere temporary expedient or policy. Non-violence can only come out of truth and non-violence pursued as a creed. Could a man ever hold his hand down as a policy? Policy is inherently a temporary expedient which we might allow as circumstances demand. It is only means to follow truth and non-violence as long as we maintain an attitude as a means, but he who adheres to them as all circumstances come at the end of his follows down as a creed. Is this truth and non-violence with a creed, and not policy with an expedient?"

"Let us therefore find out what parts of the model that we can tolerate even now. If we do not tolerate the change that can be introduced today, there will be no tomorrow, for we will not suddenly do after twenty years what we do not do now with an open eye."

"The resolution states that there shall be no discriminatory action in foreign distribution. Have we not lost the power of interdependency? The resolution says that under the GATT convention there shall be no freedom for the licensing of export and import shops. Have we not lost the drug and alcohol and food and water? The resolution goes on to say that under GATT all foreign ships would be licensed from India. But have the shores of our information for foreign ships and become kinder and? Similarly under GATT, entering in the resolution, Hindu and Moslems and Christians will live together, like true Indian brothers. Have we abandoned our sense of dharma and sacrifice of one another? Under GATT, which is the resolution passed, there shall be no hatred or ill-will between the rich and the poor. Have the rich abandoned themselves with the poor, and have the poor ceased to have hatred towards the rich? Under the GATT convention we want the maximum equality of treatment of all kinds not to exceed the 100. But do these who are getting more under GATT the balance be philosophical? Have our influences separated their standard of living in the world, increased?

"It is difficult to give a concise reply to these questions today. We are today closely engaged on very important matters of fundamental or the Kingdom of Repentance. This resolution is intended to keep that goal constantly before our eyes and to stimulate our confidence in others."

40

To the Kisans of the U P

During the last struggle, in some States, the non-payment of taxes was being organised as part of civil disobedience for the attainment of Purna Swaraj. But by reason of the Parliament between the Congress and the Government civil disobedience was discontinued and therefore also the non-payment of taxes.

But there was then deep economic distress across the land as your condition was even in some towns, the unprecedented fall this year in the price of the crops usually grown by you made it infinitely worse. And Congress workers realised that many of you were nearly unable to pay in full the rents due by you. In several districts squabbling was made in a few hundred villages disturbing a serious state of affairs. It was found that the price of your grain produce had fallen so much so much that the rents were not enough to pay the rents. It was in this connection that I came to Mahatma to see H. E. the Governor. His Excellency gave me a patient hearing and we fully discussed the situation. He was sympathetic. I told him that some Congress workers had warned me, that the relief letters suggested by the Government of the U P were hardly equal to the actual distress. And I submitted various proposals which he kindly promised to consider.

I was glad accordingly to tender you such advice as it was in my power to do. I have passed away an intense hour discussing the situation with many co-workers. I have had the benefit of a frank and free discussion with important thinkers who were good enough to respond to my invitation to sit with me. I am glad to be able to say that they were in general agreement with the proposals suggested hereafter.

Concentrated work was done in the following among other districts: Agra, Mathura, Aligarh, Rae Bareilly, Gonda, Gwalior, Gurgaon, Lucknow, Faizabad, and Etawah. And for these it has been found that there should be a remission for the year 1931. Each of 5 annas in the case of the rate of temporary and non-permanent tenants and 4 annas in the case of permanent tenants. This remission should be subject to variation as may be required by local conditions.

I have been told that in some districts the tenants are in a position to do with late advances. Some districts again were hard hit by local calamities. The suggested remission would certainly decrease and apply to the districts that might be able to pay more than what is suggested here, but to those whose condition may be under the least hard in the late going districts. Indeed even in the districts mentioned those of you who are able to pay more ought to do so. The Congress workers every house to pay as early as possible all the rent he can, and as no man in a general rule has less than 5 annas or 4 annas in the case may be. But just as soon in the same district there may be cases in which a larger payment is possible. It is equally possible that there may be cases in which less than 5 annas or 4 annas can only be paid. In such cases I hope the tenants will be treated liberally by the Zamindars.

In every case you will not that you get nothing payment is full discharge from your obligation for the current year's rent.

I understand that several tenants were evicted during the struggle and others have been evicted since. Not so serious those to their holdings would be clearly

against the atmosphere ought to be created by the Government. I have every hope therefore, that evicted persons on the work suggested here the evicted persons will be fully restored without any penalty.

I am hoping that current will begin to ease. It may be that you are too able to pay the full I would at once. In that case I trust you will get satisfaction, and that no further process will be found whether for the unpaid balance or for arrears. If any, tell the next harvest.

I would like to suggest to the Government, in view of the loss that poor inability to pay the rents in full will cause in the districts, that they get a proper income reduction in the revenue possible by them in the Government.

Lastly let me warn you against listening to the advice, if it has reached you, that you have no need to pay the Zamindars any rent at all. I have that you will not listen to such advice, an evictor who gives it. Congressmen cannot, we do not wish to favour the Zamindars. We are not at destruction of property. We are only at the least loss.

It has been suggested, that you will listen to the Congress when Congressmen tell you not to pay anything at all, but you will not listen to the Congress when it tells you to pay according to your ability. The opportunity has now come for you to fairly discharge.

You have complained of very hard treatment by or on behalf of some landlords. The Congress is sympathetic and will try to investigate all your complaints, stand with the landless and even, advantage will where such become imperative. But let it be the worst that sometimes some houses that have gone wrong and abandoned machinery against. These men spoil the fair work of honest, hard their work and impair the usefulness of the Congress for service. For in the situation and you are the Congress. The Congress is sympathetic in so far as it represents you specifically.

Please remember that the Congress does not mean Purna Swaraj through Trade and Uncooperation. And it will fail so far as the house fail to observe these two cardinal principles. You are selfish. When selfishness becomes individual and violent, it will mean self-destruction. You will therefore suffer more without trade. You have now perhaps found, that the best way of getting injury is never to leave the system, but even to follow, no matter how much suffering the system tends to do his will when we know it to be wrong.

Yours,

Non-violent,
29th May, 1931

Your friend and comrade,
M. K. Gandhi

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Weekly Letter

From the village of Sode and Mahel, through the golf-links and plains of North India and Bagmati, back to Gandhi. The story of an N. O. S. from the Centre was broken—may one, who has followed Gandhi's necessary road for release, know, that Gandhi having decided not to go back to the Ashram until complete and lasting peace is restored, immediate work therefore lies in Calcutta, Gujarat, Ahmedabad, and elsewhere, to give the children light to Government on all fronts, and leave the continuing difficulties about the Settlement. But those, who cannot help in a solution of the difficulties, would be well advised to not adding to them by publishing party news, or sensationally direct personalities. So far as Gandhi is concerned, Ahmedabad or Bombay means the same thing to him and means the same problems. I search the papers and the newspapers and not to share any truly confidential, or real, news with what is written in Young India or Harijan, thus to compound it, and watch the progress of events. Let there be news, that Gandhi is devoting every nerve to get over difficulties and to make the way clear for lasting peace.

I visit in a Mahel village the other day—an apparently prosperous village which played a prominent part both in the Satyagraha of 1918 and of 1930. The best houses had vanished to hell, a large number of its wells and tanks were destroyed by soldiers during the last year's war, and crops were ruined through attack of locusts or by failure to harvest them. But a village, if it had accomplished any, would not have imagined that it was a village which had gone through such hardship. They were all sitting in a circle, with their old houses of thatched roofs there, waiting for a chance, to the accomplishment of peace and order.

'When did you return?'

'Just two months ago, shortly after Gandhi's last visit to Mahel some three weeks ago.'

I made the usual inquiries about the past year's events and the current year's demands, how much they had paid and how much was still outstanding. I asked some of them for receipts given them by the talukdars (the village owners). A man came and held forth a receipt in front of me, and gave a loud laugh. I did not quite see the necessity for laughter. But when I got the explanation.

'You paid Rs 14-11-6 out of the last year's arrears?'

He laughed again. There had been no payment, but the amount had been refunded out of the proceeds of arrested goods. There again, there was no reason for laughter, that being, that I was too dumb to see the joke, he said. "The 14-11-6 was the price realised by Government for seven bullocks arrested by them—such bullocks worth about Rs 71." I made the other bullocks for I am not drawing up an indictment. I am just giving a few tidbits to reveal the temper of the people.

Ahmedabad man came with a receipt for Rs 2 credited to him for a single party work, arrested and sold.

'What produced the party?'

'They don't ask for the details. It is no use opening old sores.'

There came a man who had a curious story to tell. A cartload of his goods had been arrested, it was sold for less than the value of its contents. There was then no question of giving the talukdar any credit, something had to be done to him!

'How is it that you were able to pay off the arrears as well as the current year's demand?'

The man had secured some money in South Africa and would continue paying till he had money.

There came also who drew the almost laughter from the whole crowd that had gathered there. I was trying to learn from him how he had failed to take his crop. The poor man had failed, but had a series of unfortunate accidents, once by overvaluing himself as a taxpayer, then by sending the police, and a third time by giving them the slip. But every time he had just managed to escape arrest by the side of his field, but just failed to take the crop. With a story full of fun and mirth! The crop had gone, leaving the silt to be enjoyed by children and children's children.

The last question: 'Are all of you not grown up yet? Not a soul left behind?'

'Yes, etc. All but one' a man replied.

'What was that one?'

'Harshada.'

I wondered. And they pointed to the temple vendor of Harshada, who, they said, had been left to govern their temple had been in their absence. 'He has not even asked for our daily worship and prayers. For he knew that he could not protect us from the shoddy police!' Again there was a peal of laughter. They had undoubtedly caught the Sarkar's infection, and meant the art of deceiving their agent in heavy laughter.

M. D.

Caste and Communal Question

[By M. K. Gurus]

A student who sends his name written.

"I know you are thinking before long day and night about the communal problem in India, and as you have declared, the solution of this problem is one of the two conditions of your participation in the next plenary session of the Round Table Conference. At present the solution of the problem of inter-caste depends chiefly upon the leaders of the various communities, but to eradicate the root of all inter-communal hatred, any practical settlement, if at all reached by them, would not be sufficient.

"To arrive at the root of all communal differences, a much closer social intercourse is absolutely necessary. At present the social life of each community is almost completely separated from that of other communities and creeds. Take the Hindus and the Muslims. On the question of the important heresies of the Hindus, the Muslims believe in not going. The Hindus, and vice versa. This results in a feeling of communal antipathy which is so very detrimental to the interests of the nation.

"The very step, as has been suggested by some people, would be inter-communal marriage. But so far as my knowledge of your community goes, I think you are a free believer in the caste system. The answer, then, that according to the inter-communal marriage will be based on the failure in the long run. So long as there remains some distinction between the two communities, it is very difficult to wipe out the communal differences altogether.

"What kind of relation do you envisage, in the light of your convictions, among the various communities in the 'New India' of Disraeli? Shall the different communities respect to remain separate a social intercourse? I think upon the solution of this problem depends the future well-being of the Indian nation.

"One year since, if we believe in the caste system, the practice of the so-called inter-caste has become very delicate. If we want to elevate the 'inter-caste', we cannot possibly unite the caste communities. Differences in caste or religion occur in atmosphere of separation which is a cause as far as the promotion of communal brotherhood is concerned. The caste system gives rise to a false sense of superiority which causes unfortunate consequences. Here, then, can we jointly work with in the other caste communities?

"These problems have been agitating my mind for several months, and I have not been able to understand your point of view. It is with a view to solve these questions that I venture to ask you to remove my difficulties.

"I am a student of the B. A. class in the University of Allahabad. My earnest desire is to create a friendly feeling among the Hindus and the Muslims by all means possible. But the difficulties that confront me really are very many. One of them is regarding the caste system, as I have already said before me. The second is about

inter-caste. How can I participate in a Muslim dinner when meat is served? There can be no one better than yourself who can guide me. It is therefore that I beg to approach you through this letter."

It is not quite correct to say that Hindus and Muslims do not give as much to their respective sacred days. But one would certainly like much more frequent and sincere interchanges of such greetings.

As for caste I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an unnecessary and a hindrance on progress. Nor do I believe in separation between Hindu groups. We are all absolutely equal. But equality is of words and not bodies. Hence it is a social state. We need to think of and to create equality beings in our joint surroundings in the physical world. We have a real equality in the matter of the spiritual entered equality. Assumption of superiority by any person over any other is a sin against God and man. This caste, as it has in it certain elements in status, is an evil.

I do however believe in caste which is based on hereditary occupations. Men are born in such low universal occupations.—important knowledge, defending the defenceless, carrying an agriculture and commerce and performing service through physical labour. These occupations are common to all mankind, but Hindus, being recognised them as the law of our being, has made use of it in regulating social relations and material development which in all whether one knows its existence or not. For persons who know the law have made it rigidly needs that have started the world. Once as the Hindus started the world by the discovery and application of the law of karma. When Hindus were asked with heron, ideas of caste resulted in immovable caste with necessary and harmful restrictions as in intermarriage and inter-dining. The law of karma has nothing to do with these restrictions. People of different castes may intermarry and inter-dine. These restrictions may be necessary in the interest of clarity and hygiene. But a Brahmin who marries a Shudra girl or vice versa commits no offence against the law of karma.

Marriage prohibits caste religion merely on a different footing. One law, as long as such is true to observe the or her religion, I can see no social objection to caste religion. But I do not believe that these unions can bring peace. They may follow peace, I can see nothing but disaster following any attempt to separate Hindu-Muslim unions as long as the religious between the two remain opposed. That such unions may be happy in exceptional circumstances can be an excuse for their general disunion. Inter-dining between Hindus and Muslims does take place even now on a large scale. But that again has not resulted in providing peace. It is my selfish conviction, that intermarriage and inter-dining have on leading to communal unity. The source of discord are economic and political, and it is these that have to be removed. There is intermarriage and inter-dining in Europe, but the Europeans have fought amongst themselves as we Hindus and Muslims have never fought in all history. Our names have stood side.

The inter-caste is a close sport—a rivalry approach to Hinduism. The caste are a hindrance,

they are no sin. Untrustability is a sin, a grievous crime, and will eat up Hindians, if the latter does not kill the snake as soon. 'Untrustableness' should no longer be the attribute of Hindians. They should be regarded as honest members of Hindu society, and should belong to the extent for which their occupations fit them.

According to my definition of virtue there is no virtue in ignorance or poverty in Hindians. The so-called Hindians have failed to acquire knowledge. They take in various other occupations. There is more or less men of the other nations. In reality, being caste foreign domination we are all slaves, and hence lost from Hinduism—untrustableness of the West.

The correspondent being a representative Hindu it difficult to persuade him not to doing with untrusting Hindians but he should remember that there are many more non-caste Hindu than Hindians. A Hindians may with impunity done with Hindians, Hindu and others, no long we be his caste but please prepared and placed before him. He will always have that and will whatever he goes.

Notes

Save me from my Adversaries

A correspondent writes from far off Cape Colony.

"I just want to place before you some of the funny things taking place in these places without your best knowing of it or even thinking of it. In the our brother here the things is placed in the our and taken in procession. One set of people want that your photo should be placed side by side with the things and taken in procession. Another set of your men are that you would not like to be treated as God. The two parties have proposed to arrange themselves in battle array for the Cape Congress are invited to come off about another 20 days. I beg you will send the paper a word of advice."

Another from Western sends me a horrible picture representing me as lying stretched on the end of the downcast-headed serpent with the aim of woman serpents in one hand and the spinning wheel suspended on the other arm. My poor wife is weeping my legs. The other collection have also been passed into service. I want not violate the reader's feelings by describing the other features. Suffice it to say that the picture is a caricature of the Vaidika legend regarding Vishnu resting on the coil of Sheshainga. The correspondent who made the picture asks me to place with the publishers for its withdrawal. He rightly adds that though they may not yet publicly express their opposition, the picture must hurt the feelings of orthodox Vaidikas. I wholeheartedly endorse the sentiments of both these correspondents. The motive in such case may be quite good. But the execution here showing lackers on journalistic ability, and is calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the orthodox people without their being any excuse for giving such offence. Such manner will defeat the purpose of the kind well-wishers. If there have any reason for my feelings, let the execution of the our friend who would put my portrait in the our and the publishers of the offending picture saved from their activity. There are many other healthy ways of giving expression to and promoting public sentiment.

Representatives from South Africa

Perth's *News-Mirror* Clarendon and Susan Shanon David Stewart have prepared a well reasoned report of an independent enquiry they held into the conditions of emigrants transported to India under the emigrant migration scheme from South Africa. This report and the Bureau's telegram dated last month, asking me to comment on it, interest me. 'Condition worse, many starving, women half naked, children beggarly,' have been with me ever since. I am sorry that I have not been able to deal with the emigrant system. The telegram from which I have quoted is an epitome of the report. The condition of our people, who find themselves strangers in their own land, is a deplorable state by its end in the Government, but more so in that to the Government. No Government in the world can cope fully with such state. Government can only support a limited extent voluntary public effort in such cases. It is really up to the emigrant parties and other employers of labour in Calcutta to take a real interest in the welfare of such people, and find suitable employment for them.

For the condition of these people is a small consideration, compared with the more that has reduced these emigrants to the condition in which they find themselves. There should have been no agreed regulations at all, and if there was to be any, there should have been ample provision previously made to secure proper occupations for them, and in any case there should, never have been any consent to the transportation of coloured free Indians, of whom there are fully three-fourths per cent. In the Calcutta district. For it is no less anyone can split with. The labour of the labour of the report will not have been vain, if at the time of the conclusion of the Cape Agreement, the rights of the poor labouring Indian population are not bettered everywhere desirable consequences in the other Indian colonies. The position arises up by the labor of emigrants, and should depend on its own merits. The welfare measures should therefore refuse to be given in any language, which would compromise the rights of their too frequently abused brethren. South Africa can easily absorb and accommodate the emigrant Indian population.

Khadi's Advantages, Muzart

THE ADVANTAGES of cotton of Adhyaya Rajagopal, has issued a most little pamphlet describing its activities. From a very thing which it was when it began life at Dargam in 1810, it has now grown into a big thing with branches and its own processes in Madras, the Tamil-nadus. It is now a registered charitable association. Its chief activity is production and distribution of Khadi, but it does fine experiments and slight scientific wherever it is possible. Its production of Khadi in 1921 was Rs. 44 and value Rs. 1,110. The production in 1922 was Rs. 4,414 and value Rs. 1,111. The price of its Khadi 42' in width was Rs. 1 per yard in 1921, and Rs. 2-6-5 per yard in 1922. It has departments of weaving, spinning, and dyeing besides the cotton processes up to weaving. It takes and handles application on these departments, and also work for the poor women of Madras by giving them training, teaching of bookkeeping, etc. 'We can say that Khadi has got future, or that it is not the help of the present in the hand?'

Young India

Is it an Economic Necessity?

(By M. A. Ghandi)

A contribution to the *Times of India* (25-5-31) has the following:

"Mahatma Ghandi, in his latest pronouncement concerning the purpose and procedure of picketing, has reiterated his belief, that the reluctance of foreign cloth is an 'economic necessity to India.' Perhaps he will explain, in the next issue of *Young India*, in what sense he uses that term. The objection required can be supplied by answering certain questions propounded by the placards carried on it as it now develops.

"1. To what extent has the decline of 1,000 million yards in the imports of foreign goods in 1929-30 been hastened by the increased production of indigenous cloth based upon the processes of handspinning and weaving?

"2. To what extent has it been hastened by increase in wool production?

"3. Will the boycott be profitable in, regardless of the extent to which imported goods are displaced by hand-made and well-made goods respectively?

"4. If so, in what extent is the boycott in the interests of Bombay as distinct from other provinces?

"Clearly, if the intention is to give the village industry an definitely aided, as appears to be the case, between influential Mahatma Ghandi may be in a knowledge deficit as to campaigns to close to his hand, that the time has arrived, in the interests of public harmony, to transfer the broad control of the boycott campaign to the *Common Weal* Association, acting on principle, instead of substituting the knowledge of method by Congress, acting on agency."

The answers to the specific questions are:

1. It is impossible to answer the question in terms of profit, because Khadi is not officially produced. Hence manufacturers of Khadi for use by manufacturers themselves is precluding an an even monetary scale, which it is impossible for the poor All India Scheme's Association to measure.

2. The indigenous cloth are substantially playing an important part in making good the deficit.

3. It will be, subject to what follows.

4. The interest of Bombay in the interest of India. The writer perhaps includes Ahmedabad in Bombay, and unduly stresses the other important mills situated all over India.

I have answered the specific questions by the satisfaction of the writer of the article that of myself or the public. The public should know, that I should have all interest in boycott of foreign cloth, if I really understood that Khadi was a failure, or the writer is sure it has proved to be already. I do not know the source of his assurance. But as the party chiefly concerned in Khadi production and propagation, I make bold to say that it is not only not a failure but is making now through their handspinning all over India.

I therefore do affirm the claim, that boycott is an economic necessity for the success. It may sound strange but it is true, that it is not in the least sense and to the same extent an economic necessity for the mills as for Khadi. Mills have substantially depended beyond their dependence by means of the boycott, but they could have, as they were doing, stood still in existence without the boycott. They could always share with Khadi and Japan the exploitation of starving millions by dumping their manufactures among the ignorant, starving millions, who, forgetting that by using these foreign goods they could manufacture their own cloth, would buy the cheap mill clothes and their clothes were finished. Boycott cannot do this. It is actually hindered in the mills even if they wanted it. And if they undertake it, it would fail. The key cannot be converted, that the mills are interested in the boycott directly in their agents' and their cloth makers' profits. The Congress is concerned with the boycott while in the interest of the masses.

The writer, and for that matter many others do not know, that the Khadi method is a new method in existence in our history is a new method in politics. The Khadi method is based on sustained the activities economic theories, as our violence has always already contradicted the orthodox political methods. The new method leads still in the orthodox economic democracies only to a certain extent. It is the Khadi work, that is responsible for the phenomenal success of the boycott. Boycott itself is a new way, it is an old one, if not after that, the boycott parties point, that the hope of success was born with the advent of Khadi in 1919, and the hope was partly realized last year when the Khadi spin was at its highest. The real contribution of the Khadi spin was not to come. And where it does, as it is bound to come, and that too soon, then most people expect, there will be either picketing or sustained democracies required.

The *Times of India* writer suggests, that the boycott is designed to subvert merely to benefit the mills in the way of the masses. The suggestion would have been foolish, if there was no Khadi behind the boycott. For the writer and others like him remember, that the Congress boycott is an army work is 'Boycott through Khadi.' The Indian mills come in to supplement Khadi. But the boycott would stand in spite of the Indian mills if they opposed Khadi. Many did oppose it at one time. Their contribution to Khadi was still more marked. But it is not in their minds, that they have somewhat mismanaged the war against, and even though yet half heartedly in the majority of cases, they have made terms with Khadi. Some have become thorough enemies to it, and will not even stand being. If they want to be safe. The Indian mills are there free at all costs of the time principle in the boycott campaign. They break no doubt, and they will, at least for the time being, increasingly heavily, for the mills of success will be in direct proportion to the commitment of their enemies to their struggle with Khadi.

The writer, as well as the reader, will not be understood, who India, that is to say, the masses most benefit in the long run, from by the moral legislation practices given to the mills. The process of self cloth must of course go up. It is for the Congress to carry on questions propaganda, to so to keep the mills from

the governing Legislature, and to teach the masses that their sovereign will lies in the transformation of India to their own image through leadership. When this struggle is in a part of the way, education will really set their power and guidance to India, or will themselves lose a beyond even like struggle with.

R. T. C. and Congress

Had it not been for the necessity of observing economy for the sake of the leaving party, which it is the common object of all parties to reach, I should have long ago taken the public into confidence about my proposed visit to London to take part in the R. T. C. I am now at a point to say the following.

I have made no secret of my opinion, and even had told and expressed more wholeheartedly than before in a Delhi, that I should feel most reluctant to go to London to take part in the Conference, if we being up before the communal problem among ourselves. I have done nothing at all to make the other side.

There is another obstacle in the way of my leaving India, which delicate situations continue to arise regarding the Delhi post. I should consider it a duty to protect a knowledge. And I cannot myself with the belief, that my presence is necessary to protect it.

Let us however hope, that both the difficulties will be met, by the time it becomes necessary to leave India for the September meeting.

I can but give my assurance, that having returned from the Settlement, I am eager for the sake of the great cause of the Congress, to proceed to London and deliver its message to the R. T. C. and the British Government, and concluding with Mr. Churchill. I know that he and his party do not regard that the Congress is an enemy of Great Britain. The Congress merely wants for India what he and his associates have fought to secure for Great Britain. I therefore need no permission to take me to London. I have even said to friends, that if the communal struggle was not serious, and I was therefore unable to take part in the R. T. C. but the working of the Settlement left me free, I should, if so required, proceed to London for the sake of preserving the Congress position to the responsible situation. My personal desire is to attend Indian peace, if it can be had with honour and without involving the subject in serious or serious right involving social suffering. **M. K. G.**

Publicist Forum

It was in the Toronto press that I read of the convergence of Publicist Forum. I thought that wherever happened the idea deserved credit for it. I felt that apart from their propaganda value, they were spiritually beautiful. They represented the dropping to the end of duty. They concluded that that it was, there to end from their hands and give thanks to God for that thing in the morning. For I had read that the members of the Publicist Forum sang songs of worship as also of topical public events. I really liked this combination can become a great means of purification as also political education of the right type. But I have that some interesting but persons are also necessary way. I should be happy if my information proved true. I would strongly advise the organizers of these parties to restrict their choice of songs not only during that time of peace but leave time to their of worship

and those dealing purely with constructive activities such as Study, I have prohibition, concerned with some living and also social reform. The parties must be limited in day and to come and should keep to one type throughout India. I remember the parties in Bombay not always keeping the same idea and in attended to a different type form. For long. The invitation has sprung up anywhere, but it will be well now for the peace movement, if there are such to secure a proper plan and perhaps a selection of songs which all, no matter belonging to what faith or party, can sing. This should be a uniquely national institution. If parties spring up anywhere and begin singing anywhere and any time, they would attract the people by their songs. But good singing in the morning will be appreciated. **M. K. G.**

'An Honest Doubt' (I)

(By M. K. Gurus)

"The new Indian Gandhi has been termed involved or almost unassuming speculation, though not from the other angles of Congressmen in India, at least from a majority of them. The people and the press, both in this country as well as in the continent of Europe, expressed their sincere appreciation of the success of the peace negotiations, and there was a consensus of opinion expressed, that history of progress and steadily in action to both sides less sufficient weight to the success of the negotiations. In spite of this, there was and is still a very strong minority comprising especially the younger generation, which is leaning against the peace terms, and emphatically declare to put its end of approval upon them. They are of the opinion, and we think not without sufficient foundation, that the flag of Congress independence is the immediate goal of India, based on the Lahore Congress, has been lowered by the peace terms, thereby committing the Congress and its followers to a less serious and entirely different programme of action.

"It is not for a moment stated to doubt the sincerity of purpose, with which Gandhi, on the one side on behalf of the Congress, and Lord Irwin, on the other, on behalf of the British Government, entered on the peace negotiations to reach a concerted understanding. The Labouring, under the leadership of Sir-Sir John Durrant, was the first to appear the Hamilton at National Congress, meeting the Delhi post, but later more-or-less recalled with time, and we are thankful to them for having secured a very serious objective on the Congress, at a time like the present, when complete unity and co-operation were much. With great enthusiasm they let Gandhi have his own way and by now were his faith in the British Government.

"Let us for the moment consider how far the terms of the peace have been observed since the Settlement. Government on their part have released the Civil Disobedience prisoners, withdrawn the various Ordinances, and declared the Congress organization a lawful body. The Congress on their part have called off Civil Disobedience, aggressive picketing, boycotts of British goods, etc.,

and have also decided to the satisfaction of the majority into police stations. We must be better for all. But what passes our comprehension is whether or not the Government have strictly adhered to the principles underlying the treaty. Reports of non-release of prisoners in various parts of the country, promulgation of Section 144 on political meetings, arrests and confiscation for political reasons, and various other hardships, which are considered a total violation of the agreement, are passing into our ears every moment. On the other hand, reports told that the local Governments wanted that the people have not always observed the terms of the treaty. Whether or not both parties are justified in their charges it is not for us to say.

"In the light of the above, we honestly doubt, if Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress, was sufficiently justified in having lowered the flag of Independence hoisted at Lahore by agreeing to the treaty. We honestly doubt again, if he was fully satisfied, that there was a real change of heart on the part of the British Government, so as to commit the Congress to a sense of this act. We honestly doubt finally, if Gandhi really thought that the British Government would take up seriously the question of Indian Independence at the next Round Table Conference, even if the Congress were to actively participate. Finally we attribute our honest doubt, if Gandhi thought for any reason, that the British Government would totally abdicate in favour of the Congress after 150 years of continued exploitation of a land, which without their wage subsistence and industry. Finally we doubt, whether he believed that they would surrender "the brightest jewel in the Crown of the British Empire" to those from whom no exploitation or possible to be made, and thus gave the way for their own decline. And last but not least, we honestly doubt, whether Gandhi remembered how he has been betrayed on more than one occasion in the past in his trust in the Government, and considered whether "Young India" would allow him to sacrifice his political sagacity on the Indian nation once more and for ever.

"Last but not the least is our honest doubt on external, whether there is any ray of hope of success through Congress participation in the coming Conference. We know, that once Gandhi will be seen to have left India for London they will be allowed to return to the state of non-cooperation, or even the London negotiations break down? Who can guarantee to the Indian delegation a hospitable reception in London during its stay there?

"We honestly wonder, whether it is of high time for us to present a united front, and if necessary, to make through a part of blood, some pointing the track of non-violence, to refuse us and get what we have and are.

The foregoing has been sent me by "The Youth of India" with a fully signed covering letter. I have returned certain unnecessary passages and made some alterations without changing the substance of the charge. There is truth in the statement, that there are changes and superlatives about leaders of the Nationalist by the media (misused). But I am able

to answer the points, that up to the difficulties have been removed. The Central Government is anxious to implement the Settlement as I know the Congress is. And so long as that condition persists, there is no danger of a breakdown. Beyond this the public will not expect me to go, whilst the very delicate settlement is being worked and kept in case.

As to the Settlement itself, I have no doubt whatsoever, that the Congress would have put itself in the wrong if it had not agreed upon it. And it was certainly wrong on the part of Sir Gifford Chapple. He said the young men who were behind him to have withdrawn their opposition and given their support to the Settlement Resolutions at Karachi. The Karachi Congress did not lower the Independence flag. The Congress members in Delhi on the point.

Whether the Congress will be able to settle upon its position at the Round Table Conference I do not know. But I do know that it would be wrong for the Congress to attend the Conference for fear of rejection of its demands. The Conference is one way of showing the absolute justice of the national demand. It would have been foolish for the Congress to refuse participation when it was open to it to press its full demand without compromise. The Congress would have betrayed lack of courage if it had declined to attend itself at the opportunity, when it came, of presenting its case at the Round Table Conference.

Therefore I should not hesitate to go to London and attend the Conference if I found that I could safely go. My difficulty is fundamental and well known. I should not have the collaboration to present the Congress case, if we could not set our own house in order by winning a solution of the economic problem, that I am writing, thinking and praying. As soon as the way is open, I should not hesitate to go wherever needed. The other difficulty is too serious, but again the less important. As the principal party on behalf of the Congress to the Pact, I should feel most uneasy having failed, when serious questions arising out of the Settlement demand attention. I have pledged my honour to Lord Irwin, that I shall leave no stone unturned to see that the Settlement does not break down. As I have already failed, I am having some difficulty with local Governments, but I am hoping that with patience all will be well. In any case I believe it all possibly that my presence in India is necessary to avoid a crisis.

As for the other doubts of the writer or writers of the letter, I can only repeat what I have said so often. I will not lose hope, till I know that nothing is to be gained from negotiations. Since I believe in human nature, in spite of previous disappointments, I must trust. I regard it as practical wisdom. I rely for success upon the inherent justice of the national cause and the equally just means adopted for its realisation. I do not believe that the Congress delegation will be treated in London. And if it is, the Congress will not lose its courage. The time will come to those who will benefit. I therefore ask the peaceful workers of the future and do not hope, but work with all their might to make the Settlement a success, and by working the constructive programme enhance the power of the Congress to vindicate the national position. For the measure of success at the Conference, if the Congress is represented thereat, will be in strict proportion to the measure of the power of the Congress.



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Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan

When the tall and impressive figure of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan emerged from a third class Railway compartment at Hazrat Nizamuddin station, Siras Puri and a handful of friends were present at the Station to give him a cordial but quiet welcome. The English friends felt really relieved at the absence of the usual welcome of the business magnates which are for whom he goes. He cheerfully shakes hands with some and himself. "I did not intend to inform you of my arrival, but Hazrat being a new place I could not but send you a telegram," he told us. But he hardly admitted anything to concern him at the station of only because he has conceived, surely of a hope that Hazrat will which command our change of station and papers! One would have thought, saying this without any luggage that he had planned to return by the next available train. But almost the first thing he told us was that he had not allowed Hazrat to be any way disappointed for him for the time being as he would be staying around at Gandhiji's disposal and would return only when he got leave! All these things mingled with his warm welcome and every body at the Hazrat Station, Gandhiji especially, at Hazrat was. The moment he came he became one of us. He joined the Hazrat people in the evening meal. But then, I am afraid, was a lot of gossip to him, although, for a change, he seemed to welcome the local reputation dinner. Next day, however, the last Muslim brother of Hazrat Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan was going to Hazrat and Hazrat, nobody at the Hazrat could have the heart to stand in the way.

'The Khudai Khidmatgar'

The Hazrat Khidmatgar simply styles himself as a 'Khudai Khidmatgar'. This is the term they have used in the K. I. P. as a substitute for the English word "volunteer". Meaning as it does "servant of God," it is bound to especially appeal to the Muslims. They are proud of the name, and perhaps the movement, goes on popularity as far as the people of the country would then to the personality of its single author. "We are quite a little accidentally explained Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. "I had gone to the Lahore Congress with a band of young workers from my own Congress. We remained attracted by the earnest work of the volunteer movement of the Congress. The Indian volunteer corps had impressed us immensely. We decided to take it back in view of the work of spreading our young men on Congress basis. We had the wisdom as a band of workers retained under no particular name a few months before the Lahore Congress. A name had come to be found. Some of our scholarly friends

discussed a difficult Arabic word for devotee 'volunteer'. I reflected and finally rejected the name in favour of the much simpler Khudai Khidmatgar which has very simple the connotation of the man in the street. The word was forth and in common with the rest of India a large number of volunteers were recruited on the spot."

Disfranchisement

Perhaps here it may be well to mention to the reader some shortly the great importance of the Disfranchisement which has appeared so prominently in the making of recent history.

As he explained to us, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan took his early education in a mosque school at Peshawar. In this day he knew the memory of the then Principal of the school whose industry and self-sacrifice attracted the attention of Abdul Gaffar Khan, even as a boy. The young but white people could not help marveling the European shape body of his man, and they became the ideal of his own heart. On leaving school he was persuaded against his will to apply for a Commission in the Army. Because the applicant came from a rich and prominent Peshawar family he was accepted. Young Abdul Gaffar Khan felt surprised by the character of a military work. He was eager to look and find the truth and he placed on an equal footing with Englishmen, which he was told to believe, was quite possible if he could obtain a place and rank in the Army. But a single incident upset this notion and drove him "voluntarily" out of his mind once for all. He had gone on a visit to a relative in the Army. Before he returned he had had the disconcerting experience of witnessing his relative being severely punished, without cause, by a British Officer of higher rank. The moral of the episode was borne in the young young man, and he decided not to join the Army. A plan to go to England for the study of Engineering was hatched at the last moment by friends of the family who advised Abdul Gaffar Khan's father that it was better to expose the man and the boy would be taken to the family of his was allowed to go abroad. By now he had realised how urgent was the need for devoted soldier service in his country and he decided to dedicate his life for engineering of the independence. He was a profound believer in education for his people and perhaps the very first political activity he engaged himself with was the establishment of schools where a liberal education would be given. It gave him a shock, however, to find that the schools were interfered with by Government during the Great War. They were compelled to close doors and a number of people connected with these schools were arrested. In 1918 Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan led the Khudai

students in the N. W. F. P. which brought him in direct contact with the authorities. He together with his father and many others was arrested and kept in handcuffs and chains. This left an indelible mark on the minds of all the visitors. In 1912 the Khan Sahib opened a school in Chamsala, his own school, on free-repatriation basis and woodshed weaving in the curriculum in accordance with the Congress programme. He was however detained again and sent to jail for three years. There was serious recurrence in the province, of which the great spontaneous movement of the Khudai Khidmatgar is probably the direct sequel.

The Khan Sahib had a heavy laugh when I asked him why a real effort was stopped for the Khudai Khidmatgar. 'It was a mere accident,' he said. 'Previously we had white Khudai workers. But these got dirty very quickly. So it was decided to dye them. Suddenly I learned the art and colour and I was stopped. There was no question at all of giving special preference to me.'

'A. Mirza' (1)

The Khan Sahib's first and foremost aim has all along been to educate the people of his province in civil reform. Every Khudai Khidmatgar is supposed to pledge himself with the power in his hand to refuse violence and abstain to take any human being as spoil. In taking of the pledge the Khan Sahib repeated his own statement of the night after the capture and the same has upon the personal conduct of every member of the non-violent army of Khudai Khidmatgar. He was most emphatic on the question of non-violence. 'Let the Government give me a single instance of violence on the part of my Khudai Khidmatgar,' he said. 'Although the province has been unfortunate, we have never passed beyond to the end. It is no real shame for a Pathan to keep his hands when he is treated and is being stopped asked. There have been a number of cases of such provocations during last years' movement. And yet not one Pathan raised his finger or resistance. It was nothing short of a miracle. The credit is due to Gandhi, who has been most implicitly and loyally placed in my province since my arrest. We carried on working in my town Chamsala under the greatest peace without a single instance of violence. Our men were not upon by police constables and policemen and treated simply for standing against a foreign cloth shop as a legal shop in this province.'

I gave the above statement of police brutality mentioned to me by Khan Sahib only to divert the point about non-violence and not from any desire to make any a just grievance. For as the Khan Sahib is concerned he is more prepared to be injured by his own, but he has now told what the Khan Sahib has in my direct confidence under the Treaty.

Implementing the Treaty

'We have now suspended practically all our activities, as mentioned in Gandhi,' he continued. 'Although we send Khudai Khidmatgar, their activity apart from a little picketing, is practically nil. The only personal programme is that in every village wherever the movement exists we try and acquire an amiable man a week after justice papers. The volunteers are given presents in kind and told to do nothing that is likely to be against

the Settlement arrived at between the Congress and the Government. We have gone so far as to prohibit the shooting of all cows while we are likely to offend against the spirit of the Settlement. Still a great deal of non-violence is offered from the other side. A month ago about a dozen young students were sent out in Chamsala for doing a thing which was not clearly objectionable. We are selecting the men and I am legally advised that there is nothing condemning in the other side. But the cause was the last year of the movement. The women were carried out under heavy military escort. Arrested men and women occupied the tents. They remained there all several days after the arrest. During these days the people hardly depressed men people of Indian and other creeds of the country were driven among them. Some women have not been taken at home. This was highly resented by the Pathan population. It is upon Gandhi's direction that the people have placed themselves under that treatment. There are that women in Chamsala have appeared after the Treaty, all except regarding justice issues and taking the interest between. This is a form of government for which we all are experienced at last year we were hardly prepared.'

Non-violence as Expedience?

I asked Khan Sahib how long his thought non-violence would be kept up as a programme. 'I am sure we shall prove to be the best disciples of Gandhi in the whole of India. Every inclination of his mind will be obeyed. We are prepared for any amount of suffering. Gandhi must come on then as he can and we shall follow him. I have been in some very direct contact with the people of the N. W. F. P. He must come there and speak to the people himself and give them his instructions.'

Could all this wonderful significance be a mere expedience? What about the excellent propaganda of education spread on by the Anglo-Indian press against the? and their movement? It is known that the ultimate object of the movement is to carry out a violent offence against the British whenever suitable opportunity occurs. But though Khan Sahib is not in the habit of having such hostile propaganda around him and never comes to attack different individuals he agreed that there were honest and well-meaning people, not, who would like to understand things from him.

'My non-violence has almost become a matter of faith with me. I believed in Gandhi's idea of before. But the unparalleled success of the experiment in my province has made me a confirmed champion of non-violence. And while I hope about future improvements in violence. We have only one with the other means of violence from the Khudai book which need on for same. We have an abundance of violence in our army. It is good in our own province to take a warning in non-violence. However, it is not the British amenable only to force and coercion. He will go with you to jail if you are with his hand, but you cannot force him even to go to prison. Such is the power of love over the British. I want the British to learn in its own shame as he would like to be done by. It may be I may feel and a wave of violence may sweep over my province. I will then be content to take the credit of last century also. But it will not shake my absolute faith in non-violence which my people need more than anything else.'

D. M. G.

Young India

My Faith

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Bengali correspondent who gives his name and address asks for publication of necessary two written a long letter which I condense as follows.

"Much has been said about Bhagat Singh and his comrades yet long ago I had great difficulty in apprehending the wisdom of passing the resolution at the Karachi Congress.

"I am afraid it will not be possible for me to explain to you properly the different political and socialistic ways in which your countrymen about Bhagat Singh and the Karachi Resolution regarding him are being explained here by some interested persons to serve their own purposes and undermine your influence.

"I. They accuse you for the allegedly way in which the resolution had been worked by you. These people are trying to impress upon the minds of the young men that you really had no intention sympathizing for those unfortunate men and that you give your support to the resolution and expressed your intention for Bhagat Singh and his comrades only being prompted upon by the Maraganiwallas, whose wrong opinion you could not resist, and you wanted to please Pandit Jawaharlal.

"II. They question your integrity and sincerity and try to induce you (and your country) by systematically propagating an idea in Bengal that while you give your whole support to the resolution about Bhagat Singh at Karachi you secretly criticised the late Deshabandhu Das for his responsibility in carrying out an exactly similar resolution at Fardura Conference passing Gopinath Saha who lost his life on the gallows under exactly similar circumstances, now, and in case that my say are not because from personal bias. They are taking every opportunity to undermine your influence in Bengal by appealing to the weakness of local patriotism. They say that many Bengal people watched their lives even when this very you, for the same reason for which Bhagat Singh and his comrades died. Among those who then died in Bengal there were Bandy Boro and his comrades, then were the Chatterjee sisters—the two young ladies who had fighting bravely against the British troops on the Jubbah Hill when despite much more courage and sacrifice than you would imagine, but have strength—you did not find courage to come out a word of sympathy passed from your lips. The resolution passed made in their treatment of local patriotism really wrong you from from you and your path of non-violence.

I have already expressed my doubts as to the propriety of my having decided and expressed the Bhagat Singh Resolution and because it was wrong to proceed but for the misinterpretation it has had here in. But the reader must know that it was neither the last of the Maraganiwallas nor my love for Pandit

Jawaharlal that prompted me to induce the resolution. But that I should be accused of yielding to Maraganiwallas or pleasing Jawaharlal I should be foolish if I did not yield to Maraganiwallas, if yielding without the interest of the country and beyond its notion of principle. And I should give a very long way to please Jawaharlal and violate his affection which I have the privilege of possessing in abundance. But there was no proceeding required in this case. I had intended myself in the movement for the non-violence of the death sentence on Bhagat Singh and his comrades. I had put my whole heart into the task. I had therefore to study the life of the principal actor in the tragedy I had to come in contact with his devoted father and those who were connected to Bhagat Singh not for his death but for his character. I was that drawn to the resolution in the natural course. I am too sensitive not to be moved by circumstances demanding sympathy.

Therefore had I found myself impelled to express myself in any of the Bengal people and had feared myself in possession of influence which I could exercise in their behalf, I should have with equal and changed mind into their case. I regard myself as incapable of having any personal bias. Bengal is so dear to me as the Punjab. And I own a special debt to Bengal for the inspiration it gave me in my youth. It is true that Deshabandhu and I differed as to the emphasis in the matter of Gopinath Saha resolution.

I do not know that my resolution on Gopinath Saha differed in substance from the Karachi resolution. But the reader should know that whatever our differences, Deshabandhu and I always remained loyalists looked towards the end of life all too short life, we were much more with other men in our ideals and methods of working towards them.

I should therefore be sorry to discover that there was any secret propaganda against me in Bengal. I have many personal enemies in Bengal. I want the reader to know. I know the value of the co-operation of the youth of Bengal. I want it for their sake, for the sake of the country they live in well, but sometimes, alas, blindly they must not by their uncontrolled passions deny themselves the service of a true friend. If I have any influence and the people of the country, it is a service I want to use for guiding the freedom of the motherland. I am therefore glad that my correspondent has given me the opportunity of stating my position. But whether I write my tale on the people of Bengal or any other province as I do not, I must position my mind from the beginning. Freedom of India's coming influence is attainable only through Truth and Ahimsa.

A Correction.

My attention has been drawn to my unfortunate error that I had made up advice to the leaders of U. P. in Young India (21st May last, p. 117) line 23. The line reads "as a general rule less than 12 hours as 4 hours as the case may be." It should read "12 more instead of 4 hours." I am sorry for the slip. I hope however no one was misled by the slip. The printing house left no room for doubt.

M. K. G.

Virus of Untouchability

(By M. K. Gurus)

All lovers of Hindutva will read the following with painful interest—

"Kondra is a village in Coimbatore district (South India) and all the villages are Hindus. This village was kept off the school and school Company under Sir K. K. Subramanyam. His efforts were for the spread of Hinduism, but he was the owner of 'Gandhi Subramanyam'. For the last six years he has been serving in the Tamil Congress Committee either as the president or secretary. It is due to him that not only the people of this village but of the whole State realised the necessity of Hinduism and Hindutva in it. Being a subscriber of Young India he is in touch with your movement. During the last movement it was he who initiated several volunteers and guided us in putting up huge flags in many villages and he was successful. The district authorities had various means to put him down, but as he was prepared to take all, these efforts were in vain. But he has the entire State would not have been from an untouchable. It was he who was the owner and the entire movement in South India. Now such a situation has arisen in this village that the whole population of this village is against him, and being a contractor I beg to state your help.

"To explain the situation a short summary of the social customs and manners of the village, is necessary. The villagers are very very orthodox and they have a strong and blind faith in their traditions. No account of reason or convenience can turn them. If any one talks of 'removal of untouchability' he will be persecuted and condemned as a traitor of Hinduism and Hindu Dharma. In this village there are several families of the so-called 'untouchables' and 'untouchables'. They have a separate locality. They work in the fields of the high caste people and that was their habit. There is a well in the locality in which the 'untouchables' have their house in one well in the locality in which the 'untouchables' (locally called 'pallas') are put up.

"Sir K. K. Subramanyam was a gentle man the locality of these 'pallas' (untouchables) and for a long time he had no plan to allow the 'Pallas' to work near the well or his garden, but a month ago one morning he and one of his friends went to his garden, allowed my untouchables to go to his well to fetch water and after they had gone he and his friend took a bath in the same well. At once two men, that Sir K. K. Subramanyam had allowed two 'pallas' to take water from his well and looked in the same well, spread him with the transgression of the village. In the name of the village this was a most heinous crime that a Hindu could commit. They condemned him and all his women gave up their services as they thought it a dishonour to be seen with a man who had allowed a 'palla' to take water from his well and afterwards looked in it. Then the village has been split into two parties—Sir K. K. Subramanyam, and four of his friends on one side and the whole village including my three municipal members on the other side. The more activities of the villagers declared that Sir K. K. Subramanyam and his friends had com-

mitted a crime and they should punish them—this by drinking only water administered by a (Hindu) that Sir Subramanyam released and the village, have created that they should have no dealings with him and his family. People are prohibited and threatened from working even in the fields and houses of his friends.

"A few days after the above incident a man who is still in the service of Sir K. K. Subramanyam went to fetch water from a public well. The villagers present prevented him from getting into the well on the ground that he was still in the service of Sir K. K. Subramanyam and that the water would be polluted if they allowed him to get into the well. This man in vain ran and reported the matter to Sir Subramanyam. The well being a public well Sir Subramanyam and four of his friends thinking that every individual has a right to use the water of the well with the same man and asked him to fetch water from the well. The villagers who had gathered there in hundreds threatened him with blows if he got down and threatened him. Sir Subramanyam under the pressure of his friends reported the matter to the police and the police after conducting an investigation reported the matter to the Magistrate and the hearing is postponed to June 1st.

"Through many people outside this village applied the water shared by Sir Subramanyam. The whole village except a few untouchables is against him. Sir Subramanyam is free and would not give up his post. The villagers would not allow him to carry on his work. Not only he cannot but the friends of Sir Subramanyam and his friends suffer very much. The religious sentiment of the whole and the personal animosity of some of the untouchables against the thing were done on the first side are with Sir K. K. Subramanyam. Sir Subramanyam and his friends suffered have put upon the privilege of getting into a public well in the village temple.

"I am a contractor and well master of Sir Subramanyam and in this position I will from you as to what path Sir Subramanyam should follow as to punish the villagers without hurting his own name will be helpful."

Sir Subramanyam deserves more congratulations for his bravery and persistence. The only advice I can give him is that he should take all care in protecting the untouchability of his village and yet have no ill will in the village. He will find in the end that the villagers will come to many him. They will at first consider his goodness for weakness and then perceive the correct thing behind his position. For they will soon find their mistake when they see that under his gentle and friendly towards them he is doing like a snake or his action in protecting the untouchability. At the present, the village will be split all sympathy and Sir Subramanyam will give the same sympathy and help of the police. The only question is that he must be prepared to sacrifice everything, rather than his desire to be better of the whole because the villagers' success is coming before him from him. It is some consolation that he has his friends who stand by him. But he should be prepared to carry on his sacrifice, even if he loses these friends. For I am sure that he will have only to give. God sometimes does try to the strongest those whom He wishes to bless.

Agrarian situation in Assam

Assam is in the grip of the economic distress. From everywhere, from North Lakhimpur and Shivasagar, from Dibrugar and Nagaon, from Goalpara and Jorhat, come the tales of misery and woe of the ryots for this country. Thousands of people, generally immigrants from Mysore and, it is reported, have been flocking to the towns of Goalpara and Dibrugar for begging, as it is nothing to cover their faces employing half-naked women. When a people in the villages in Shivasagar, it is reported, have been without food for many days. Goalpara made as the Railway station and Jorhat, which go to show that the economic misery has laid upon the peasant ryots.

In Goalpara and Shivasagar, Nagaon and North Lakhimpur there has been repeated failure of crops owing to the unusual restriction of floods for some years past. In Shivasagar also came in an another condition in July last and continuing week after week in the district of Goalpara, in some cases, did a great damage to the standing crops and paddy fields in Lower Assam. In District Sub-division at Dibrugar almost all the wells are such as that in some localities the people have to walk miles after miles and take their cattle too, for water.

Affected by this economic depression, from every where comes the cry for remission of land revenue. When a petition is being submitted to the Government for relief and remission of land revenue. In reply to an interpellation in the Assam Legislative Council, it was stated that from District Sub-division about 13 petitions were received by the Government of Assam since, 14 by the Government, Assam Valley Shivasagar 148 by the Deputy Commissioner, Kamrup, from groups of 1908 for remission and remission of land revenue for 1929-1931.

The attitude of the Government to these petitions, in the language of the Revenue Member Mr. A. J. Lohr, was "The principles accepted by the Government were sent to the Government, Assam Valley Shivasagar, and there received by the Government in the Deputy Commissioner, Kamrup for disposal,"—but not for report. "The Deputy Commissioner received all the 'Sub-Deputy Collector's' orders in November last and decided in what cases field to hold; expenses for remission was necessary. However, as before what cases have been ordered according to information received by the Deputy Commissioner." 50 per cent of the people in Assam depend upon the sale of their agricultural products for the subsistence to pay certain demand, and to this end a considerable earnings. The unexpected fall in the price of paddy and other crops has brought about a consequent reduction of the estimated income resulting in their incapacity to pay the revenue. Millions in Upper Assam districts, where the peasants own a large number of acres of low ground in 1926, 15 to 20 per cent of the total revenue is paid by these people, who generally depend upon the low returns for a large portion of their expenses. Trade depression having laid upon the tea industry brought about an unemployment amongst them as consequences.

Over and above this economic distress, the enhanced rates of land revenue after the re-arrangement

operated in Kamrup and Shivasagar have led the people very hard. About 20 percent in Shivasagar and 25 per cent, of land revenue in Kamrup have been enhanced. Rates were fixed taking into account the average crop prices for the years which could be and prospective because these are still in prices of land-craft and products of the field.

Grave accounts of landless situation condition of the ryots in all the subdivisions were reported to the last budget session of the Assam Council by almost all non-official members and a resolution was moved recommending to the Government to form a special committee in each district of Assam to enquire into the condition of the ryots, their stability in any land between that year and to report to the Government the amount of land revenue to be remitted for the year 1930-1931, with the Deputy Commissioner, Chairman of Local Board and the elected members of the Council of the district as members. This resolution came in a red rag to the Treasury Bench and no one Mr. A. J. Lohr, Revenue Member, to oppose this resolution. His argument was "under the Assam Land Revenue Remission and the rules framed thereunder our land officers have definite duties and responsibilities both statutory and otherwise imposed on them which they cannot possibly share with others. And as this is part of the universally statutory committee on the plea of the heavy travelling expenses that would be involved, which the Government "cannot afford." This resolution was defeated by the voting vote of the present Mr. Lohr, Revenue Member. It was also stated to the Council in Congress held in 1929 and which was the only Congress member who did not resign his seat after the Lahore Congress decision, though he was repeatedly asked by the secretary of the Indian Provincial Congress Committee to do so.

Dealing with the tales of misery and woe consequent upon the economic distress shaped by the Government, [Revenue Collector] some members in the Assam Legislative Council pressed for extension of time for remission for paying their land but which falls due on the 1st May 1931 so that the Government could not agree and refuse took to mean of delay only to wait and see, while the Revenue Member stated that the question of extension of time would be considered after 1st May if the ryots were really unable to pay. On the other hand the district officers have been sending remission after remission to the Government and moving money to them to keep up collection.

The consistency of Government decision regarding extension of time, and the fear of discomfiture as was done in Kamrup (8 remissions were ordered last year for inability to pay in time), have compelled some members to take recourse to coercive measures for the collection of the revenue, such as attachment of ploughs, carts, cooking utensils and other belongings.

It seems that the Government has not yet been able to shake off the Old Disabilities coming from their credit and for that, postpone about the ryots. They have taken their liability to pay land revenue in more than unwillingness to do it and are waiting to see it till the last day of last by all sorts of indirect pressure. After the 1st May last, the Congress asked through press and platform to pay land revenue as early as possible, though the fact of any payment of taxes

is not taken in the proceedings of the Debates by the Assam Provincial Council Committee. If the Government does not rise to the occasion and come to the help of the race by removing and substantial collection of land revenue the Government will have to face a grave agrarian difficulty in the year to come."

[The foregoing report has been received from the Assam Provincial Council Committee. If the report is accurate and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy, it is a clear case for revision.]

M. K. G.]

Under Swamy

A Boston correspondent from Boston writes

"During his tour Mr. Swamy said that Swamy Government would pass legislation to crush the Brahmins and also referred to members of the Senate Congress. On account of that the Brahmins naturally had hopes to be badly crushed and finally it has also created a wave of fear in the minds of the orthodox Hindus. Therefore please let us know what exactly you and the Congress mean by this."

1. The words of the members dealing with untouchability.

2. What exactly you and the Congress mean by saying things that make the Swamy Government the Government will abuse religious equality.

"You have already said that in South India a large portion of the Hindu masses and the Brahmins have absolute faith in caste and hierarchy. Therefore there should not be any attempt to say masses of people observing them."

"If there should be any hindrance standing with the long established religious observances of the Brahmins, let it be remembered that we, the Brahmins, have learnt the lesson of Satyagraha movement and we would also strive to be establishing our religious observances unimpaired. Certainly we are against giving the untouchables Government appointments in the future or giving them lands to cultivate or whatever political and economic rights equally with others or otherwise for them. There is absolutely no objection to give them any measure of rights provided it does not collapse the long established religious observances of others. Even now the untouchables enjoy the use of public roads, wells and schools. There is no objection to give them access to these places. I repeat you to be by the way saying once for all so that there may be a straightforward meaning, not capable of any misinterpretation leading to quibbling."

3. As Mr. Swamy said that Swamy Government would "crush the Brahmins" The Congress reaction is clear. The correspondent is unnecessarily nervous about the future which has as much to be feared as in Mr. Swamy's or mine. Let it also be remembered that the Congress resolution is not yet a part of the constitution. When it is, its interpretation will not end with me or any single individual. It will rest with the constitutionally established by law.

But I gladly give my opinion as to what is likely to be the interpretation of the Congress resolution on

religious equality and untouchability. It is hoped to be a part of my future statement as there is an difference of opinion on it. Indeed, even the corresponding words to create as much as the Congress wants. Religious equality means that the state will have no state religion nor a system of intolerance. There will be no untouchability. The "untouchables" will have the same rights as any other. But a Swamy will not be made to touch anybody. He will be free to make himself untouchable and have his own work, his own temple, his own school and whatever else is attached, so long as he does these things without doing a wrong to his neighbors. But he will not be able to come to work, to preach untouchability for doing so with no public effects or using public wells. There will be no state Swamy as much as there is that of the use of public temples being denied to untouchables when it is allowed to all other Hindus. The authority of the state and the other observances will not be denied but their interpretation will not end with individuals but will depend upon the sense of law courts as these religious books will be used to explain public conduct. Governmental actions will be suggested, but not as the exposure of public morals or the rights of others. Those who will have untouchability brought will have themselves to make arrangements and pay for the luxury. The law will not tolerate any violation of property by any person or state whether in the name of caste or religion. But all this is my dream. I ask not the Congress. Those who would have the Congress to do otherwise, had better make haste to join it and make others of their opinion join it. The Congress represents as it has a constituency wide enough to represent people well.

M. K. G.

Notice

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Manager, Young India

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Weekly Letter Father Days

Seven days ago (Sunday) had the great privilege of having three guests, within the brief interval of a few days, each experts for the type of thought and action in movements and each thinking in rather better lines. Father Days of the Congress have found in me truly well known to readers of Young India. He has come to India to serve his, not by increasing Hindu and Muslim in Christianity, but by living the life of a free citizen of India, and by means, if possible, the moral voice of his fellow countrymen and making them respect for their "great idea of Imperishable Democracy." He is that type of man who believes that necessary work in India is making her "an epitome of national wrongs in the past, and he set to righting in the future." He has actually and found his work done with more but he divides his time of the difficulties facing him. Young one of the few who longer and there also righteousness he came to spend a week with Gandhi by studying him at close quarters. "I want to live a life of personal poverty," he said to Gandhi, "and with that and in new want to spend some time in surroundings which provide me that sort of life." During the days that he spent with me in Ranchi he not only visited some of the villages but he looked on himself here to do things himself, and took lessons from Mohandas in cooking and sewing and washing. His talks in the villages of Ranchi were highly complimentary of the great part they had played during the last struggle, and always concluded with a prayer that "you will be able to forgive us, and to go on loving us, and that the machine ruled by the forces of Capital on the side of the Mahatma may help the purification, not only of India, but of the world." But I am concerned more with the four reasons that he gave for being an Englishman, an Indian, a member of the Congress itself. Perhaps his own countrymen would find much food for thought in all that he has said. As far as it should make us more humble and more worthy of the co-operation and help of men of that like Father Days. Here are the four reasons given in his own words.

(1) "I support India's claim to independence because I am an Englishman. An Englishman is by definition someone who lives freely. I am often regarded as 'British' by my fellow countrymen, but I claim that only to a few who are disloyal, and I am truly loyal to all that is best in the English ideal of freedom.

And Richard has said, 'If your country is oppressed, revolt. If it is not oppressed, revolt still more.' What is the meaning of liberty if you do not give it to others as much as to yourself?

(2) "Secondly, I am a follower of Gandhi because I believe he is the greatest living ideal of England. I know that his first unlearned hands are going to destroy her Empire, but I also know that he is going to save her soul. You see, I believe that nations have souls as well as individuals, and that they can consent with you and I can, if it is wrong for you to be enslaved, or oppressed or ruled, and besides, it is also equally wrong for the nation to oppress or to oppress or oppress a brother nation. England is committing the terrible crime of oppressing and enslaving India. I long to see her free of that sin; how then can I withhold my allegiance from one who is about to save her from the greatest wickedness that a nation can commit? True that of national self-sufficiency will not be confined to India alone it will save England also.

(3) "Thirdly, I support Congress because I see in the great weapon Satyagraha the only possible alternative to war in the modern world. I believe that Satyagraha is invincible. Take the greatest army, the most heavily armed 'bulldozers'—but they are not so strong as one man in whom the spirit of Satyagraha is perfect. For nothing is more powerful than love. What is stronger than the love of a mother for her child, or of a wife for her husband? Gandhi has shown this mighty force out of his diabolical machine and introduced it into world politics. As a principle of international relations, Satyagraha is better because of its very non-violence. Englishmen understand the kind of an enemy, and they know how to deal with it, but when they meet his love, they are bewildered. If you want to count defeat, begin to love the English. Then you have no choice. But go on loving us, in spite of all, and we can do nothing against you.

(4) "Finally, I am a supporter of Congress because I believe it is going to enter in a new era's Service. I don't know when. I was so happy as when I read the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Gandhi Congress. 'The Service of my Country,' said Gandhi, 'is a great man's Service.' Is that Service there will be true equality? There will be an 'unconquered' in that Service. Public money will not be wasted on Imperial policies or on large armies. It will be given to education, to medical relief, to raising life less handicapped to the peak. Then all men will have themselves better."

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan

There are the leaders of Fatah Elwaq, great spiritual sons of God, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. The leaders have already had an extensive past picture of the Khudai Nishan from Dardas Gaudin's pen in the last issue of Young India. He came in response to an urgent summons from Gandhiji, but he was happy that the summons had to be changed in Fardak—a place he had hoped to see even since it became known in 1928. Tall as a giant, he is gentle as a lamb and is polite and altogether it is impossible to hate him. He shows publicly and to all those who would listen him to say with a kindly rebuke: "I am here a sinner, you don't make a leader of me." In fact there is nothing he despises so much as 'leadership' and 'indulgent language' which he has learned by the necessary co-operation of the Hindu and Muslim leaders. It is therefore difficult to persuade him to make a speech, but when he does make one he sounds as inflexibly and ably as he talks. It is one of such speeches that I propose to summarize here. It was addressed in a confrontational attitude of Hindu and Mussalman, but had a covered appeal to the Mussalman.

"I am surprised that the very name of the Congress were ever used by my Mussalman brethren. They think that the Congress is a Hindu organization and that therefore they may have nothing to do with it. Their error was a most innocent disposition of a body which is completely opposed to character. I agreed to my brethren to study the aims and objects and rules and constitution of the Congress. Finally the Congress came to liberating the people from slavery and exploitation, so in other words the Congress aims at being able to feed India's hungry millions and clothe India's naked millions. I want now to read the history of India and ask you to consider what was the Prophet's mission in life. It was to free the oppressed, to feed the poor and to clothe the naked that he was here. Therefore the work of Congress is nothing but the work of the Prophet, nothing but work in accordance with Islam. Since this is clearly to display I do not understand how Mussalman can always shirk from the Congress. If any one has the right to be in the Congress it is they.

"Then we come to the creed of our religion. There is nothing superior to a Prophet like me who is superior to that creed. It is a sin to deny it. It was believed in our land, hundred years ago by the people of Islam and it has been then resorted to by all those who wanted to shirk off the yoke of an oppressor. But we had no the forgotten it that when Mahomet placed in India as we thought he was placing a sword and a sword weapon before us. To him belongs the credit of being the first amongst us to derive a religious creed, and to give the people of Fardak of putting a robe on them.

"To the Hindu and Mussalman I would say, the light for freedom is for the liberation of 'hath'. The Hindu are striving upon by taking part in the struggle and the Mussalman will in no way shirk the Hindu by joining them in the struggle. There are influences enough to divide us. You in India are familiar with the cry of the African negro. We have been made familiar of late with the cry of a Hindu

with a robe of the robe Hindu, of the oppressed Hindu of the Mussalman Hindu. To those who have come to were no against a Hindu who I have said, perhaps it may be better to be shown under a new language. But in his dress under a distinct language."

Jawaharlal Nehru

Perhaps it may not be proper to describe Pandit Jawaharlal as a son of God or the son that Father Kings and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan are sons of God. But we cannot but recognize in him a man of independence based on right thinking and right living with a son of God. Pandit Jawaharlal flows like an arrow from the law to most Gandhiji in Fardak as soon as he arrived in Fardak from Ceylon. He was full of deep gratitude for the warmth of reception and the wonderful expression of good will and love of which he had been the recipient throughout his brief sojourn in Ceylon and has hurried very much through South India. It is good to associate Pandit Jawaharlal with the sublime life of the Congress leaders and soon would have to describe him as a 'fatherland' or a 'brother'. They will all be agreeably surprised to find that what a month's stay in Ceylon. During which Pandit Jawaharlal spoke at scores of meetings without ever dropping the spirit, he left the shores of Ceylon not only armed by the people there and admired alike by the Indians and the Englishmen, but admired by the Congress as well. In a long appreciative article devoted exclusively to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the Times of Ceylon, which shines in words for the Congress, so that what, then, have good bye to the 'glorious and widely projected' India. "We have an intention in saying that such quick speech and such beautiful action is as refreshing as it is novel in Ceylon. It is not what was expected and is therefore, all the more welcome. That it will have a good influence we have no doubt whatever and we believe that the work of his sublimity will be quickly felt. In holding this good bye we feel we are taking leave of a magnanimous and noble Indian, many of whose virtues the youth of Ceylon will do well to consider."

He was the recipient of warm welcome and friendship from men and women of all parties and all communities, he was a statesman in Mysore when a lady friend, who had never before in India, visited him in a dream and met him all with a dinner for Rs. 1000 for the Queen's Mother Hospital. The secret of his triumph made through the country is not far to seek. Everything that he says and does has a stamp of sincerity and earnestness combined with a new confidence, which it is difficult to meet or to understand. Derived by men and women in Colombo, including Congressmen, and organized a hospital in his house. Naturally all arrangements were complete and they want to have his personal. He was graciously agreeable, but before his time left they made it clear that according to the prevailing custom they would have to have three meals of the hospital, first for the King, then for the Congress and the food for the poor. Pandit Jawaharlal loved that a difficult proposition, and suggested that they might they all the team including the men to him. But it was difficult for them to accept the suggestion with the result that the hospital was dropped. But an even reconsidered here. For all who came in contact

with him knew that he had no one to guide, and no diplomacy to deceive them. "I am not, by nature, a political animal as many people say," he said in his speech at Ranchi which was widely appreciated, "I do not find my home in ordinary political or public life but the circumstances are such in countries like India and Ceylon that many of us whether we want or not are dragged into politics, indeed in any country which happens to suffer from the evils of foreign domination or will in future suffer from it is not very easy to keep out of politics or use names or symbols, and so I got dragged in, for politics and public life are the newspapers, they cast their tentacles on you, catch hold of you and it becomes unendurable to get out of it."

You would not have me speak as politicians. Neither would I but for one or two things I might mention to you. Politics in the largest sense embraces every field of human activity. In the narrower sense it is not a pleasant thing. Some of you may remember that on March 18th, I believe, it was George III. and that politics was the trait of the royal Will, perhaps that is a strong reason for a very narrow opinion, politics then gives a stimulus to endeavour, and every a man who has to deal with politics, meets a man with the first freedom have often wanted to run away from politics because of the many shady things he sees under cover of politics. I suppose in this imperfect world of ours we cannot escape them. We have to face them. We have to combat them as much as we can. Politics is the narrowest arena but almost closed to entry. They talk of the passing of politics. They themselves has come into the field and politics has become almost a hand-maid of progress. "They had been to give us, however a glimpse of your ancient national struggle of last year, a struggle which had something of an 'elemental' character, a struggle which touched the very vitals of the real nature of the nation because it was not merely political but because it raised a social and economic question." "The change has been coming on," he explained, "even now Maratons. Could come into Indian politics a dozen years ago. It may be that the land of choice Mahatma wanted was not what other people wanted, but the point was that my change would solve social and economic problems—a stimulus, must solve poverty and even place power in the hands of those who represented the masses."

What got the Englishmen and Europeans at once was his clear definition of his contribution. "We call ourselves nationalists but nationalism too is the narrow sense is a thing of the past, it is almost an impossible position today, we cannot isolate a country from the rest of the world. When we talk of India independence, every body knows that we do not mean that India will be isolated from the rest of the world. All that India is for the day tomorrow will be to co-exist as many friendly relations as possible, to establish friendly contacts, cultivate intimate relations, with the rest of the world and help us far as possible in the maintenance of whatever form of world unity there is, economic, political, moral." It is this recognition of the great that made him a welcome friend among the group of young Europeans in Bombay who are trying to understand sympathetically Indian agitation and for that object invite leaders of

Indian thought and action to their table here from time to time. Their invitation to Pandit Jivadarai to speak and talk to them, last week must have opened many an avenue for an intimate understanding of India.

M. D.

National Universities

The headmaster of Thakur Vaidya has written me

"In your address to the students of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth you enumerated them as the universities in the national struggle for freedom and also mentioned the Shri and Kashi Vidyapeeth as institutions which had given liberal contributions. On this occasion too, as also on a previous one, you failed to include the name of another national Vidyapeeth, viz., Thakur Narayana Vidyapeeth of Poona. This institution too, made similar contributions to the struggle for freedom as her sister institutions."

I for myself cannot speak on behalf of the University as a whole, but of my school Thakur Vaidya, Nagpur, which is affiliated to that University, I can say that our school accepted itself quite early during the period of the struggle as you will see from the following:

"I out of 11 teachers and 22 out of 28 students above the age of 18 were sentenced to 6 months and 1 year terms of imprisonment plus or two years, fines. And though the whole of the staff was in jail, the usual activities of the school were kept going by temporary temporary helpers—(1) those (teachers and students) who did not count imprisonment, some were managing the different technical branches of the school, managing the students' affairs, organising Khasa exhibitions, visiting a few Khasa centres, doing propaganda in villages etc. Of the non-combatants below 18 who were in less than 22 in number, their activities might be divided under three heads: (1) helping Congress leaders and distributing other literature, (2) taking out Prithvi and Dharma forces, (3) playing the Vidyapeeth band almost daily which had every permission granted by the different war councils, (4) helping the relations of the officer which was located in the Vidyapeeth building itself."

I gladly publish the letter if only to advertise the very good work of the national school of Nagpur. As for the Thakur University, I can not even say I worked in connection of on the national interest in. My speech was not previously prepared, it had to be delivered extempore. Whatever action I took was mostly initiative and not subversive. I can certainly recall many national movements which rendered good service during the struggle. My object was to show the very marked contrast between the Governmental institutions and the national ones and to show that every man apart in the trial was no more quiet but brave. I showed too that in the course of things it could not be otherwise. However badly managed the Congress may be, it is still that and that alone which can bring to Swami had not a Government department. It is more than a question of Swami's Vaidya. The English pamphlet in 'a good Government is no substitute for self-Government'.

M. K. G.

Young India

Substance and Shadow

(By M. K. GANDHI)

The public was entitled to know why after having made repeated declarations to the contrary the Working Committee had passed the resolution regarding the (other conditions being favourable) to attend the Round Table Conference if objects required for the promotion of the Congress position.

Ordinarily a member of the Working Committee would not tell the public of discussions behind its sessions, their debated amendments or possible resolutions. But in the present case the Working Committee has made an exception and undertaken not to hide the public into submission to order that I might clear my position and also explain that of the Working Committee.

It was my sincerely democratic nature which in spite of my very strong objection, impelled me to submit to the resolution. One may not make a practice of every objection and, if not wanted, back the way by dissuading to retire from an ambition or by offering submission to the decision of the majority. I therefore brought the Working Committee, besides it of my repeated public and private declarations and stated sincerely a resolution myself which I thought was far more equitable and desirable in the national interest. But I could not carry with me the majority who thought that not to attend the Conference by reason of the failure of a concerted settlement would be to play into the hands of the enemy and expose the Committee to unnecessary misrepresentation.

Though there is much to be said for the majority view, I cannot mean to be unfair and mean only to compromise with the Lahore resolution on the Congress question. There was, in my opinion, some reasoning behind my declaration that I should not attend the Round Table Conference if there was no agreed settlement of the Congress question. Absence of it would mean absence of unity and absence of unity would deprive the national demand of the strength required to secure its acceptance.

My respectful remarks before the Working Committee were that agreed settlement failing, the Congress should give up the hope of securing a Round conference by the way of the present Round Table Conference and should wait till all the considerations were satisfied to adopt a purely national solution. The Congress could concentrate further consolidate its position and work with greater determination for the nation including all the representation and then make the subject of all the other considerations raised the Congress as they see the British do.

The time was now giving up the struggle for freedom.

It all depends upon what we mean by and want through Poona Session. If we mean an awakening among the masses, a knowledge among them of their true interest and ability to serve that interest against the whole world and if through Poona Session we

want harmony, freedom from oppression from within or without and a progressive improvement in the economic condition of the masses, we can gain and not without political power and by directly acting upon the masses that be. One form of direct action is satyagraha. The second and more potent form is Subhasgata. It may easily be shown that violence is justified and can be gained by political power and perhaps be used justly and more gradually passed by Subhasgata. If such is the case and it is one of all except to serve as a desirable instrument of the Congress question fails, it is obvious that we should give up the attempt to secure a Round conference at the present moment. It is better and quicker to wait till the Congress has become equally popular with the other communities than to attempt to force them through hastily adopted compromises. If the Congress means what it says, it cannot be long passing the influence of all the other communities. Meanwhile the Congress must hold its tongue of representing the starving millions by fighting for their relief. If a cannot do so by gaining power then by gaining that relief through the government working in the interest. While discussing the postscript with Sardar Bhabha, I was reminded that the position was hardly fair, not to take the power to make the reforms and to leave the hands of those who cannot carry on the total extinction of their group the reforms, to their opinion only as called. I pointed out the failure regarding the reforms. The Congress is not ready to take the power if it is given to it but the Congress is too weak to take power from swindling hands in the untried circumstances of the Round Table Conference and that is the chance of real unity between the other masses, the communities.

The Congress wants the substance not the shadow. It now therefore wait for the shadow of power. It cannot wait for the substance of freedom which the dark millions so badly need and are without.

I have placed before the public the view point of the majority I placed before the Working Committee is based on unimpeachable authority. It may fall therefore to represent the majority of the public. Nevertheless my position will probably be the same as now if and when the Conference fails to meet the Congress position.

Not having accepted the resolution of the Working Committee, I shall tentatively carry it out and work in the Conference with all possible zeal, if I am directed to attend it. I should not expect and power it to yield. I should get my whole soul into working for it. But I have relatives and persons enough to wait for it if necessary and know that such waiting may be a process of hastening.

Colony Bar in Edinburgh

The famous secretary, Edinburgh Indian Association wrote:

"It will be recalled that in 1927 all the sales, restaurants and dance halls, imposed the colour bar, but after representations being made to various authorities it was decided to be cancelled and since after the law was relaxed, again this year two sales in Edinburgh have imposed the colour bar. These two sales (Grand Cafe and Cafe Torino)

school to select talented students as a whole without any reserve. Edinburgh India Association approached the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Students Representative Council of Edinburgh University, but so far no action has been taken by them and the school has still continued."

The Vice Secretary does not say why the two Clubs have rejected the idea of why it was vigorously introduced. Doubt of the use of self-interest seems to be the worst of an accompaniment of which we are likely ever have as adequate, unambiguous, far-reaching solution is the only way to deal with this problem. The Edinburgh India Association will do well to supply the public with full facts.

M. K. G.

The Law of Swadeshi

(By M. K. Ganes)

Swadeshi is the law of love evolved by the present age. National laws, like Nature's laws need no enforcing; they are self-enforcing. But through ignorance or other causes men often neglect or disobey them. It is then that every one should study one's duties. A man who is by temperament a vegetarian needs no law to dissuade him from eating meat. For, the rights of animal life, instead of tempting him, would only make him shiver. The law of Swadeshi is expressed in the basic sense of man but it has today such less children. Hence the necessity for the law of Swadeshi. In its ultimate and spiritual sense Swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the human soul from its earthly bondage. For, the earthly substance is not its natural or permanent state. It is a hindrance or a general prison; it stands in the way of its reaching its essence with other laws. A victory of Swadeshi, therefore, is but striving to liberate himself from the outer sources which he is emancipated from the bondage of the physical body.

If this interpretation of Swadeshi be correct then it follows that a victory will be a first step definite towards the service of his immediate neighbours. This involves sacrifice or even sacrifice of the interests of the self but the sacrifice or the sacrifice would be apparent only. Pure service of one's neighbours can alone, from its very nature result in sacrifice to those who are immediately situated, which the discovery 'As with the individual to make the Universe' is an unfolding principle which we would do well to try to learn. On the other hand a man who adheres himself to be loyal to 'his distant ones' and runs to the ends of the earth for service, is not only failed in his intention but fails in his duty towards his neighbours also. Take a concrete instance. In the particular place where I live I have several persons in my neighbour, some relatives and dependents. Naturally, they all feel, as they have a right to, that they have a claim on me and look to me for help and support. Suppose now I leave them all in such and not and go across people in a distant place. My dependents would know my little world of Swadeshi and dependents and of pure while my gratuitous benevolence would come likely they and disturb the atmosphere in the new place. Thus a selfish neglect of my immediate neighbours and an uncontrolled devotion to the people whom I wish to serve would be the first fruits of my violation of the Principles of Swadeshi.

It is not selfishly or selfishly self-interest. That is why the Gita says "It is better to do performed one's duty in Swadeshi, than *Apurushani*, or another's duty, as though with danger." Interpreted in terms of one's physical environment, this given in the law of Swadeshi. When the Gita says with regard to Swadeshi, it equally applies to Swadeshi also, for Swadeshi is Swadeshi applied to one's immediate environment.

It is only when the duty of Swadeshi is wrongly understood that selfishness results, i.e., it would be a victory of the doctrine of Swadeshi if by making my family I get about getting money by all means but so that. The law of Swadeshi requires me to even then to discharge my highest obligations towards my family to just extent, and the attempt to do so will result in me the Universal Code of conduct. The practice of Swadeshi can never be done to any one end if it does it or not Swadeshi but requires that means are

There may come occasions when a victory of Swadeshi may be called upon to maintain the family at the time of momentary service. Such an act of willing submission will then constitute the highest service rendered to the family. "Whatever man has to do for his wife and his children, and whatever man has to do for the Lord's sake will that be" holding good for the family group to him from the outside. This another instance. Suppose there is a outbreak of the plague in my village and it is trying to serve the victims of the epidemic, my wife and children, and all the rest of my family are exposed not of substance, then in between these danger and service to just me I will not have to do to the danger of my family but on the contrary to be exact health. In Swadeshi there is no room for selfishness, as if there is selfishness it is it is of the highest type which is not different from the highest service. Swadeshi in the present time is the sense of universal service.

It was by following this line of argument that I put upon Swadeshi as a necessary and the most important auxiliary of the principle of Swadeshi. In application to society "What is the kind of service," I asked myself, "that the teaching of Swadeshi is to be applied at the present time, that can be easily understood and appreciated by all, that is easy to perform and will at the same time enable the cross of my non-merged consciousness to live," and the reply came that it is the emancipation of Swadeshi at the existing stage which that can fulfil these conditions.

Let us now suppose that the practice of Swadeshi through Swadeshi would have the longest satisfaction. A child who is weaned from his mother is made to return the property that he has stolen is not learned thereby, as the victory is in the place consequently in the new case, consequently in the other. The duty of all the great sages of the Swadeshi in the world was to make themselves free from their own, the custom begins at the present time who would be deprived of their possessions could not be said to be free. They would be the greatest in the true sense of the word. The liberation of the 'sages of men' is never a last effect in the individual movement or in society; it is pure gain.

It is the greatest delusion to suppose that the date of Swadeshi begins and ends with merely spinning to make you any more and weaving Khadi made from it. Khadi is the first indispensable step towards the discharge of Swadeshi *Shiksha* towards ecology. One often meets men who wear Khadi but in all other things indulge their love for foreign manufactures with a vengeance. Such men cannot be said to be practicing Swadeshi. They are simply following the fashion. A votary of Swadeshi will carefully study his environment and try to help his neighbours wherever possible by giving preference to local manufactures, even if they are of an inferior grade or do not in price bear things manufactured elsewhere. He will try to remedy their defects but will not give them up because of these defects and take to foreign manufactures.

But even Swadeshi that may offer good things are in danger to death if it is made a fetish. That is a danger that must be guarded against. To reach Swadeshi manufactures merely because they are foreign and to go on working national that and money to produce manufactures in one's country for which it is not suited would be a colossal folly and a negation of the Swadeshi spirit. A true votary of Swadeshi will never indulge himself towards the foreigner, he will not be moved by suggestions towards anything so earth. Swadeshiism is not a cult of hatred. It is a doctrine of selfless service that has its roots in the great *Ahimsa*, i.e. love.

(Translated from Hindi given by P.L.)

With Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan In Swadeshi Villages

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan Sahab has never been so happy as when he is in the Swadeshi villages where I find the privilege of accompanying him. He congratulated the villagers on the Swadeshi suffering they had gone through and comforted them by saying that his own province had also justly suffered. He did not see the huge masses of Swadeshi suffering. It was even harder to Swadeshi towns that had been impossible for carrying on a regime of terror but that was not how he liked to look at it. He felt thankful that God had put them on these earths.

On the village Velvidi naturally enough attended Khan Sahab's attention went. This is where Khan Sahab remained to me at the end of the day's tour. "I wish the Workers and Peasants parties could take a leaf from Velvidi. The work done there in the same respect that all our voluntary support of self and respect on the question of the constitution of the nation." But I don't say that longer as Velvidi about which much has been written in the pages of Young India has and again, before it is too late Velvidi has lived up to its reputation of having transformed the lives of the neighbouring Kachwaha villages by welcoming Khadi in the wake of which *gandhigyan* has followed as a matter of course and it was this solid work that appealed to the Swadeshi leader from the Punjab.

In Bombay

At Bombay Khan Sahab was the epitome of all ages. He mingled with Chaudhri The Pathans of Bombay came up to their shoulders. It was an

impressive sight. They did otherwise by leaving his hand and then sat around him, some of them far beyond, listening to his advice. And he had plenty of it for them. As he told me later on, he intended them to develop a sense of responsibility and live as peaceful citizens. Their expression of loyalty to him was touching. It showed the Bombay Pathan at his best.

But the Muslim public meeting at Dargah had left a bitter taste in his mouth. He attended the meeting only as a matter of duty. His heart was not in it. He had come to know earlier in the day that there was likely to be a disturbance of some kind at the meeting. He would have been absolved from going to the meeting, but he could not do so without feeling great disappointment. The disturbance during his speech as well as in the Mahatma, and the matter in cold blood of an innocent Hindu who had been drawn to the meeting by the announcement that Pandit Jawaharlal and others would be speaking, must indeed have considerably lowered Dargah's in his estimation. His own expression in his own and appear as the following words at the meeting: "I am sorry to see the Swadeshi demonstration. It is by such unbecomingly conduct that you wish to welcome us, your guests of the evening! Don't you realize that such conduct can only breed discord upon you? It is behaviour such as this that will lead you to ruin. I seriously beseech you to ponder over what you are doing. It is not true that you will carry out Swadeshi to the hilt. That is not how Islam has taught you to behave." It was from a sense of deep frustration that he spoke. He had also that very day heard the wild and unbecomingly that Muslims carried babies from the Congress. He has remained silent. Mildly and again with another success. "I would ask Swadeshi to seriously consider that position is clear of this change needed against them. It concerns to this that meeting the government to be you are Swadeshi have no substance, no purification of our own. We work for money, but those who pay us. We serve the Government for money and we serve the Congress for money. What a sorry sight we are! Such is the meaning of the Khadi. If you think that the Khadi is unbecomingly does what are you doing for the flowering of your country? What did Islam come here, then would be? To help the afflicted, the down trodden, to bring food and relief to the needy. Here we in the past year followed that teaching of Islam? The English rule over us all. They need to help from you. They are not Swadeshi. Tell us how have you the right to stand by the Government and we are working neglected any day against our own Swadeshi, the Khadi, which we have allowed to stay in the light of Khadi almost unbecomingly. This is the very meaning of the teaching of Islam which was to always be with the worker party. Swadeshi are bound by their faith to stand in every just campaign of liberty. Indeed we ought to be the main leaders in the country's struggle for independence. A lesser position is unbecomingly with our Swadeshi and the teaching of our religion. And yet how have we accepted ourselves? Very poorly, indeed!"

D. M. G.

2. But this story of figures of income I would not stress. I would rather point to the more serious consequences of British Rule as far as the computational distribution of our population is concerned. The census figures show that our agricultural population was 47% in 1901, in 1916 now, and in this matter 10%—It is never 40% than 75% because India was estimated as engaged in industry and was thereby dependent on agriculture and was taking to industry as part time occupation; and there is a 5% of industrial population that is also dependent on the soil. This is enough to show that in a machine age our cottons, and handlooms are completely closed and thrown back on the soil. Our machine industry has not developed and has not absorbed the cottons. This means the creation of a permanent class of unemployed, a problem much worse than the problem of the unemployed in other countries.

P. A. Wallis.

Japanese or British?

That from the economic standpoint (and that is the only standpoint important for the millions) Japan of Japanese state is made the most important is clear from the following letter from Sir H. H. Wells, President, Donkey Millowners' Association.

"The percentages coming into this country from abroad may be divided into four important classifications, namely, Grey, Bleached, Coloured and Artificial Silk goods. I have taken out the figures of the imports of each of these classes from both the United Kingdom and Japan for the last 4 months of 1928 and the last 4 months of 1931, and give them below.

	United Kingdom		Japan	
	Last 4 months 1928	First 4 months 1931	Last 4 months 1928	First 4 months 1931
(in millions of yards.)				
Grey goods	18	18	31	27
Bleached	29	30	3	24
Coloured	25	32	18	20
Art. Silk piecegoods	—	—	7	24
Total	52	110	59	75

"From this statement, it will be seen that, except in the bleached goods trade (which was formerly a monopoly), Great Britain practically starts where she did a few months ago, though her trade has been severely sharing some competition, in the case of Japanese goods, however, the picture is strikingly different. In grey goods, Japanese imports have increased by 45%, in bleached and coloured goods by 75% and in artificial silk goods by over 300%. In bleached goods and artificial silk piecegoods, the imports during the last 4 months of this year have been at a higher rate than were before, and in grey and coloured goods the figures are rapidly approaching post-war levels, and the indications are that they will eventually overtake them. It is noticeable that in the real Japanese goods they compete even now the largest volume of imports—and India may find herself in an even worse position than before.

"For many years it has been evident that the most serious competitor of the Indian textile

industry in Japan, rather than Great Britain. That this can no longer be judged from the fact that in 1928-30, which may be regarded as a normal year, the imports of piecegoods from Great Britain were 1200 million yards as against 1610 million yards in 1928-30, whereas the imports from Japan rose from 121 million yards in 1928-30 to 202 million yards in 1929-30.

"Special attention must be drawn to the connection in the considerable increase in the imports of artificial silk piecegoods from Japan. In the last 4 months of this year, no less than 24 million yards have been imported, as against 7 million yards for the last 4 months of 1930. I would like to point out here that the handloom industry is being even more hard hit by this than the mill industry, since it is estimated that 80% of the artificial silk yarn previously imported was used by the handloom industry, and only 20% by the mill industry.

"Another point which I should like to emphasize is that practically most loss of Japanese goods are of course in machine goods, and that the great bulk of them could be manufactured by Indian mills from Indian cotton. This is not the case with the bulk of the piecegoods which used to be imported from Great Britain.

"Consequently although in at present being made by Indian mills in manufacture there to replace those imported from Japan, but to compete in price, Indian mills will have to manufacture their own in a shorter time, and this they cannot be expected to do unless they had secured that their claims will ultimately bear fruit through the public conscience being aroused with regard to the manner of Japanese competition and the disastrous effects it is having on India's interests.

"I do not wish to burden this letter with an enumeration of the various reasons which enable Japan to market her goods at such low prices. All that I wished to do was to point out that the classes of goods which Japan is importing, and the price at which they are sold, compare just as unfavourable to the Indian industry as they have proved to Lancashire trade."

If thoughts there is any hope on the part of Indian exporters, they will remember that England on behalf of British state would be all too well whatever from the economic viewpoint, but hardly one can see how British state has been hit by Japanese cloth.

M. K. G.

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Slave Communities

[By M. K. Gandhi]

We have the 'untouchables' in India and some of the Hindu society. But we have also other communities whom we—the so-called higher classes—treat almost as slaves and keep in quarters designed for our cattle. Representatives of our such communities have addressed a letter which I reproduce as follows:

"We are representatives of the Rajwade community living in the districts of Gaya, Patna, Muzaffar and Patna, in the Province of Bihar and Orissa, and number about 1,20,000.

"We belong to one of the poorest and most obscure communities in the whole province, and are looked upon even as a low caste.

"We are landless labourers, as our ancestors were even in times of feud.

"We are being kept slaves so as to get almost work out of us with the least expense to the employers.

"On refusal to give labour the Zamindar forthwith begins a war for acres of land, gets decrees, gets the lot in auction and sends the tenant from the land to his possessions.

"A farmer shall no longer be treated like a slave as his year becomes almost the property of his master's landlord, he is made to feed the landlord's cattle and do all sorts of odd jobs for which the landlord provides him with only his feeding and 4 yards of cloth per annum but the landlord and the more hideous part of the whole thing is that the child is never allowed to live in the house of his master but is compelled to go away right in his own home even in the worst weather although the house may be a long way off. In fact he leads the life of a slave, a man chained to the landlord.

"For working from 6 A. M. to 6 P. M. Rajwade are paid at the rate of 3 annas of untended rice per day and no wages in cash are ever paid to them.

"The master of Zamindari if they don't find the male members in the family honest and if the Zamindar's sons find his labour on their master's behalf, the female members as well as the children, are made to do the work in his field, besides of the housework. It comes to the family. And at times it so happens that the females are made to go 12 to 15 miles every morning to their master's land. And if any peasant is made against the same the inevitable result is

abuse, assault and violation of the modesty of the women folk and the families driven from the homestead.

"The Rajwade children are not allowed to be sent to the primary schools and the teachers are not allowed to teach the boys by the landlord.

"Whenever there is a strike or boycott or doctory or any other movement in the locality which the community is taking, the first inquiries and the first level of the police enquiry must be high-boys, although there may not be the slightest truth in the story. The whole community has been subjected to the rules and regulations of the Criminal Tribes Act for over 25 years. On the first day the members of the community, if they want to give their sons and daughters to marriage to their kind in a different district, they are not allowed, or they are obstructed in such a way by the authorities and caste people that it becomes impossible to make such alliances.

"We have already submitted three memorials to the District Magistrate, of Gaya and Patna, and to the Chief Secretary, Bihar and Orissa. Government has not as yet taken what steps the improvement in India has taken. We hope that you will do something to ameliorate our condition."

The letter is written by the representatives and probably also prompted by some previous information among them. It is signed by about twenty-five representatives. What is more serious is not who wrote it but the statements made therein, if they are true.

They are highly likely to be true in the main. For each statement is not an isolated phenomenon of Bihar. Almost all the provinces have been included, suppressed, slave communities. They are no strangers from the South. We have had them for ages and all the greater shame on us for that.

We may plead a thousand excuses for their existence in the days gone by. But in these days of enlightenment, awakening and insistence on Social, we have no excuse for ignoring the slavery. Congress workers have to take up the cause of these communities wherever they are found. They should try to rid the community and atmosphere of those who 'own' these men and women. Seeing to the root of all the evil which has gone to build up a low and vicious caste consciousness of the strength that comes from right doing. The existence of slave communities is a terrible wrong and must therefore be a hindrance in our march towards the goal.

Poverty under British Rule

In my earlier letter¹ I pointed out one or two life-size landmarks that have been mentioned in the remarkable life of our country in the direct or indirect result of English rule. (1) The human per head of the population even according to the most trustworthy calculations has not increased between 1820 and 1830. (2) There has been a loss of semi-political equilibrium—and a continuously increasing agricultural population, due to the development of the arts and crafts—with the result that agricultural productivity has suffered.

In the next place I would quote a few figures bearing on income.

Year	Area affected in square miles	Population affected in millions
1855-56	1,138	1
1861-62	10,600	1
1866-67	5,26,000	62
1869-1880	1,04,000	28

Number of people employed daily on relief works.

1813-17	49,000
1814-17	2,48,000
1818-17	52,880-1,04,000 (Oct. 18) to 31,000-52 (April 17)
1819-1830	5,19,000 (Oct. 18) to 40,000 (July 1830)

These figures tell one that people with a lower average income or condition are increasing. The former statement is usually not only qualitative, but adequate for supporting this. (In Madras it was put in all years in daily wages for adult males.) In other words these figures which I have drawn from Macaulay's book on Population prove that the number of people who are on the margin of starvation is steadily increasing. The same tendency is indicated by the mortality due to cholera, a preventable disease, but which took away 17 millions people between 1817-1871. The total plague mortality was only 8 millions between 1817-21. The cruelty of the people is so low that they cannot meet the ravages of a preventable disease like cholera.

There is something the growing poverty of the country we should also not assume the annual drain of capital and savings (today £40 millions per year) for which we get a return only in the shape of services—rail and military. If the amount was not exported (it is exported in the form of commodities, food and raw materials) it would remain within the country and be an addition to our annual income. I know I am an uneducated uneducated person. But I would be bold enough to maintain that if peace and security (at low and no cost) can only be obtained under British rule at a cost which gives increasing numbers to the starvation level, already with all its evils may not be so bad as otherwise as it is usually supposed to be; and after all this may not be the only alternative. The drain is not merely confined to the Home charges, it includes about £10 millions more every year—flight charges, insurance charges, profits of sterling capital companies etc. We are surprised at the export of £100 millions every year in capital and savings. Perhaps the situation is

worse, and we may be exporting what, if it remained within the country, might be regarded as part of its national income. I would challenge anyone to draw a parallel in the process of impoverishment in history.

F. A. Wadia.

Do They Enjoy Privileges?

(Continued)

It is the hardest task to say that in every realm of life "the Englishmen, by virtue of his belonging to the ruling class, occupies a privileged position," and that "he has thus upon the face of India's commerce and industry." The words, in fact, are only a paraphrase of the reported testimony of H. H. Wilson, the British Minister of India, that "the foreign manufacturers employed the use of political influence to keep down and ultimately destroy a competition with whom to fight was not considered on equal terms".

British trade in India is a legacy from the East India Company, the history of whose intervention, in its later days, comes up for the history of British India.

To know the secret of the strength of the British commercial class, one must go back to the period when the franchise of British rule in India was being lost. One will find this carrying on private trade even though in the company of the East India Company, showing all sorts of rights and privileges including monopolies from all direct and indirect, in spite the words of Mr. Vansittart, who was a Governor in Calcutta, "Indian oppression." Lord Warren Hastings had compelled to protect against "the oppression connected under the shadow of the English name." English agents monopolized on the authority of the Nizam's government and forced transactions at the point of the bayonet. Herbert Spencer, in his *Social Darwinism*, rightly remarks:

"The Anglo-Indians of the last 15th century—'birds of prey and parasites,' as they were styled by their—thought themselves only a shade less cruel than their predecessors of Peru and Mexico. Indians have black men have been their slaves, when even the Directors of the Company admitted that 'the vast business supplied to the island trade from Java obtained by a series of the most systematic and oppressive frauds that was ever known in any age or country.' Concern the structure state of society described by Vansittart, who tells us that the English compelled the natives to buy or sell at just what rates they pleased, on pain of flogging or death."

There were the franchise had, and even though the Company was abolished in 1858 the history for all practical purposes, between British ruling and commercial interests was not destroyed and is recent.

It was mainly as a result of this vested identity or alliance that Upper Burma was annexed to the Indian Empire and the cost charged to India. As usual in such cases, the agitation began with complaints of injustice against the King of Burma. The British Cabinet advised the Indian Government to be "slow to pronounce a verdict." The British ministers, however, could not wait, and a public

¹This appeared in *Young India* of the 15th June as a note making the same request as above.

meeting held at Bangalore in October, 1934, they were disappointed. The aims of the league were differently interpreted to agree public opinion in England and the European Chamber of Commerce addressed a circular letter to different Chambers in Great Britain, desiring them to bring pressure to bear on the British Cabinet. Tolerant advantage of a policy quarrel between the King of Denmark and a Danish Company which had for years past worked the African trade monopoly and which had, according to a judgement of the High Court of Asia, deflected the line of commerce belonging to £3,000, Lord Dufferin's Government commenced hostilities in November, 1935, and resumed peace to India on January 1, 1940. Peace affords a glowing instance in which British imperialism made itself the spiritual of British imperialist enterprise and unified the race in the Indian tragedy.

What is the field of trade alone has been the policy of the Government to favour men of its own race at the cost of Indians and to deny to the latter legitimate opportunities of serving their motherland in the various spheres of human activity. The history of British rule in India is one long record of processes of absolute equality made to the Indian and Indian in the east and there is hardly a Government department in which Indians are not the victims of racial discrimination in one way or another.

Indians have been and are deprived from obtaining certain posts mainly because of their colour. We cannot learn what opportunities there was, even from the King-Emperor, Edward VII, to the appointment of the late Lord Dufferin to the Governor-Generalship of the Government of India. What last year, no Indian was deemed capable enough to be a member of the Advisory Board, and was even then in no permanent member as a Secretary, no Indian has been considered suitable for the post of the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of a Port Trust in the whole of India despite the fact that Indians, steadily unrepresented in post administration, are chosen for such posts. The colour law the colour for entrance to service in India against the race of the land, so far as higher appointments are concerned. The economic and political fight that Indian politics was and legislation have had to put up all these years for Indianisation prove the truth of the contention that in the administration of the country in India is a mere sham. In fact, this has been said in many ways by some of those who have been service in England under the King and who have been found themselves completely associated by Lord L. C. S. Mountbatten, who have done so much to the Government and upon their confidence in a far greater extent than their chiefs.

Supplementary to the policy of the Government is the discrimination between of British trade itself which combined with its almost privileged position effectively keeps Indians out and prevents their full growth. In the future that follow we shall try to furnish more information on this and the other points, though the Indians that we give are only illustrative and cannot be absolute reasons have nearly been withheld. At the same time the present with the past, we realise that the methods of exploitation are not in

trade as in 1945 but also they not with far greater pressure and as a much wider scale.

Cotton

The cotton has entered in the cotton industry. It is the most unfortunate instance, from the point of view, because it is in this more than in any other industry that the British has made use of his privileged position and has pursued successfully its hostile or monopolistic industry. In the face of the reputation of a cotton industry in England, the history of the Indian market from the levy of a custom duties duty on Indian goods and of a colonial duties on British goods, it is impossible to agree that British commercial interests are established in this country by fair methods and open competition, without any other influence from the State.

The Government of India, from the very beginning, identified themselves with the interests of the British cotton industry in against the Indian. In evidence of this, we have the history of the cotton export and import duties. As early as 1813, the Finance Minister of the Government of India made in defence of the reduction which he had made in the duty on British cotton goods. "I have the duty on British cotton goods . . . (4) the determination of the final policy of India depended upon England, that a tax on Indian exports in operation in Indian markets has not the slightest chance of being tolerated . . . (17) and finally, I confess that in the present state of things (Lancashire trade depression owing to the Civil War), I should be very unwilling to propose for a single day any benefit they may get from reduction." That was just the beginning. The policy was extended till in 1872 all duties on Indian goods were removed. In 1884, when the fall in the selling value of the sugar produced took immense measure, a 1% ad valorem duty was imposed on cotton manufactures, but at the same time an export duty of 1% was imposed on all yarn of 50% and above, and on goods with 10% India. A state protection legislation followed in 1895, when the export duty was reduced to 11% and a corresponding import duty of 14% was imposed upon cotton goods woven in India with. This unprecedented act of local protection was done again in the interests of Lancashire. The London Times commenting upon Lancashire's agitation in 1897-98 by an interview in the Indian Daily, made the following reference, but ignored, remarks:

"The Indian cotton market has always been particularly, occasionally, and above all, severely beleaguered. It has been deeply pressed from the north and has remained in open war. The plan that 'the poor Indian' will have to pay more for his clothing is nearly universal. As the leading of Lancashire, the India peasant has had to pay more for his clothing for twenty years because although it is made in his own country, it is inferior to an Indian fabric."

The story was fully elucidated in 1928 after a permanent agitation of three decades. But this was followed by the application of maximum and subsequently by the extension of preference to British goods in the tariff schedule.

Young India

A Gentle Rebel

(By M. K. Gandhi)

C. Rajagopalachari's eagle eye sees everything; the report is just about the duck and. He saw a report of my very innocent speech at the office of Shri¹ whose the subject I had the foundation of a working institute. I had then attempted to show the connection that exists between Indian labour and duck and said how Mohabadee Party had, whilst they prohibited work, discovered that if the people who owned it, used the labour cheap the protected were to be permanently weaned from duck, they should have some solution provided in this case work found for them during their idle hours. I then showed how the forest work occupation in handicrafts and weaving. I further went on to show that if people had to do something better, they would wear some something and I illustrated it by an experience from my own life when during the First War I had to come from the momentous power of run for those because who were used to drink and who played with me for their wealth, they said, would enable them to leave the bridge and come into day's work. Of course, that was a reputation. But reputation do last.

Rajagopalachari heard that the report that he had read would be changed to yield all kinds of meanings favourable to the opponents of prohibition. His first has been justified. I have received unfavourable correspondence in my connection to many. They condemn me because I am not conscious of the advantage expected to me. I feel like a man who foolishly expected to have that credit for ordinary effort and therefore to have the money to come here he had perceived.

Let me therefore confess my fault in exhibited prohibition before I had myself in deeper water. If I was appointed Director for one hour for all India, the first thing I would do would be to close without compensation all the liquor shops, destroy all the fully grown such as I know them in Gujarat, cancel factory permits to produce liquor machines for their workers, and open educational and recreation centres where these workers would get innocent drink and equally innocent amusements. I would then drive the factories of the women placed west of India. Facing a defender I would expose my infidelity to spite of the promises of one hour's dictatorship and therefore arrange for the continuation of my European friends and distant persons who may be in a critical need of beauty and the life in this region by medical experts and where necessary they would receive medicines which would reach them to obtain the prescribed quantity of the very water from medical districts. The rule will apply suitable medicine to intoxicating drugs.

For the loss of revenue from ducks, I would strengthen on down the military expenditure and expand the Commander-in-Chief to accommodate himself.

¹Shri is a small village about 15 miles from here in the State.

to the same condition in the best way to me. The workers left like for the closing of factories. I would return to work home to be immediately exposed as far as possible in the neighbourhood of the factories where I was afraid they had lost their that the State could possibly see the factories under the present conditions and could therefore also come from the workers.

Terrible if True

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I take the following from a newspaper about gambling:

"In rural areas there is definite evidence that everything short of physical violence has been resorted to by gamblers. Moral re-education has been abandoned, alcohol and generally banned, and gambling houses have been put in considerable loss and in some instances have been to be destroyed but they have refused to get their hands in tapping and showed that despite earlier their efforts for re-education. The Congress office in Talukdary based information in the principal system to appear before them and have had the strength to finish. Those who occurred were severely told to close their shops, and when they asked for compensation they were told that Congress would do nothing for them."

If these conditions are true that gambling should be stopped immediately. Though as soon as I had the complaint I wrote regarding about the officials, I thought it was better for the sake of workers to permit to publish the complaint. It may be mentioned that sometimes similar complaints have been received regarding about gambling too. I can but repeat the warning I have issued in these pages that it would be better for the Congress, better for the cause of prohibition, whether of intoxicating drinks and drugs or foreign cloth, that we should prohibit altogether than that there was the slightest departure from the basis of the India Movement. If gambling cannot really prosper, it should be abandoned altogether.

It is being discovered that the same officers resorted to in pay houses to have rest and more the drinks, expenditure in foreign cloth more as that was known and explain to them the end of the use of any of the three things. There may be other witnesses or some common and distribution of Indian. Permitting them to use the state propaganda through Government and district and they accept. Foreign cloth because may also be notified by due to their breaking of State, neglecting orders and regarding the wearing of and upon them. Such breaking up the movement cannot but affect the use of drinks and drugs and foreign cloth.

The Other Side

But how if these changes are in the name of wholly nation. I know that in Gujarat there is a industry growing up to make powerful politicians and what is more remarkable, will then to give me an unaccountable title of Rajah of old lands and in old places make some of his law. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, that who is the General Secretary of the Temperance League in the place visited by Mr. Ashford and who is a politician only because he is a local reformer is surprised that in the South a deliberate

making of propaganda of a stable world order has been signified by the shape of India's provincial and all-India conferences. From Lucknow, Bombay, Madras and elsewhere came enthusiastic reports of late classes and the like. I have deliberately refrained from publishing these statements of which the various organisations have furnished me with a full report. Besides this, there are complete paucity of news after months. I can only give the assurance to the public that not one of them has escaped my attention. But I cannot carry on a public propaganda at the same time that I am carrying on a debate, negotiations with the Central Government type and through which I expect to take rebel or most of, if not all of these cases.

Meanwhile I must ask all Congress workers to be patient. They must not allow themselves to be provoked into civil disobedience. It is never the first, it is always the last resort. We must exhaust all the intermediate process before we can take up that last resource remedy. While the Government here, we have the law courts too, open to us. I know that it has been being in your comfort. But such as they are, they may not be passed by even as we may not pass by the respective departments of the executive Government for making relief. Happily some-day we have all our India Congress who give their services to the Congress organisations free of charge. Whereas therefore these facilities exist, Congress organisations should send themselves at them and try to obtain work relief as a bodily practice. They must not embark on civil disobedience without first obtaining the permission of the Working Committee. It is so most, very clearly and I promise to place it as full possession of all the complete and the details from a. Our safety and honour today demand a marvellous performance by us of all the conditions of the Government.

But I would appeal to the provincial governments and the members of the Civil Service to come to the rescue. I must not conceal from them and the public the requests based on the evidence before me that they are in many cases hindering the working of the Government where they are not wilfully breaking it. Let it not be passed when a being out of them that some of them want the Government to break to pieces. Let it not be said of them that they destroyed the edifice that Lord Irwin gave without due and extreme matter to build up. Let them realise that the Government is a scheme against not because one individual but because two organisations, the late fighting, now making some efforts. They may not destroy the Congress workers and lead them as if they were enemies even as the Congress may not, whilst the central powers, demand every official act.

To Correspondents

Post Box system as to be introduced in this area from the first of July. The correspondents are therefore requested to address all letters henceforth to Young India, Meerapoor or the Meerapoor Press or Post Box No. 13, taking which their letters are likely to be returned.

Manager, Young India

A Martyr

[By B. K. Ghosh]

While the Working Committee was deliberating on Bombay during the early part of the month, there was a public meeting in Dardul at which there was an appeal and at which a youth was finally killed. The news of the death was brought to the Working Committee. It caused a sensation but at the time it was thought that some unknown revolutionary person had died. On returning to Ranchi I had a letter from Sri Kishorelal Mahabir who describing the tragedy gave me some details about the deceased. I thereupon added 'him to previous letter heads which I am here.

He was and good Parnal was only 22 years old when he sustained the fatal stroke at that fatal night from one of the excited Madrasians abroad. Accompanied by his father and younger brother, Parnal had gone to the Durgam meeting certainly to hear Khan Sahib Abdul Gaffar Khan who was among others advanced to speak at the meeting. After they had heard the Khan Sahib the father hailed a rickshaw and they got on. Being Kishorelal said they were taken for newspaper makers. A hearing crowd surrounded them, stones were thrown on them, all of them were hurt. Parnal's left shoulder was bleeding. Nothing thinking, he went to light his father's cigarette he made light of his sword, suddenly there came in to his left side a deep stab. Blood gushed from the wounded side, the man's screams. Parnal here it all heavily and asked to be taken to the hospital where he said his wound would be dressed and all would be well. About all was not well. Despite of all the medicine given to him the brave young man died the next day.

He was born of wealthy parents. His father Kishorelal Dargi is a flourishing merchant, much loved and respected for his honesty. He, such as the Chief Judge of the Judhpur High Court. The deceased leaves a young widow to whom he was married only eighteen months ago. The parents' sorrow came under the influence of the national movement, simplified the life of the family and sent Parnal to the national school. After having studied upon the sixth standard he left school to help his father in business. His Parnal gave little personal work. He was one of the party that ended the strike. But while and came in for little share. He always proved the dangerous police, whom which were the leaders of those days. Parnal has lived by dying. My congratulations to the parents for having had such a martyr son. Let death and especially a death such as this have no sting behind. The body has been released to take her out of the school and the first only among us. If it is not meant this death and would give more work than it need be. I know that true unity will not be long in coming.

As for the widow my hope that there here for them and will prompt the parents to give her the education the girl widow may desire or be fitted for and that they will give her every encouragement to remedy when she grows to maturity. Let them if they have faith in the spirit of the age, shed the superstition that a widow is the property of

the husband's family is revealed as their share. A widow must leave the same right as a widow and must be taught to leave that she has the same free choice as men.

And of the Hindustanis who approve of such murders? Surely the cause of Islam is the cause of peace which the world Islam means, but not here advanced by the murder. It cannot be right to take innocent life. Pundit's kind goes on persuading. Now I wish Pundit's murder would open the eyes of those whose heart approves such murders and who make them possible. Is it not possible to arrange a joint meeting on the very spot where the murder took place and to discuss that whether we could evolve a common formula regarding the political question, such meeting would be made impossible. Such a meeting is not impossible, so far as I am aware, Pundit's people have forgiven the wrong and the Congress Committee purposely created a public festival in order that people might not be misled. We ought to be able to hold public meetings anywhere and frankly express views even though they may be unpopular in particular neighbourhood.

Serious Allegations

The Editor, Young India

Sr.

In the village Pipli, Taluk Purna, District Guntur, a riot is said to have been made on the 16th inst. by the Zamindars of the village along with the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, P. Chandra Mahesh and an armed guard on 16th May, 1931. The Late Lalluiah Jackson B. A., LL. B. Congress Secretary went to see the Deputy Commissioner in that connection on two successive days, but owing to his various engagements, he could not be seen. On the 16th P. Lakshmin, Shrinani Dargu M. A., LL. B. joint secretary of the District Congress Committee went to the Deputy Commissioner and had a talk with him on the alleged happenings at Pipli. The same evening P. Lakshmin Shrinani Rajend and Swami Sankaranand were deputed to go to the spot to enquire who presented in the place of such meeting there on the 16th. In the meantime, the Deputy Commissioner sent Mr. Dhanda the Sub-Divisional Magistrate of the Guntur Taluk for official enquiry who also started there on the 16th. The allegations of the rioters as revealed in the evidence before the enquiry are as follows:

1. That the Zamindar Indrasena, who are the sole proprietors of the village and are members of Mammasa, another village in the locality, having made preparations for a riot, persuaded the Zamindars of the village on the morning of 16th May along with the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and an armed guard on a motor lorry.

2. That the Zamindars had sent in advance empty carts, a large number of their servants and hired labourers, many of them armed by arms, for making common collections of cows and for taking away all the Sahasranga of the tenants, who were evidently unable to pay more than they had already paid.

3. That a large number of women who could be caught hold of were beaten with lathes and dandas in which the Zamindars laymen and their assistants took a prominent part. Some of them were brutally

expelled and beaten in the very presence of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate who is alleged to have openly encouraged the Zamindars and his men in the riot.

4. That the houses of the tenants were looted open, their doors were removed and locks were broken. Everything belonging to them was taken away and placed in the carts.

5. The women were violently searched every from the presence of the Sahasranga.

6. A number of women were crushed.

7. One woman was publicly raped by four men of the party.

8. That the whole party including the Sub-Divisional Magistrate having satisfied themselves with all that they could think of doing in order to suppress resistance and punish the tenants and their women left village after 3 or 4 hours with the lorry.

9. That the members of the village had already paid more than Rs. 2000 of the rent in general, and some of them had made even 100 payments. But they had estimated an application seeking a number of allowances against the Zamindars which was pending before the Tribunal and which enraged them to the action mentioned.

10. That the Sahasranga of the village and its members have left their houses and have taken shelter in the neighbouring villages. The village is deserted, and people of the locality are panic-stricken.

That is the state of affairs as revealed by the evidence furnished by the rioters in the enquiry. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate along with the writer did not believe the Deputy Commissioner of any such happenings in the village. The Congress Secretary sent two telegrams to the Leader and Madrasa Jinnah, giving a short account of these happenings, but on the third day he was informed that the telegrams being disseminated were withheld. The matter is so serious that it cannot and should not be lightly passed over. It has created a sensation throughout the district. Instances and important parties in what is needed at the moment is order to restore confidence and to prevent the outbreak from spreading further. The serious situation in the district has already become complicated owing to the acute economic distress and the widespread belief created by the Government as the form of measures. It may however be said in the credit of the rioters, however illiterate they may be, that in spite of hundreds of government of Sahasranga, dandaband and other sorts of oppressions practised on them by some of the Zamindars, they are perfectly non-violent, and not a single example can be cited in which the rioters might have resorted to the methods of violence even by self-defence.

Yashwanthrao Dargal Trapaithi

M. A., LL. B.

Dist.

President, District Congress Committee

[I printed this very serious letter with only insignificant alterations. It is undoubtedly false, if the allegations are not true. I shall gladly publish any explanation that the Zamindars or the Sub-Divisional Magistrate may wish to give. The matter demands careful enquiry. If the allegations are substantially correct, the Zamindars themselves should take up the matter and deal with the Zamindars. I may add that I would to the writer if he could support the allegations and be promptly sent back to the authorities. H. D. G.]

Khadi in Mysore

The Department of Industries, Mysore State, has forwarded the report of the work for the year 1928-30 received from the secretary of the Bahadural Spinning Circle. The Bahadural centre was started on the 1st of November, 1927 as an experiment. It has now done enough to be an experiment and has now become a successful centre of Khadi work. During the year under report, the centre produced Rs. 25,347 worth of Khadi that is a monthly average of Rs. 2,112 at present Rs. 1,120 during the previous year. This increase is due partly to the change in the price of carded cotton which reduced agricultural wages to two shillings only, and to a means of increasing their income from cotton. This circumstance was also responsible for the considerable increase in the number of spinners which stood at 1,508 towards the end of the year. The number of active looms rose to 75, 14 as being increased to 100. The programme for the year 1930-31 anticipates a production of at least a lakh of yards of Khadi. The status of khadi was entirely improved, its field of the centre was depend on Tharar for being trained in spinning and dyeing. It is proposed to open a spinning centre and drying department.

The sales returned to the Khadi, at which Rs. 1,100 were an amount of the purchases by the Mysore Government. The report states, "The demand for Khadi by the public which was rapidly increasing during the year gave an impetus towards the end of the year that the limited production of this Khadi had to be sold at a very low price and was not working well."

The spinning machine designed in the Mysore Industries Department was used at one of the villages. The work was a uniform increase in the number of yards from 15 to 24.

The spinning centre has been responsible for the starting of a Women's Cooperative Society. The close contact of the women with their husbands enabled in their making a representative to the Government to ensure the fully cheap from Bahadural. The houses for the shop was cancelled very short time in July 1930.

After starting the above centre, the report continues—

"The Bahadural Spinning Circle was started on 1st November, 1927 with 9 weavers and 100 spinners, it is now employing 40 at the end of June 1931, 25 weavers and 1,508 spinners. The activities have spread over the three taluqs of Mangalore, Gadag, and Channarayana. The rapid increase of work given has led to how deep the industry has taken root under favourable conditions. Every parcel of cotton received is grown locally. The spinning wheel, instead of being confined to its old use, has now been used as an instrument of daily work in the homes of the agriculturists. One who was the otherwise had customers which the centre gives would have an experience due to the sudden change in the cotton market, it must be admitted that the spinning wheel has played a most important part in giving the poor agriculturists a ready relief. More spinners have taken to the spinning, and more

of the cotton grown to sell in being converted locally. The weavers of the villages are the poorest of weavers. To think of the weaver's plight at present is more than what they were absolutely dependent on foreign yarn — it is more pitiful. The introduction of the spinning industry has effected means of continuous occupation to the Indian weaver. The development of the industry, for which there was little skill left, is leading to become more and more automatic. Every week we see better men, new groups of weaver women. They tend to spinning because they were fairly in need of additional money of those years past and also because they definitely came to know through their neighbours that handspun yarn is a valuable product.

"Presently, the industry has tended to become more and more self-supporting as it is being managed at Bahadural. Taking the figures for the second half year of the period, the average receipts have actually covered the expenditure incurred is full. The time will not be far when agencies other than those managed by Government will step into the case for Khadi production, encouraged by the successful example of the Bahadural Spinning Circle. The first among such agencies has already entered the field at Tharar under the name of Tharar Khadi Association managed by Sri Tagarar Narasimhaiah Rao. Probably several more will come too, not at present thinking of taking up the work of Khadi production though it will take time more than before they do so.

"The Bahadural area is not the only area in the State that offers facilities for the development of the handspinning industry. Every taluk covering about 100 to 150 miles is a potential Khadi area. Further among them would be the most cotton tracts of Chitambar District. It has been clearly demonstrated that under proper supervision, the industry could be set on a good basis in a very short time in not a few days now. The department now possesses the necessary experience and also a band of trained workers for undertaking the establishment of a second centre under its direct management. Such a centre if started, in Chitambar District would be of a fairly big size and may even surpass the one of Bahadural Circle. I am of opinion that no time should be lost in extending the handspinning activities of the department to the Chitambar District. This is a good time not only the growth of cotton, but the general prosperity and improving great banking. Handspinning alone offers the many means of absorbing a permanent relief to the agricultural worker. Cause of the spinning wheel is not a sentiment, it is a reality. It is so real as the fact of the poverty of our agricultural people. The man in the city cannot even imagine rightly the value of the relation between the spinner wheel and the spinner woman, unless he will be determined to visit both of them in the village where Khadi work is being carried on. He will then realize that it is his duty to help the spread of the cause of the spinning wheel by all means at his command. The cause of the individual holds good for other public bodies as well, such as District Boards, Municipalities, and Panchayats."

another hour, and the matter of the cabinet continues?"

I am thankful for this. It enables me more fully than I have been able to explain my position.

My simplest task as non-cooperation leader was a jobbing or mitigating when that got really work. The best way to realize non-cooperation is to hold to duty. Realisation will only come. One suggestion for immediate first step—i.e., to vacate offices where there is threat of force behind observation. I know that I do not carry the Congressmen as general with me in the way in which we appear as very reliable and rational piece of work. But if we are to come to Congress through accepted means, I know that this sort of work will be accepted.

Now the Sa. Sarpanch's usual difficulty. To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to have their confidence in every department of life. Political power means capacity to enable people to have through elected representatives of various the freedom as perfect as in the most self-regulated, no representative is necessary. There is then a state of selected leader in such a state every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state therefore there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realised in life. Hence the eternal statement of Thoreau that that Government is best which governs the least.

If then I want political power it is for the sake of the reforms for which the Congress stands. Therefore when the matter is to be spent in getting that power means no more than of energy required for the reform, as freedom to be the case if the country is to engage in a dual with the Government or State, I would want liberally where the country is to be the Government and State rule all the power and I would go on with developing the reform.

If we were to analyse the activities of the Congress during the past Indian years, we would discover that the capacity of the Congress to take political power has consisted in most proportion to its ability to achieve success in the non-cooperation effort. That it is the substance of political power. Actual taking over of the Government machinery is but a shadow on substance and it could only be a shadow if it came as a gift from without, the people having made no effort to achieve it.

It is now perhaps easy to realise the work of my judgement that do trouble me by 'gained' more quickly and more certainly by Sarpanch than by political power. Legislation is absence of public opinion that often have demonstrated to be false. Legal prohibition of theft is a country in which financial savings are there would be false, Policing and the other popular agencies are therefore the end thing. If political power was a thing apart from these reforms, we would have in England India and everywhere on the basis, that we have followed the necessary means. We have everywhere emphasized the necessity of carrying on the constructive process at least the means of attaining thereby I am convinced that wherever legal prohibitions of drink, drugs and foreign cloth comes, it will come because

public opinion has demanded it. It is only the need that will it require demands of today but the future Government does not suggest. This is only partly right. Public opinion in this country is only now becoming a real force and developing the real reaction which is inevitable.

Weekly Letter With the Europeans

I have no desire to touch upon the privacy of the non-cooperation meeting at the Tavistock of the young Europeans of Bombay and Gandhi. Gandhi rightly contemplated them as their students treating all publicity as necessary and I shall say nothing about what Gandhi told them or what they asked Gandhi. But one or two aspects of publicity like this deserve to be noted. These persons, that the Union Club of Bombay has engaged are amongst the best kind of help. They are men with a view to establishing a better understanding and closer contact between the Europeans and Indians and the former take it upon themselves to create the freedom of Indian thought and action in every and discuss with them the problems occupying public attention. I say 'occupy' although I know that there is the Union Club in Calcutta which often has such discussions, but as far as I know it desired itself to attract a non-political character, and it has not yet dared to invite a leader like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Union Club has already had the honour of having Pandit Jawaharlal, Shastri and the Swami as its guests, well knowing that what they would say might be pure and useful as 'wisdom' in the ordinary sense of the term. Without wanting to claim any credit for the Congress, I say so that it is the Congress mood of non-cooperation that has made it a thing in this position, and it might have welcome improvement which it may not be possible on the present method to anticipate.

A Visit to Udrada

On his way back from Bombay Gandhi was requested to spend a day in the village of Pardi Thakra which, though politically a Marathi Village, played a large part last year in the prohibition campaign. All that a few days remained unfulfilled and what I'm sure you and I was to anticipate last year with that Gandhi had the Marathi were treated. But Udrada, the holy place of the Parsis had a special claim. The handsome activities of Sir Pender Narsoda that notwithstanding character of the past years came created a Udrada such an impression that it attracted the notice of the authorities. He went changed, who arrived after months, as a director of peace, by suggesting Prashad Phadnis and had been asked to show reasons why he should not be asked to furnish security. The case is not perfect and Gandhi and the Marathi had nothing to say as regards its merits. But certainly it was open to the Parsis to send a man at least but more by doing everything in their power to see that a great harvest of their own community had up in justice, as the simplicity of a few people of their own community, made to police authorities who too belonged to the same community on a subject of which the Marathas also belonged to the same community.

For the most Godfrey and the Bandy assigned to the Panch to rid themselves of the Muzam which detained them from their great work. 'You are leaders of the world over but your large-hearted charity has not prepared for your enterprise; you have distinguished yourselves by the great service rendered given to the country—Dakshin Muttia, Panchavati Muttia, Dattar Muttia. Now only it needs when you are sent to the most lonely and you have distinguished yourselves by being leaders of body and spirit.' Don't say the shopkeepers should be raised if they gave up the shop. You have magnificent money and character and the kind of Panch leadership in Gujarat can easily be turned to other occupations. But you must take the courage in both your hands and wipe out the stain.'

M. D.

Young India

Kinn's Troubles in the U. P.

(By M. K. Gurus)

The reader will recall the allegations published last week against a Zamindar of a village in Deccan. This time I have more serious news involving Government officials in the villages of Zamindars and Talukdars. There are copies of two authentic confidential notices to Zamindars signed by the Deputy Commissioner of the District.

"Confidential"

D. O. 125

Deputy Commissioner's Office,
Rae-Bareilly, 12-6-31

My Dear.....

"It is proposed to prosecute certain members of the _____ police circle. I shall be obliged if you will kindly give all possible help in _____ police."

"Will you please make instructions accordingly to your agents, i. e. Munagere, Zolakar etc.?"

"Any unreasonable actions of the Congress or Kisan Sabha or Panwarian directed either against Landlords or Government, should be like wise reported to the _____ District."

"You should direct your employees to act promptly and energetically and faithfully in this matter."

Yours sincerely "

"D. O. No. 11

Deputy Commissioner's Office,
Rae-Bareilly 12-6-31

My Dear.....

"I find that the balance outstanding against you on account of Muzam's services and costs claimed including Government granted by Government is Rs. This is a very large amount, in view of the special difficulties of the year, I have already allowed you sufficient time. I shall be grateful, if you will kindly pay up at least half of this balance by the end of this month—the rest remainder as soon as possible."

"I think I have already explained to you how you can expedite your collection of muzz. I am prepared to give you all legitimate assistance. If there are any villages in your circle, where collections are at a standstill, and by reasonable means, but no account of the "mismanagement of your propagandists, you should be well advised to insist upon it and not without any delay against a few refractory landlords: a landlord who can pay an appreciable portion of his muzz, but do not, and apply for assistance before judgment. If the revenue staff needs police protection in execution of the legal process, it will be given and you can obtain the opportunity and the presence of the revenue staff and the police in the village to push up your collection."

"This statement has proved very successful in the opinion of those landlords who have followed my advice. But you will have to act promptly. It would also be advisable for you to approach collectors with personal appeal of having in your employees, who are only too ready to find fault but their loyalty."

"Please treat this letter as confidential."

Yours sincerely "

These circles clearly betray hostility towards the Congress and Kisan Sabha and invite the Talukdars in many villages against the Muzam, promising Government help to them in their recovery. We all know what such circles mean. They imply much more than the words mean. They imply hostility to the authorities to do as they choose.

And why are these circles confidential? Is there any thing for the U. P. Government or the Deputy Commissioner to be ashamed of? Or are they confidential because the circles are a vested interest to maintain? In my opinion the circles represent a class branch of the Government. These circles explain why the following extraordinary notice was served on Congress workers in that District.

"Order under Section 144, Cr. P. C."

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that in view of the present critical situation and the tension between the Landlords and tenants in this District it is not desirable that you should make any speech or statement or carry on any propaganda activity amount to it is hereby to command on members, I. S. & L. that I. S. C., District Magistrate, Rae-Bareilly order you _____, under section 144 Cr. P. C. to abstain for a period of two months from making any speech or statement or circulating any article or disseminating any leaflet or collecting subscription or doing anything in writing whatsoever in the present agitation or political situation in the District in connection with any propaganda directly or indirectly connected with the agrarian, political or labour problems."

"Given under my hand and seal of the Court this 12th Day of June, 1931."

District Magistrate,
Rae-Bareilly

At the time of writing I have information that this notice has been withdrawn. This notice would have caused complete stoppage of all Congress activities, as if the Government was at war with the Congress. It was a gross and glaring breach of the

State and for better or for worse than last year's price between the Government and the Congress. And the Provincial Government and District Officers are bound to respect it. If they do not like it, or if they think that the Congress is not playing the game, they should ask the Central Government to dissolve the National Government. I may inform the reader that even with reference to this order in accordance with the Settlement, I had advised that, as I had the opportunity of approaching the Central Government and the Working Committee had decided, we can shortly display the order. I am glad therefore that the U. P. Government have withdrawn the order. Pandit Jankmal Nayan had shown to me the withdrawal of the order of the U. P. Government to the order.

The withdrawal should be followed by the withdrawal of the confidential members and the policy they advocate. When I was in Noida Tal, I was clearly informed that the U. P. Government policy was not to take sides. They had criticised District Officers to please parties equally between the Congress and the Union. But this policy has suddenly been reversed, as will appear from the following confidential summary of a report before me.

"There has come about, all of a sudden a change for the worse in the attitude of Ben-Bach. During the time of Union the Government has attacked the Congress organisation. Its provincial workers have been gagged under Section 144 of P. O. The imposition of this order was to make out something that a worker of the Union became worse than worker for any work of Union that Ben-Bach required today. The president, secretary of the District Congress Committee, chief officers of the Union, the active members of the District Congress Committee are all victims of Section 144 of Ben-Bach. Such is the policy of gagging the Congress organisation during the time of Union is very much resented by the people. Taking notices and other personal inducements directed at immediate violation of the order. We have, however, respected the Union Union, although we feel that it is long to see being severely deprived of our privilege of service to the freedom of such a national movement as the national history of the district.

"This change has been clearly marked since the last week of June when the Deputy Commissioner of the district came back after an interview with Mr. Mahadev Shetty. The attitude of sympathy which the district authorities showed towards the country has changed since then. The sympathy and loyalty Ben-Bach is exhibiting towards us is a large scale from one end of the district to the other. The Union Union, having been removed of Government support, have begun their old barbarous methods of making new illegal coercive methods are being freely used. To some only a recent case, they before yesterday a house had been attacked in the Civil Hospital Ben-Bach who has lost his eye and broken his nasal bone on the result of an organised attack by the Union party on the village for

violence. A pregnant woman was beaten, the other day all the women organisations. The case is before the Court. There is generally a feeling amongst the Union, that that of breaking the head or bone, they can, with impunity, but the women in my school, and the Government will answer it. The Union of — type who were very much before are before today. They give regular rights with a share of their school, but in villages for making new. They show, how and involve the Union. The position of making "Maga", making the most used in the use of the village, giving a thorough show before in the presence of the whole village are very common, not very frequent and are creating serious distrust amongst the Union. It is also a common practice, with Union of this type, to seize the property of a Union and to credit it to the Union without any reference to any kind of law. We know of many cases where belonging to a Union has been given possession of and awarded to the Union's members by force, and have been severely dealt with, sometimes in the presence of the Union, and the children before is being passed, at last by the Union.

"The Government have promised the Union to show their attachment of property before judgment. The Union is accompanied by a number of persons who are supposed to help the Union in the creation of a Union of members, but generally they are used to harass the Union. In Ben-Bach district, you will find several hundred such cases in each division.

"The Government have also promised the Union that if they are in villages Congress workers under Section 144 of any other section. The Ben-Bach have been definitely told that if they do not show good evidence, any other section will cover the purpose under the present paragraph. A large number of such cases have therefore been notified that and a large number will be filed soon. In a Union's case, therefore, we will find the Congress organisation completely broken down at the hands of Ben-Bach, for change are becoming common."

I have written some painful details of this painful story of a broken past.

To complete the picture I may mention that I have seen copies of numerous secret letters by the Union to the Union, warning them that they will soon be liable to prosecution if they had dealings with particular Congressmen.

And all this after the demand of the Deputy Commissioner from Noida Tal, which he had been supposed to see M. K. the Governor. I hope that there is no cooperation between the Union towards which the Union, various projects and the Union, that. In that case it may, then should be no Union on the part of Congressmen, there should be no Union of orders, all the Working Committee has considered the situation. It seems to me the Union and will consider the extraordinary situation that is developing in several provinces.

Do They Enjoy Privileges?

(Specialty considered)

II

Shipping

The case of shipbuilding and shipping industries is analogous. The employment of Indian-built and Indian-owned ships in the trade between England and India was prohibited in favour of the shipping of British shipbuilders, shipwrights and seamen. On the other hand, British shipping enterprises were awarded in the initial stage through Government subsidy, as is clear from Marianne's Life of Sir David Pears. Recently, such subsidies are given by the Government to British shipping companies, foreign going subsidised and abroad which is in violation of Government promise. In 1936, the Government renewed the mail contract with the T. I. S. N. Company for an annual subsidy of Rs. 15,000 for 10 years. They also pay subsidy to the Indian Tinsley Line, carrying between London and India for earnings of goods from Mauritius to Singapore and Adelaide. The subsidy actually paid to the privately floated Tinsley Line for carriage of goods to Burma is Rs. 2 lakhs per year, and to the Anglo Company for 1,00,000 Middles, the Dutch & Co. (Government) and the Royal Government pay about Rs. 60,000 per annum to the West Coast Navigation and the India General Ocean Navigation for postal subsidies and other concessions. All these are non-Indian companies. Finally, in 1939 the contract for the carriage of mails to Burma was closed for a period of two years on terms which the Government refused to discuss, without even giving any Indian company an opportunity to submit their tender despite per-emptory invitation to the contrary. Moreover, British shipping companies were, and still are, exempted from the Indian Income Tax, and the subsidy was renewed only after the question was raised at the Assembly in 1932.

In British shipping companies, Indians are never employed in higher grades of work, either as officers or as chief clerks, engineers or wireless operators. The only employment open to them is that as labour or clerks or officers. Sir John Hall, chairman, of the evidence before the Indian Maritime Mercantile Commission, due to the whole fleet (consisting of about 125 steamers and 5 motor vessels) of the company with which he was connected, there were only one or two Parsi engineers, while there was not a single Indian deckhand, and no effort was made to provide training for Indians on the sailing line. Representatives of British shipping are also opposed to the establishment of a seafaring. After the establishment of the Duffin, a conference of shipowners taking place, India was held in London at the instance of the Shipping Federation in 1912 when it was recognised that it was unfair to British Dock Officers to have a meeting ship in India which should look to Indian shipping companies only and not to British shipping companies for employment. This clearly shows what status Indian employees have held and are likely to hold in British commercial and industrial firms unless the strengthening measures are in Indian hands.

In these shipping matters, there is a foreign proposal, foreign management, there are positions

and wages are affected almost entirely by foreign countries with scarce resources in other fields. It is a general doubt that a very large proportion of the money earned by British shipping companies, ship yards, etc. goes out from one of India and if the total earnings of British shipping are estimated to be about 10 crores of rupees annually, nearly 7 to 8 crores contribute a regular annual drain.

As regards inland navigation companies also, they enjoy a number of privileges owing to their initial relations with the Railway Board, the control of the rate making and Agency of non-Indian companies. The non-Indian inland navigation companies have private agreements with other traders for through traffic producing similar agreements with others, that is, Indian companies. It was stated before the Indian Maritime Mercantile Commission that the European inland navigation companies make an agreement with the rate making contractors that from navigating joint interest on vessels owned and managed by Indians and, subsequently, the European companies would not have goods carried on Indian vessels of the same type as goods carried on the vessels owned by European companies.

European navigation companies working in India seem to follow a policy whereby non-Indian is character. Ships with flags of the U. S. A. Canadian and engaged companies of Indian ownership as free-trade ships by agents in London have been granted exemption by the customs made in India solely on the ground of their Indian ownership.

Lastly, European ships for use in India are not allowed to be converted to India as ships when their British owners the express permission of the Secretary of India.

Railways

Of the extent of racial discrimination in the Railway service, both in regard to higher and subordinate posts, little need be said here. On some of the lines, the percentage of posts the latter held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians comes to about 81, while 19 is a general average. There are a number of posts which do not figure in the list of subordinate establishments published by the railways, and here upon appointments are governed by the principle of racial discrimination. For example, on some of the lines, there are two grades of posts and it is only Europeans or Anglo-Indians who are in a class appointed to grade 1. There is inequality not only of regard in the social and economic relations between the two grades, but also in regard to the scales of allowances applicable to them. Despite assurances to the contrary, the Railway Department is apparently not so intent collectors, fares, traffic, expansion, etc., is still guided by its traditional policy of discrimination against Indians.

In the case of some of the technical services, the recruitment does not take place on an entirely competitive basis, and in the case of European and Anglo-Indian candidates, a certain amount of reservation exists in.

Even in the purchase of material and, moreover, are made. European firms are preferred for Indians and Anglo-Indians, and while the senior officer stands in European and Anglo-Indians, the

school money amounts to nothing. It is regret to express, how have been cases in which money have refused to attend Indian primary. An explicit promise for money was made, but as nothing has been done for Indian.

There is the same discrimination in other respects, and whether it is a question of providing accommodations or of looking after needed and necessary, European and Anglo-Indian employees or passengers are given a preferred treatment at the cost of the Indian. "Where there is no work," said an superior member of the Assembly once, "this rule discrimination."

Will be [Mr. Anand Mahajan] agree with me in a place called Lucknow on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway? I will point him out racial discrimination with a vengeance. There is a Railway Institute here constructed out of railway money. There is a billiard table provided and two or three tennis courts.

There are railway quarters about 10 or 12 number, well well built, beautiful beds perfect which houses of modest means might envy in their dwellings not having, with one flower growing in them. Who occupies them? Not one Indian. There is a pretty little school no study wanted in such institutions, say. What occupies it? European children. There is a co-operative society where sweeping articles are displayed on the counters. . . . Who manages it? European members of the railway staff. And yet we are told that there is no racial discrimination."

Reference may also be made in this connection to the privilege of large covering establishments and permanent ones for the convenience of European passengers.

In spite of the large number of Indian employees, there is a very great disparity between the treatment exact by the Railways on European and Indian employees. It has been computed that while the expenditure on European primary schools is Rs. 17 per pupil, that in Indian schools is only about Rs. 9 per pupil. In the middle schools the corresponding figures are 12 and 14 and in the case of high schools 55 and 11. Figures were quoted in the Assembly sometime ago which showed that the East Indian Railway was spending about Rs. 1,10,000 on the education of European and Anglo-Indian children as against Rs. 15,000 spent on the education of Indian children. The highest paid guru by it is an Indian high school was Rs. 4,500 and 12 small high schools together received only Rs. 14,700. On the other hand, it was contributing about Rs. 1,24,000 to meet the deficit in the budget of one institution, the Chingapore Boarding School at Madras, meant for European and Anglo-Indian children.

So, far as the Indian community is concerned, it is made to suffer in many ways than one by the discrimination policy of the railways, and though much has been said and written on the subject, its grievances are still un-redressed, especially in regard to the provision of wages and salaries. The following extract from the minutes of evidence tendered before the Indian Railway Committee will illustrate the nature of the Indian complaint.

"We [Mr. J. N. Ghosh, representing the Indian Mining Federation] said in his witness

statement a most recent case of the Durgam Cheruvu Colliery which he originally purchased for Rs. 41,800. It was not until a European Mining Engineer offered to manage to get the colliery on condition of one-third of the property being sold to him for the nominal sum of Rs. 10,000 that railway ruling and leading arrangements could be secured."

"Summing up the Mining Federation's complaint with regard to wages distribution, the Chairman said, he understood it to be that wages are not divided fairly between Indian and European-owned collieries. The important accounts generally go to the large collieries which are usually in the hands of Europeans."

In some recent times, the Indian Workers' Association of Calcutta tried to protest against the practice of giving special preference to European Indians in the matter of wages supply at Koldihogga. Theirs for the despatch of materials when they could spend special resources in which wages had been so supplied without any regard to colour.

Railway freight in India have been so framed as to leave the export and import trade in the hands of white trade. They encourage traffic to and from ports linked with internal traffic. The charges, generally operate to the disadvantage of the Indian industries, especially the cottage industries. Indian protection is often given to European firms by so charging their goods as to give them the benefit of lower rates. Mr. Mahadeo Dargi gave an instance in the Assembly in which a European company, was being charged a special rate for sugar. "That is a special rate," he said, "charged from and to here for sugar. May I enquire why this distinction is made? On the East Indian Railway now, any person who wants to book his sugar from Kurrum is not charged the same rate as Cane & Co. have to pay. I do not understand why, a distinction is made in the case of a common item. The only answer that can be given is that in one case it happens to be an English firm and in the other case the very poor people. It might be said that Cane & Co. are a very big firm and manufacture very large quantities of sugar and therefore special rates are given to them. May I enquire why the same rates are not given to other firms which also are agricultural factories?" He showed that while the rates for sulphate of ammonia had been reduced, those for sulphur acid, which it used for manufacturing the forest, had been put up. The reason, according to him, was that sulphate of ammonia had recently been introduced into the country by a British firm.

Reference to the Indian Sugar Department has not been made compulsory for the Railways who have their own Commissions of Enquiry. There are generally Europeans and, not infrequently give preferential treatment to the matter of the provision of stores for the Railways. The magnitude of the harm done in this respect to indigenous interests will be apparent from the fact that the stores in the biggest consumer of goods in the country and specially spends money in purchase requirements for the Army, the Railways the Post Office etc.

Is It Crumbling?



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Weekly Letter

There is nothing special to report this week, excepting that purely local difficulties, which if the spirit of the Truth was unambiguously kept would solve themselves, are absorbing the last part of Gandhi's time and energy, and he has had to be forced at several occasions to deal with intervening local affairs.

With Rajendrabhai at Bar

But it is not Gandhi alone who has his difficulties about the Gandhians. Other persons here also do. One can have a list also of them in the D. P. and South India from the articles appearing in Young India. Since last time too, and it is so through matters personally with Gandhi that Bhai Rajendrabhai passed some time over to Bar and has been spending some time with us. His last speech has again been on visiting the villages of the taluka and through an honest confession was unappreciated here—he has been addressing messages for the sake of coming back to see some thing to the villages, if only to sympathise or cheer them up. Essentially a man of peace, calm and humble as a bull, he suffers the jealousy of another "one" and has had to write letters to express his disappointment over the implementation of the Truth by Government. But in a hall of the spirit of the weekly party to "face the square with a cheer" that is what he had to the villages of Bar.

I sympathise you in all that you went through last year—the trials and tribulations and you know, except you have been and destroyed before your eyes, belongings and belongings you suffered. But I should not expect you of you. you have had the privilege of listening to the Father and Mother-in-law frequently done, but had twelve years, you are to see from now you are here there where wherever you need. We had the privilege of conversation with Gandhi 14 years ago and since then have had only negative glimpses of him. But we had witnessed his teaching which stood as in a good stead last year. One "one" who was put in the lowest lot, there was doing in about a dozen places, some twenty one last year, hundred, hundred and thirty three. One woman had not the privilege of little more in some of your women have but, but the youngsters had perhaps to go through greater suffering. Halfway of the road to reach such has to take possession of a crop-declared village. They were not only beaten, they used to be given a beating or the women took a cycle pump was worked over the ear of a young man, and then destroyed the temple, beyond repair.

You had no positive police. We had the benefit of it. A police party invaded and looted a village, looted everything in the houses and some their way, including even self-protection, and committed violence there. In one village the destruction was so thorough that there was not a whole ripe left to other drinking water from the well, and children had to be released from the house. I am just however recovering these things to make compensation, or better, at to make no settlement. I wanted then to show that God never puts us in a position heavy to bear. Why, could have Gandhi then himself would stand all that he did during the campaign? Who could have predicted two years ago that Bar would go through the agonies, some of which I have mentioned, and an agon would not be broken? It was God's infinite mercy. God forbid that we should have to go through the same agonies once again, but if we have, God willing we would not be found weaker."

The Bloods of 'Hind'

The light impression that these villages, except to last year but had been without an hour, and the which village had, has made the road of it. Life was not a miserable thing, thanks to the sacred policy of setting the Hindus against the Muslims. The "Hind" policy and has been being destroyed and acts of arson are also taking place, in which apparently the Hindus should be held responsible. But the Hindus are making every effort to make the best of their situation. They look to the what is right except during the light and over they would not give by what has proved to be a more important. I have spoken of the agonising activity by the last few months and they are most are dying and should serve as an example to all villages.

250 members of cotton purchased

70 members and 7 for cotton ground and cotton.

42 members and 100 for the year.

10 members and 100 for the year.

100 members working regularly.

100 members

100 members

100 members

100 members

100 members

100 members

100 members

100 members

100 members

If all villages having a population of 2,000 are here and last amount of work, they would be self-sufficient in no time.

M. D.

Do They Enjoy Privileges?

(Specially considered)

II

Coal

Disturbance is needed in classified coal, as will be apparent from the following evidence of the Ghosh before the Railways Committee:

"While reference to the suggestion that the first class coal is mostly in the hands of European firms, Mr. Ghosh urged that the classification of coal appeared to depend on whether the ownership of the colliery was European or Indian. He maintained that the same coal which is the possession of a European firm is treated as first class as described in several cases if possessed by an Indian. He mentioned, for example, a colliery at Chingfeng, near Hojow, which now belongs to Wilson, Ltd., but formerly belonged to Kiang Suen Chingfeng. It had changed hands between various Indian proprietors, and so long as the property remained in Indian hands Mr. Ghosh said nobody took the coal, but it was now accepted by the Mining Engineer as *Indian* Coal."

The Railways in the days when they had no facilities of their own, when purchased coal from Indian collieries on the plea that it was of an inferior kind. Now they purchase their own coal and which is it as they regard as Indian or not coal.

The Civil Secretary Office on the River Board of Haidra is evidently a European even though properly qualified Indians are available, simply because European collieries would not take in coal as Indian as the port.

The Ministry of regional prospecting in India is full of instances of preferential treatment accorded to European contractors. There is comparatively little in which an Indian made a geological survey of a certain area and submitted a report to the Government and in the meantime all the best finds were given away to European companies.

The best Government Khari land containing mica in Chota Nagpur are leased to Europeans who have added value to Indian land.

When Europeans, even with all the experience which the State would give them, find it difficult to compete with Indians on equal terms, they bring pressure to bear on the Government to pass some measure which will handicap their competitors. An example is given in the Memo. But forced through the Bihar Council in the teeth of popular opposition.

Plantations

The history of rubber plantations in Bengal and Bihar is sufficiently well-known. In Bengal the experiment of the planters continued for about half a century and since in one and only after the Indigo Disturbance of 1859. The first James Long was forced and encouraged by the High Court of Calcutta to consider how English a Bengali could organize the highlandness of the European planter. In Bihar, rubber plantations consisted of a small bare plain, and nobody is better acquainted with an unworked cane Garden, through whose confusion exhausted relief was brought to the treasury of Champaran about a decade and a half ago.

At present the most important plantation crop in which Europeans are interested is tea. The assistance given to the planters in the early stages of the industry will be apparent from the following conditions put to and accepted given by Mr. J. P. Farnham, who appeared before the Select Committee on Colonization of India (1917):

"1912. Am you not aware that both in Assam and Kachin the Government subsidised the plantations for the express purpose of trying experiments, for the sake of the natives, and with the avowed object of handing over their plantations to the natives, as soon as the experiment had been shown to be successful, and as soon as natives could be found willing to take them?—That is what I refer to. That at the first meeting of the selection of tea the Government took the natives and encouraged it, and went to some expense in taking the necessary steps towards it. Then some Europeans took it up on a larger scale, and that attempt was not successful but somewhere about 14 years ago, in consequence of the new arrangement, when the Government gave them some favourable terms about the land that they were to concede to them, from that time the present competition."

"1911. Did not the Government in fact bear the whole of the expense of the experiment, and hand over, both in Assam and Kachin, their plantations to the natives on very liberal terms?—That I am unacquainted with. I will not say that it was so or that it was not so."

"1914. Did you the Government and Mr. Farnham and others before him after China to get out and to get tea-planters, Chinese and otherwise, to induce them to go to the Chinese system of culture, for the express purpose and with object of transferring the culture to India?—I do not know for certain whether that experiment was made by the Government. I believe it was so, but I know that Chinese were brought to the tea business. It was hoped through them that the culture in India would go on brought into the collection of tea, but I failed, so far."

During these the upholders of the cost of the Indian experiment, the Government made a gift of the industry, as it were, to tea of a tea estate and gave them subordinated assistance with measures which virtually made short of those who were to work on the plantations, specially in Assam. The labourer was lured by a small amount to serve for a specified period. If he failed, or if he died, or if he died elsewhere, he could be purchased elsewhere. And, the planter had even the right of sweeping him. The labourer provided for many years in the mountain area, and the continuance of work on the tea-estate plantations, while under no restriction for all. Many and various laws have been enacted by British and non-British to restrict to labour only to find themselves ethical slaves, confined to areas in which the public have no right of access and deprived of all freedom of movement of movement.

No statistics are available of the double loss "miserable system" on the tea garden, but the tea estate that have got publicly through the estate involves a gain commensurate on the methods pursued on these plantations by most European Managers or proprietors in dealing with labour.

Trade

As everywhere else racial discrimination is less than practised in a variety of ways. To give some instances things are so arranged that the material advantages by way of knowledge, language, etc., accrue mainly to Europeans. Discrimination is made in buying and selling due to which some Indian firms are compelled to sell in the name of Europeans to obtain a fair price. The mills, every place that contends with Indian firms. They have further made it a rule to purchase their raw material, coal, and so on from European dealers, even though they may have to pay higher prices. A recent instance is given in this reference in the practice of purchasing rubber from a European company in spite of the fact that they could get cheaper from Indian manufacturers. Until recent times, some of the mills and exporters of sugar products refused payment by cheques from Indians.

There is an absence of definite standards of quality of jobs and the Indians are always at a loss to know what they are expected to make against their standards. These standards are, from time to time, as stipulated as in that European standards. The Government has been asked to pass a measure similar to the United States Cotton Standards Act, but so far it has done nothing.

We shall give you some instances—see that is common to other European countries where all the high posts in the mills are held by Europeans.

So much for the mills. A recent instance of official discrimination was the refusal of Government to issue to any State licence to help the illegal agricultural area where jobs have been so low, except because such jobs would not have been in the interest of the mills. This instance, with Government action elsewhere in giving some protection to cotton and wheat. There are other forms of discrimination too. The Royal National Chamber of Commerce recently turned its protest against official boycotts of the jobs and which are usually influenced by the national opinion or advice of the European public companies.

Banking

In the field of Banking also the European has benefited from the fact of his belonging to the ruling race. The institution of banking was foreign banking, first and established and flourishing in India long before the advent of the British in the country. But in the course of the East India Company grew, most of the foreign and Indian trade of the country passed into the hands of the servants of the Company. This naturally helped the indigenous banks along with the indigenous trade, and enabled the foreign banks to take an unhindered foothold in the country and prevent independence by native competition. Not only did the foreign banks grow upon the suffered ruin of an indigenous coverage but it also became a serious impediment to the growth of native trade and industry. It impeded from the beginning the policy of giving money advances to Indian enterprise—a policy which has been continued to the present time. We shall only give a few instances.

Let's begin with the evidence before the Imperial Commission and that there was "a conspiracy set up with the determined object of destroying the

banking of the English, in which various and complicated means, and made every possible effort and took every possible measure to destroy banking which would have really done enormous good to the province and to the people." In the course of the same evidence he said again:

"I also know that an application was made by a European to an Anglo-Indian bank for loan and he was first asked to state that they have would not lend any Indian in any form or shape in any Indian bank in any form or shape and he was told that if he secured them of that the loan would be granted, otherwise not."

These questions tell us of the state of affairs, in that were more than a decade ago. The situation has not changed since then. Important evidence was tendered before the Central Banking Enquiry Commission which was to show that the former Exchange Board discriminate against national businessmen in every way that was. There were many specific and definite complaints made against the Exchange Board by Indian merchants appearing before the Commission. Of these facts was complete evidence as to, namely, that in the matter of banking export and import trade the Exchange Board always differentiated between Indian and European firms. Almost every commercial body that gave evidence before the Commission made this charge against the Board.

There were other charges too. For instance, it was said that in matters in connection with the Exchange Board there was a large measure of the Exchange Board often gave different treatment as compared with reference given about European firms of even lower standing. This would naturally give an unequal advantage to foreign merchants in competing European firms. Again, Indian merchants applied for loans as asked by these banks to reduce their balance sheets reduced by only three million of which the bank approved. Furthermore, the Indian banks always looked upon the Indian merchant's company with suspicion from the capital and interest which they finance.

In spite of all the Exchange Board have been allowed to promote a monopoly over the type of business they do. The Imperial Bank is deferred from competing on Exchange business as it will be competing on the general field by European banks, while it is allowed to compete with Indian Joint Stock Banks, although it is a "European" bank and carries nearly with money deposited by the State and other public bodies.

The increasing policy of the Government, combined with the assistance given to the Imperial Bank in opening its branches throughout the country has naturally done a death blow to indigenous banking as carried on by the people.

Contract Work

In contracting work, there is the same discriminating treatment. To give only one instance, the contract for labour supply to the C. I. Railway, the S. W. Railway, the Odisha of Customs (i. e., for Salt Cellar) and the Port Commissioners, Calcutta is with one single non-Indian Company, Messrs. Hind and Co. In the case of Port Commissioners Messrs. Hind and Co. are paid annually according to the rates of 15 to 20 lakhs for their contract work and this contract

extends over a period of 45 years and actually constitutes a monopoly, as the contract is not for a definite period and no tender was invited.

Miscellaneous

The Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation closed its accounts for 1930-31 to reveal that the control of the Company shall remain in the hands of British subjects, and this proposition was passed upon them by the Government of Bengal.

Losses for the supply of electricity in important towns are generally given in European terms while in one instance the company has used to be a valued European monopoly.

There has been a remarkable realisation on the part of the Government to order supplies for the great of petroleum and even to provide it in case of isolation which are largely in European hands.

Young India

Is It Crumbling?

(By M. K. Gurus)

Comments are poured in from many parts that the local officials are breaking the Salt Tax in some and that it almost leads to if the Government was at war with the Congress and therefore every Congress man should wear a cap. From the day I shall give of the events about to be described the reader will see that for long I suppressed publications in the hope that the news brought in my native was indeed evidence and that the conclusions would reveal total on application to their respective Provincial Governments. My hope however was disappointed.

In Subanspur, U. P.

The Secretary, Local Congress Committee writes:

"It is a well known fact that the tenants of the province are not able to pay even half of their rents, but on this demand the managers of the Court of Wards Estates, the talukdars and other petty zamindars are trying to raise full rents from them under various and oppressive measures. The manager of the Court of Wards Estates has taken the initiative to prosecute the tenants of some villages in several groups under sec. 127 Cr. P. C. and the talukdars have followed suit, and in this way about twenty persons have been prosecuted under the section. In the case of the Talukdar of Miran, Miranpur on Road Frontal and others pending before S. D.-O. Muradkhan, the poor tenants were ready to pay their rents, but it was not considered sufficient for their drainage and they were asked to contribute from the talukdar and receive the talukdar's dues which they had to pay to their villages. On their refusal to do so they were taken as cowards and sent to jail. On the 15th June 1931 on the ground that they were dangerous persons to the society in the sense that they were likely to commit a breach of the peace and to disturb the public tranquillity and unless they must furnish security for their appearance on further hearings or pay a fine, as there were several hearings in the case and nothing

had happened in the meantime, the tenants and their legal advisers were not ready for such proceedings and the poor people are now sitting in the jail.

"Such is the state in which Ghazipur has been being observed by the officers of the Government. Section 244 Cr. P. C. is also being freely used. All the prominent persons of the District Congress Committee including Swami Narayandev, President, Pandit Bhandal and Ramdas Lal Yadav, Shri Pandey and P. T. Sanyal Shastri, Swamiji have been called upon to make others. The following Deputy Commissioners of this place is trying to keep the Congress workers back before the second United India Conference starts in Lucknow."

In Mathura, U. P.

The Secretary, Local Congress Committee writes:

"A public meeting under the sponsorship of Sir Keshav Singh of the 'Tij' was held on the night of 19th June at Mathura. All of a sudden a Sub-inspector of police with a few constables, the village darohadar and a few others arrived on the scene and proceeded fearfully to disperse the meeting. Shri Jagannath, the President of the United Congress Constitutional Body, (Allahabad) who was delivering his speech at the time was treated to abuse and each of the audience was ordered to disperse in spite of the threat and show of force on the part of the police. Some either physically dragged away from the meeting or pushed away from it. When upon of the persons asked the Sub-inspector of police to prevent the exit of individuals on the part of the police he then said a temple and began to abuse them and himself and the police to beat people. Shri Ghanshi of Mathura, treated as a leader of both Hindus and got a wound on his head. I took drug and I legal. He also received numerous little blows on various parts of his body like face, back, waist, buttocks etc. Not satisfied with this the police also assaulted his son, Shri. Indramoni, Pandit Jagannath, the Chairman of the United Congress Committee, Shri and Shri. Naray Singh and Dandach, Congress workers of Mathura."

In the face of these allegations and a press message from Lucknow that nearly 100 persons have been taken place, the news that the constitutional activities referred to in these columns last week have been withdrawn does not surprise ourselves. The withdrawal is a mere technical meeting of a dissolved branch. It is not followed by a corresponding improvement will result in a cessation of prosecutions. In the U. P. there was constant friction between the Government and the Congress through Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. They could not complain that he was unwilling to assist in that the Congress had ceased to exercise authority over its members. In no case could the terrible dispersal of a meeting be passed on these terms of peace. On both days when I was passing through Mathura the local people told me of a police and an Agent, a village law under from Mathura. I had advised these people to help Congress with the highest authority. So far as I can recall they got no relief. I purposely suppressed the news of the details of which I was in full possession.

In the Punjab

I cite the following from the letter dated 26th June from the Secretary, District Congress Committee, Ludhiana:

"The attitude of the Local authorities is antagonistic. The violent propaganda in Tarn Taran have been charged with failure on more than one occasion. Just opposite the British Police Station is the office of Anand, the Police Inspector and obvious attempts against the Congress leaders and members have a local doctor. No step has been taken to remove positive points at Nankhah, Parnah, etc., which were set up in the beginning of the Civil Disobedience movement. To add, Sardar Dardash Singh, President District Congress Committee Anand, Sardar Akbar Singh, General Secretary Congress Committee, Tarn Taran, Sardar Gopal Singh Ganga, the latter a well-known Congress worker and several other workers have been arrested under Sec. 108 Cr. P. C. It is hoped that many more Congress workers will be arrested shortly. I am sending you this report so that you may be so kind as to make an order there commensurate and take necessary action in the matter."

From the letter of Lala Dhanraj Lal of Anand dated 26th June, I cite the following paragraph:

"Political meetings are not allowed to be held at Anand's Government where the recent Civil Disobedience movement has been fairly strong. I have seen the Deputy Commissioner, Anand District and he has told me that though he was not opposed to the holding of political meetings in Anand's Government, the Punjab Government will not allow any political meetings in Anand's Government or for the matter of that in any other Government and that orders have been issued to that effect. What are we to do? I have communicated the matter to the Home Secretary, Punjab Government and asked for a reply."

"The Government has not published any official version about Ludhiana meetings but has made any records for the past, wrong done to the peaceful citizens of Ludhiana. On the other hand, about half a dozen responsible people are being arbitrarily prosecuted. This is one of the many instances to nullify the spirit of truth for creating the Congress movement in the Punjab. A step like this in the matter is absolutely necessary. There is no recognition of truth, such has chance of being on the part of the Punjab Government."

"I have been particularly asked by Sardar Sardul Singh to write or put about the maintenance and continuance of your five police post at Nankhah Parnah in Anand District. I have no doubt that the maintenance of the previous police post is an act of vindictiveness and a clear breach of the spirit of the Truth. In my statement sent to the Home Secretary, I have dealt with it in para 4, which I have enclosed as well as the message for your reference. I believe the facts stated therein to be correct."

"The Ludhiana message referred to in the question has had to have taken place on 18th May last. On receipt of a telegram from Ludhiana, it

was well considered by a personal visit by the Congress Secretary at Ludhiana. I asked Lala Dardash to explain into the allegations. He kindly and promptly went to Ludhiana and reported. This was followed by more delegates enquiry initiated by the District Association of Ludhiana. The Secretary of the Association has kindly sent me a copy of his report. Both the reports were approved by me from the members of Young India for common circulation. With regard to finding that a peaceful protest held by an absolutely innocent person was wantonly broken up in the presence of the City Magistrate, the Minister, Parnah positive action is a member branch of the Party, if authorities are satisfied by Lala Dardash in his letter to the Punjab Government which I have sent. In no case will the exposure of the police be removed from the people unless it could be clearly proved that the police was ordered for reasons wholly unconnected with Civil Disobedience."

From Ludhiana comes the complaint that peaceful Congressmen are being arrested without any cause that the Congress authorities are doing. The action does leave Lala Dardash of Ludhiana personally. He is a well-known citizen of the place and President of the Local Congress Committee. They do not seem to have troubled to bring to his attention the conduct of members of the offending Congressmen."

In Bengal

From the Centre Congress Committee was received the following was about 26th June last:

"Centre Government officials including Trade Union, arrested local Congress workers engaged in peaceful counter-force work. Local Government showed its attitude of Congress intolerance. Trying to destroy it by these arrests. Violence has been used. May your intervention. Later follow."

From the letter referred to in the foregoing I cite the following interesting paragraph:

"It will not be wrong here to give a short account of our work about the Truth has been signed. The success of the Sat-Satyaagraha movement in Centre has created a widespread Congress mentality at the mind of people. Taking advantage of this fact we had up here in creating a network of Congress organisations in the subdivisions by establishing Trade Committees and Branch Committees. We have already formed 500 members and hope to add 15,000 by the end of the current year. We are working mainly on the following lines:

- "1. Educating Congress members.
- "2. Arbitration of civil and petty criminal cases. After your advice in Young India on arbitrations, we have decided to follow your direction."
- "3. Khadi Propaganda—(a) propaganda, the self-propaganda (b) native distribution (c) native and distribution.
- "4. Temperance work. By picketing."
- "5. Foreign Cloth Boycott—by taking written promises not to deal in foreign cloth and more from the dealers concerned. No picketing."
- "6. Establishing national schools and path schools throughout the subdivisions."
- "7. Teaching women English for national propaganda work."

"The atmosphere is as peaceful as it should be. Owing to the demand raised by Congress, the local people are settling their cases by Congress arbitration. We charge a small fee of Rs. 1-4 per case to meet necessary expenses. Most parties are inclined to arbitrate willingly to settle their cases by Congress arbitration. This has been so successful that the local courts business simply ceases to rise. The local officials were alarmed at this. Consequently these arrests happened. During the last two years, we did not think of work troubling you for them, but as we are getting reports from our branch committees that the police are making similar captures everywhere and as one of our leaders has been once arrested on the Vich law, we are led to believe that there is a definite policy behind all this."

I want further to say nothing about Depant. I was very near the point to want to say anything just now. But the fact that the Kharis is locked to Bhadohi and I to Farid has a bearing. But I want take the public into confidence about what is going on in some parts of the Bombay Presidency about Depant.

Let the following lines a letter from Vengalis [Rangaraj Desai] tell us own tale.

"After the September two liquor shops were opened one at the town proper and other at the village. Naturally we began picketing. As a consequence the owners of both the shops began to feel the want of customers as the picketers are carrying on their work strictly according to your instructions. They cannot complete against the picketers. But they are very watchful and maintain a fine house or in their neighbourhood and manage to call their share. Hence there is no food there. They were whenever they like and do even in the same way. Again they stay in their shops by night. Thus gradually the shops are opened day and night. Thus day and night to prevent selling places by day and night. We wrote to the local authority but it was useless."

With the same is going on in Ahmedabad where there were two liquor shops. My cabinet told me that this liquor sales are illegal and should be suppressed by the Government as being in breach of the Prohibition Act. If however they are allowed to be legal it is as good as the wine and a double benefit.

The Government is enough for this matter. I have other complaints and from other parts of province. I must deal with them in a future issue.

The prominent Congressmen who read the catalogue of conditions may well ask "how long has it been so well and how this?" My answer is the same as last week "You must wait as long as the Working Committee thinks it necessary." Two things will not make me right. If some local Government are going wrong at their own be and to be, there is no remedy for the Congress to do otherwise. We must continue to fill our part of the Agreement. If it must break, let it break except at the whole of the Congress stand in the contrary. The greater the pressure—another word for self-sufficiency the greater will be our strength.

A Countryman's Advice

(By M. K. Gokhale)

Many American friends write to me on the American and which aspect has pleased me most. These Americans who are in close touch with us have recently demanded we have it. Others, also friendly, have with equal earnestness asked me to do. Now comes an extremely well considered appeal from a countryman residing in America. It deals with three matters of importance. But I must let the letters speak for itself of which the relevant portion is given below:

"I venture to make an humble suggestion and that is to request you to give us your idea of visiting the United States of America."

"This suggestion is based only upon my personal ideas on the subject and it is just what I think about it, and of course I do not expect you to attach any great importance to it."

"However, I will venture to put in a couple of reasons as to why I think your visit to the United States will serve an useful purpose where our national affairs are concerned."

"The cause is a very parallel cause; it is being opposed by the Americans as a rule and is systematically refused, and the fact is there is less sympathy for it, that they are hardly on anything as terms other than dollars and cents."

"Of course this is a broad statement to make and I fully realize that there are exceptions here and there. But all the same during our commercial relations since 1850 and prolonged wars of more than a year or a three, and my friend as well as my own contacts with quite a lot of Americans, I have come to the definite conclusion that Americans' sympathy for India is generally measured from strictly material side of the question."

"Your visit to this country, in my opinion, will be absolutely unadvised and if I am not mistaken the wonderful light that you have shed on some of the lagging Americans, will be lost in a way. And I am further of the opinion that your visit to America instead of eliciting greater sympathy for our national cause, may work quite the other way."

"Hardly anyone would come to this country and travel about and give a few lectures here and there without having a "business manager." That will make your visit a business one and there will be scores of millions of people who will welcome your visit and request that you come here to make money."

"Probably you are aware of the fact that such a noble soul and true philosopher like Tagore has been openly criticised in American papers and newspapers have been made that he was dangerous to the safety of the Americans and yet has the cheek to continue the so-called circulation or lack of it in this country."

"In other words I feel that not on account of anything that you may say or do, but on account of the unpopularity of an average American, you are bound to be misunderstood in the country and that your visit is likely to prove more a failure than a success."

"I do not know whether other Indians in the States have written to you on the subject. But people like Syed Hussain, Ghosh, Das Gupta, Ban. Mukherji, and scores of others who are in this country and are associated with some kind of political or socialised spiritual aspirations, come into contact with people who are more or less sympathetically inclined towards them and let sympathies and I shall not be surprised if their viewpoint on this question may be fairly different to mine. Their political and spiritual aspirations are part of their business and thus they move about in that restricted circle. But I move into contact with businessmen as a rule and mostly with people who are more or less ignorant of conditions in India, and their interest is superficial and more towards the politics of the country, and you as the champion of these political aspirations, find it is a spiritual leader of a new thought. And all kinds of mischievous capacity of the people in America belong to this class.

"My travelling about both in the States and Canada gives me the opportunity of meeting and in quite a number of cases becoming very friendly with some of the Americans and Canadian leaders. Therefore my conclusions are based upon the information that I have gathered from time to time from an average well educated American family, whose interest is casual in what is happening in India, and as I have said before, such Americans are in greater number than anti- or pro-Indian Americans.

"Your visit to London is certainly a different thing. In my humble opinion it will serve a great purpose, because if there is any action on the world who is truly appreciable and will give the deed its due, it is the English nation.

"I have lived a few years in London and my conclusions are based on my personal experience gathered in that country.

"I am a great admirer of the English nation as such and I honestly believe that out of all the different civilisations that I have met during my travels over the frequented parts of the world, the English have the highest standard of human and when I stand an Englishman in England, I am a rare expert to read a great lesson.

"When I am conversant with you, I am an lover of Englishmen in India (especially as they represent the central system of government existing in our country). I have always been an English in India and have actually studied Englishmen as the public throughout in London and England.

"I dare say this point of view will not at all appeal to you but my thought I believe is the efficacy of your theory of non-violence. I am too weak to question it. I am a weak but tall Sikh and can hardly see my way of finding the right chord when the left one has been struck. However, that is neither here nor there.

"I certainly do believe that your visit to England will serve India's cause in a very great manner and I have then an average Englishman, who is usually an honest man, will try and understand you and respect you for your views. He can be an average

American. And hence my humble plea that you may think of your country before drinking to this or that in this country.

"I have also a word to add regarding this mischievous question of your return when visiting England in America.

"It will be simply monstrous and hurt your prestige immensely if you were to don European clothes.

"Once again I do not want to be misunderstood, because I do believe in change in dress in the States and very much by force I discarded my turban and shaved off my head, but I am just an ordinary Indian. You are Mahatma Gandhi and therefore the difference which is as great as between earth and heaven.

"It will be simply monstrous if you could not find some form of Indian dress which may be quite suitable and desirable. I am, of course, not supporting your wearing the West in the hot clime, because that would be another practical from the climatical point of view and quite desirable, but too much there are other forms of Indian costume which could be worn by you to advantage. I would suggest the Dhoti freely alone, not with shirt but with Chutney-pajamas and a dhoti colored coat.

"Already the people in America have been asking me about your wearing Western clothes when visiting London and I explain honestly, a nothing on the subject.

"In this and I hope that you will not consider me very important for having taken the liberty of addressing a letter like this to you and asking all these suggestions, but they come from a sincere heart and from someone who has always been a good admirer of you."

None of the three things worry me. The proposal to visit America has been with me for the past few years or longer. But I have lacked the proper sign of courage to go. The very differences upon all the issues have held me back but confirmed the original decision based on nothing better than intuition. The sign is gone of the English character is lost. There, too, if I am to go the way will be clear and open for me. At the present moment the subtle and growing antagonism in the East! And by the attitude towards me as reason for thinking of anything else. My contribution to the movement of Indian London just now amounts to making every effort honestly possible to prevent the Nationalists from being wrecked.

As for the dress I have had many advice. But here too my position is simple. If I go to England I shall go as a representative and nothing more, nothing less. I must therefore appear not as the English would have me be as my representative character demands. I represent the Congress because and in so far as it represents Gandhi's message, the concentrated almost naked village. And if I represent the Indian as opposed to educated Indians, I do so in the extent that they already shared me with Gandhi's message and desire to promote his interest. I can therefore appear neither as English costume nor in that of the educated Indians. Except of the almost bare Indian as it



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Notes

Liquor Dealers Beware

Attention for liquor business men now in session, in the face of what I have already published it is too much to expect local authorities to stop sale of spirits there. But it is too much to expect liquor dealers to, because the Government. They ought to know that prohibition of liquor and foreign trade is the permanent policy of the nation. The law is a moral necessity, the effect is an economic necessity. With liquor policy, revenue. But they are a hypocritical. Following up of it of the most peaceful country will continue with a vengeance till the Government is converted to the policy of prohibition. It is an effective method of education.

Salt Concentration

I have that in Wager and Kalyanji in the Salt steps the people having elected the salt concentration under the Delhi Pact, it has been withdrawn by the Government. The people are expected to have earned income of salt as usual. It is not the case, it was a double breach of the Government. Whether the action taken by the Government is not too drastic for the breach, it is difficult to judge without a better knowledge of facts. Some cases from Madras that people in a salt mine were found to be carrying salt on their backs. They were prosecuted. The carrying on their backs is undoubtedly wrong. Then again the question whether a warning would not have sufficed cannot be decided without knowing all the facts. Responsible Congressmen can help us by sending us accurate information. Let me repeat that the concentration apply only to villages making salt for domestic consumption and selling across themselves, making salt for the Government. Naturally no other than human transport can be provided under this concentration. Not even a hand cart may be used. Salt can be carried on your back on hand. On the Government only can expect a reasonable warning of breach before action is taken. Where cases of poor peasant villages are concerned, it is not to be expected that they would have to sacrifice lives of individuals that may be made from them in time. I should be surprised, if it was found that either in the North or in the South the villages had really broken the understanding. Any way the Congressmen know. They should give exact information to the villages while they report on their concentration.

Unorganised Men

A correspondent shows my answer to the fact that in the South the local authorities have made an elaborate use of the suggestion I made some weeks ago that no more than five persons may be permitted at any point. The authorities in some places in the

South have possibly noticed that no more than five persons may be employed under any circumstances. There is many about nowadays, liquor shops that have more than five persons, no more than five persons are permitted. According to my formula there would be not more than five for every instance. Even for one instance I can estimate the necessity of having more than five persons. The number would depend upon the situation of the shop.

Congress Volunteers

The Working Committee has never before told us how it is at the last week except when the Delhi concentration was going on. A glance at all the resolutions passed at the meeting will show that the term was not used. Add to these the useful and very necessary long term it goes in the many complaints about the Government.

Next is importance to the national revolution was the one regarding volunteers. Hatched from the Congress organization. Its function is defined. Volunteer organizations will now be given up any form. Information will be collected at the Provincial Congress Committees will do their duty. The Working Committee will no longer be satisfied with merely making a yearly grant to an organization of 100 or more. It will think that last year's President wanted the organization and through it supply means officers and leaders in the Provincial organizations will be all other requests for absolutely necessary and free from restriction. But no restriction will cause discipline and efficiency. If the salt is lacking. Here is the resolution as passed by the Working Committee.

"In view of unpopularity that has been in regard to the salt of the Government have had with the Congress and in view of the fact that unorganised volunteer organizations are working in various parts of the country in the name of the Congress, the Working Committee resolves that

"(a) The Government have had a memorandum and as the Central Volunteer Organization of the Congress, working directly under the authority of the Working Committee at such points as persons as it may appear in the future, and with the following functions:

"(a) It shall act as a duly authorized committee for the training of officers and volunteers.

"(b) It shall send and receive reports to the Working Committee from time to time and shall call them a permanent Central Corps for officers' training and will be liable to work wherever necessary. It may also have training centres and camps for officers and instructors in other suitable places.

"[3] It is the duty of members of unions and individuals to previous notice before resigning.

"[4] In such case, power to hire volunteer cops in previous should be required by Provincial Congress Committee.

"[5] All Provincial Congress Committees are hereby authorized and requested to hire duly recognized volunteer cops.

"[6] No such cops shall be recognized unless all the members are members of the Congress and confide in the Congress ideal and whose efforts are for the betterment of the Indian people.

"[7] No volunteer hired or cops not previously recognized by the Working Committee shall work in any Congress premises in the name of it on behalf of the Congress.

"[8] Provincial Union is approved the members in charge on behalf of the Working Committee of the said provincial volunteer organizations of the Congress and N. S. Madhoo, the authorized secretary thereof and they will serve during the pleasure of the Working Committee. The members in charge shall frame rules of the said organizations so as to bring it in conformity with the principles of the Working Committee, and shall deliver the duties and responsibilities of officers and members of volunteer cops provided that such rules shall take effect on being first sanctioned by the Working Committee and on the acceptance by the All India Union of the (Hindustan Free Oil of the members."

Tamil Nadu S. A. and Non-Brahmins

Complaints have come in me to the effect that the Employees' Association in Tamil Nadu has been managed by Brahmin employees. The organizational aspects may show that recruitment is even being made on grounds of caste but workers are employed purely on basis of fitness. As things stand, there are 31 male and protection centers in Tamil Nadu. Of these the majority of 21 are Non-Brahmins, as against 10 where the managers are Brahmins. Including women drawing a monthly salary of less than Rs. 15 who are almost all Non-Brahmins, the salaries paid by the A. S. S. in Tamil Nadu are shown below:

Rs 30 and above	16 Brahmins, 1 Non-Brahmin.
Below Rs 30:	50 Brahmins, 120 Non-Brahmins.
Total	66 Brahmins, 136 Non-Brahmins.

The total amount of the salaries distributed per month among Brahmins is Rs. 1,170, Non-Brahmins Rs. 1,182. The total amount disbursed to male drawing less than Rs. 15 per month is, Brahmins, Rs. 11, Non-Brahmins Rs. 721. Of the 100 Brahmins heads drawing salaries over Rs. 30, one has put in a service of over seven years and six have put in a service a few years and over. The other two have served three years. Of the 120 Non-Brahmins drawing salaries over Rs. 30, three have put in five years' service and one has put in three years' service.

But for the fact that there is the Hindustan Free Oil Union operating in the South, I should have declined to publish these statistics. The workers in the South should know that it is not my responsibility that the Association is managed chiefly by Non-Brahmins, for the chief workers is a lot of Brahmins. What is more, it might easily and wrongly be served the drink and sharing tobacco who are overwhelmingly Non-Brahmins and include Brahmins and Christians also. H. K. G.

Picketing in Malabar

Sri K. Kalyana, President, Kerala Provincial Congress Committee writes:

"I was surprised and pained to see a complete abstention in Malabar against and concerted action in Kerala. The report was "In rural areas there is definite evidence that everything short of physical violence has been resorted to by volunteers. Would-be strikers are obstructed, abused and generally harassed and badly disappointed have been put in considerable loss. The Congress office in Tellicherry issued notices to the principal employers to appear before them and lay out the savings to display. Those who appeared were sternly told to close their shops." I say sternly and not that the Congress office in Tellicherry was authorized enough to decide in any sense on the policy conduct. But unfortunately it is not. Tellicherry is a place where the movement has met with the best response from the hitherto rich and the members of the Bar. The landlords in Malabar have been, with very few exceptions, indifferent, if not hostile to the Congress movement. The success of the movement in Malabar is entirely due to the co-operation among the masses. If badly-treated are put in considerable loss it is because the point chosen have been made to work. The majority of the workers of badly shops remain from the ranks of the Farmers (dispossessed classes). They have largely gone to work. It seems now they are completely dry. This was effected, not by direct or indirect but by having parades. The dispossessed classes believe that the Congress people are their friends and will help them to remove their disabilities.

"Our picketing work was in very peaceful for sometime about the opening of the Delhi Fair. We organized picketing throughout the country. The officials were alarmed. They suggested that the workers will be seriously affected during the next session. Not only that, the police and native officials who had held out all kinds of encouragement to the volunteers at the last session are supposed to see that peaceful picketing has been provided. Now considering the volunteers, with the would-be volunteers in the report says, are being harassed, beaten and persecuted by the shopkeepers and their agents. Everything points to the fact that the district officials have not succeeded their policy in the new situation which is the result of the Free. The Workers' Front, the Englishman daily of Malabar, was carrying on an active campaign against the picketing activities and saying that because that which was necessary was stopped. Malabar was going to be the scene of further violence. We have tried enough to believe that the shopkeepers are a great or as well as by the police and native people. They will not dare to attack the volunteers unless the authorities consent to it.

"I can say with confidence that picketing in Kerala has been properly handled and that there has not been a single instance where violence has been done purely of violence."

Congressmen should not also be aware when I publish allegations against them. It would matter if the allegations are found to be true and I suggested them without first giving Congressmen concerned a chance of refuting them.

M. K. G.

Japanese Menace

A correspondent writes

"The report of the British Consul Marquis to the Far East, describing the position of Lanchow mercantile trade in China, furnishes an effective warning to the way that counsels the Government in Lanchow with the Indian Export Agreement. In China the situation was not complicated by any foreign Government and yet the imports of cotton goods from Great Britain into China are shown to have fallen from 1927 1 million yards to 1928-29 to 804 million yards. In 1929 Lanchow is shown to have been practically beaten out of the Chinese market by Japanese competition. The Commissioner's conclusions and recommendations show that the difficulties of Lanchow are really in the effective competition from Japan, and the remedies they suggest are, therefore, fundamental. The following summary taken from the Commissioner's report will form interesting reading:

"Lanchow depends on foreign markets rather than on the home-market, and in the past China has been one of her most important markets.

"In 1922 she produced 1,000 million loam yards, in 1928, 1,000 million loam yards, and in 1929 her production was probably considerably below 1,000 million loam yards.

"Great Britain exported to China and Hongkong in the years 1925-26 an average of 52 million loam yards, in 1927, 20 million, in 1928 only 20 million. In 1928 Britain's exports to China and Hongkong were about half the value of those of Japan, but in 1929 they were only 1/10 part of the value of Japan's. In the year 1929 Japan shipped to China and Hongkong an area less than 1/10 and 1/10 more the quantity of cotton piece-goods that were shipped by Great Britain.

"The production of the vast mass of the goods in China has been so reduced, that quality has become quite a secondary consideration, and if Lanchow is to recover any of the ground she has lost in the China market, then she must place her goods on the market at prices not higher than those of her principal competitor—Japan. Until this is done her trade with China must continue to decline.

"At every stage—from the production of the raw cotton to the spinning and weaving and packing of the finished cloth—Japan has an advantage in comparison Lanchow. The advantage at some stages may be small, but the cumulative effect is considerable.

"We are satisfied that there will be no improvement of the situation in China without a radical alteration of our methods of exporting and marketing Lanchow goods.

"An alteration of the marketing system is not, however, by itself sufficient.

"We would, therefore, urge all engaged in the industry, from the buying of the raw cotton to the sale of the finished article, including those

concerned in cotton spinning, weaving, carding, finishing, dyeing and finishing and marketing (both exporters and exporters) to consider separately and jointly how much can be reduced as to the quality and cloth to be placed on the market at competitive prices.

"We desire to emphasize that our object is not the lowering of the standard of living of those but the very opposite. We have at present many thousands in Lanchow out of employment and many more under-employed. We believe from what we have seen in the East that the position will tend to become worse, unless it is found satisfactorily. It is of little use to continue operations in ways that at present cause losses, if the maintenance system, low employment and reduced salaries, but the operations in Lanchow thereby it is of little use for any purpose of production or marketing to continue, or attempt to maintain, unworkable systems if, as it tends to export trade in cotton piece goods—then the goods of Great Britain—exporters in demand.

"Unless radical changes are made there is no hope of Lanchow increasing her trade in the markets of the East, indeed what she can offer her goods at competitive prices she will continue to lose ground. There is no easy path to success, but some practical measures may even be called for. A given responsibility such as all in the industry Lanchow is faced with the greatest crisis in her history."

"The condition of Lanchow piece goods trade in India is very much the same as that in China. Here again wherever dealers has taken place in the state of their people in the export of foreign piece goods into India is due to the effective competition of Japan. While Lanchow must study the problems of the situation and find its own remedy, the situation here is a lesson for us also. If we allow Japan to take the place of Lanchow, we too must will be no better than the last."

However shocking it may be for our people, the question arises. By my correspondence has a double lesson. It is not our "Holland" as much as the Japanese efficiency that has caused British piece goods, and if our trade is to keep pace with the times, notwithstanding all the effort of the Congress to reduce the finished cloth among the people, Japan will win the race. A profit on day will not be guaranteed to prosper sufficiently. I know that in Japan the people and the State are one. But even when we have in that state, efficiency will be necessary, perhaps even less now.

M. K. G.

To Correspondents

All letters sent for Young India, Movement in the Morning Press should be addressed to Post Box No. 13, today which they are likely to accompany.

Respect, Young India

Public Debts

Vol. 2

Extract of the Congress Select Committee, From One Paper. Passage was. Copies can be had from the Morning Newspaper, Bangalore, Printed and Published by the Press 114 A, Theobalds, and in Amalath from Bangalore the Dept. of Public Works.

Young India

Proposed Communal Solution

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The scheme proposed by the Working Committee and presented for adoption by the whole country is the result first of the earnest labours of Dr. Ambedkar and then of the sub-committee consisting of Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. J. B. Kripalani. I have never known Dr. Ambedkar so doubtful and so doubtful as to anything as he has been about the Communal question. He loves his profession and is anxious to live for it. If you take him to politics or even as President of the Congress, he is there because friends have dragged him to the position. He is too noble and too patriotic to resist them. But the solution of the communal question is his work for life here. His whole efforts to promote unity amongst the subjects of His Majesty are directed to bring them before they can act.

Initially considered the scheme appears to me to be correct, if the necessity for a communal solution be admitted. If we were pure nationalists, no scheme would be proposed. By nature we may be different, as a nation we should be united and indivisible. We will choose our leaders and appoint ourselves for their service irrespective of their religion or race, judged by that standard, the scheme is a fall. But we are fallen. We cannot and fear not another fall yet we want Swaraj, for it is our birthright and so the Congress has offered a compromise. Mahatma Gandhi said when he was with the Working Committee secretly and "Why do you continually ask me what I want? I have told you what I want. Why don't you tell me what you would give?" The reply was: "None." The Congress demands of pure nationalists no scheme. Its claim to represent Muslims as a whole was founded like was founded on the basis of the Congress could offer nothing that substantially helped Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs were not prepared to agree to. Hence the sub-committee and then the scheme as presented into shape by the Working Committee.

The Working Committee can have no desire to bring a down settling scheme, but satisfaction belonging to the three communities have now something to work by and agree. Let them unanimously address agreement in their respective communities.

I begin with the Hindus. We are an overwhelming majority. If we feel physically drawn before the Muslims and the Sikh groups, we shall never pass through the legislature. We shall give by dividing land, not by winning any lands. Content has never been known to be a matter of reason, it is a matter of the heart. The toughest minds have been known to buckle before an overpowering love. It was the heart that led the crusade against the Calcutta massacre and against what the Muslims and the Sikhs ask. The "No" put, wanted on the matter at Allahabad where we were held. If this scheme is, after all, against the spirit of the Hindus, it would be well even though we are divided. So the Hindu community may agree to,

If we accept the scheme without dissent, we should be ready to accept any other that may be acceptable to all Sikhs and all Muslims. But let me not frighten us away from the scheme by pleasing ourselves in any other in advance. My mind is so inclined to make up and has been often expressed. But I do dare to ask the Hindus to accept the scheme because it is charged with the blessings of Pandit Malaviya, Mr. J. B. Kripalani and Mr. J. B. Kripalani, and to the spirit of the other Hindu members of the Working Committee.

Congress Scheme

However much it may have failed at the constitution, the Congress has, from its very inception, as a pure movement as a Hindu. It has endeavoured to break down communal barriers. The following Lahore resolution was the preliminary point in its scheme towards independence:

"In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is necessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions. The Congress believes that in an independent India communal questions can only be solved on a fully national basis. But as the Hindu is particularly, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general, feel oppressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, the Congress desires the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that our solution should in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the people concerned."

Hence the Congress is precluded from saying that any communal solution of the communal problem that at that critical position in the history of the nation, it is late that the Working Committee should cannot for adoption for the country a solution though communal in appearance, yet as early national as possible and generally acceptable to the same when accepted. The Working Committee therefore after full and free discussion unanimously passed the following resolution:

1. (a) The article in the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a provision to the effect that the Government shall protect the rights of all citizens, including the rights of religious, linguistic, caste, and religious minorities.

(b) Fundamental Rights shall be protected by specific provisions to be included in the constitution.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of citizens shall be the primary purpose of the Government and the protection of the rights of citizens shall be the primary purpose of the Government.

2. The Government shall be extended to all such cases and persons.

(Note: The Working Committee is convinced to extend franchise by the Hindu community of the Congress and cannot accept any alternative franchise for any, however, of management to some extent the Committee wishes to extend it also that it may extend the franchise shall be extended and no extension to be taken in the election till the proposal is the people has of every community.)

3. (a) Joint elections shall be held from the basis of representation in the House of Representatives.

(b) That for the Hindu in India, the Muslims in India and the Sikhs in the Punjab and N. W. F.,

and for Hindu and Muslim, if any persons whom they are less than 25% of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

4. Opportunities shall be made by all parties, both a National Government which must provide the minimum qualifications, and who shall have devoted to the efficiency of the Public Service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in the public service of the country.

5. In the formation of Federal and Provincial Government networks of voluntary organisations should be recognised by Government.

6. The N. W. F. Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of government and administration as other provinces.

7. And shall be constituted into separate provinces provided that the people of Sind are prepared to leave the financial burden of the important provinces.

8. The future constitution of the country shall be based on the following basis, unless, on further consideration, it is found to be against the best interests of India.

The Working Committee has adopted the following scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on isolated communities and isolated castes, namely, whilst on the one hand the Working Committee hopes that the whole nation will welcome the scheme, on the other, it believes those who take extreme views and demand steps to that the Committee will finally, as it is based on the Lahore resolution, accept of least reservation and other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned.

Foreign Cloth Pledge

The Working Committee adopted the following pledge for the purchase of foreign cloth, imported and Congress workers.

"Resolved that any pledge in connection with reduction of foreign cloth, and pure domesticity with the following pledge shall be held to be valid."

"We pledge ourselves that we shall observe the following conditions so long as the Working Committee of the Congress does not give explicit permission by resolution to do otherwise."

"1. We undertake not to purchase or sell any foreign piece made from cotton, wool or silk or cloth manufactured from such yarn."

"2. We undertake not to purchase or sell any yarn or cloth manufactured by mills that have not accepted the Congress Pledge."

"3. We undertake not to sell, or to buy any foreign piece or yarn or cloth or cloth manufactured from such yarn or cloth, that may be found with us."

All concerned and under of the pledge represented all the pledge that have been accepted by Congress workers or organisations. Members should make up their minds that the spirit of Khaddar is not a step-back but a step forward. Those who wish to be satisfied with the, better with Khaddar and find some other compromise regarding with the national interest.

M. E. G.

Some Passers

How are some passers for lovers of Khaddar?

"Will you kindly answer to me how the resolution passed at Karachi Congress in connection with Khaddar programme is going to help that ideal? The voluntary mill-workers have been appealed to to give their moral support in the supplementary village industry of hand spinning by themselves among handspins. Now if the mill-workers insist the unbridled privilege of carrying on their present mills with a view to develop them, and the more use of handspins be considered less moral support to Khaddar! In my humble opinion there is no moral support unless mill-workers desert the relationship between mill and Khaddar and bravely try gradually to restrict their activity. There is power over the mill-workers how Khaddar can hold its own if mill-workers produce less and cheaper stuff to be used in place of Khaddar. Then again, asking the mill-workers to keep down the price of cloth will be a pure waste of killing Khaddar."

There are all good questions. There is no doubt that if the present use by mill-workers at Khaddar is not a failure of their moral conviction as all of us are and may well be a failure of hypocrisy. If there is an or conversion they will assist their mills as an offer to their Khaddar even as a gesture as they are fully placed to put in handspins. The Congress intention of mills is based on the belief that the mills can serve a useful purpose during the transition stage. Inevitable admission of foreign cloth becomes more through the indigenous mills if they work in sympathy with the movement. It is under for Khaddar to deal and compete with the indigenous mills alone then to do so with these plain English, because, Indian and other mills. The success in the matter of indigenous mills need not frighten Khaddar as. The success is on this point that the economic influence of Khaddar is not so fully felt when Khaddar becomes universal, many mills may find their acceptance goes. It is useless to speculate whether Khaddar will obtain such a hold on the people. It will depend upon the faithfulness of the workers. There is no flaw in the reasoning applied to Khaddar. It is merely a question of giving a fair education to the millions of villagers, of changing national taste, of raising the economic power of the whole to break dependence from the hand. It is no small thing to be able to show a way the adoption of which will be an economic against "barbarism" and its economic results.

As to the moral point, the necessity of the mills produce any four cloth cannot be questioned. In the Khaddar age the people to their hand. The producers are now but not in such quantity and handspins to be available to all who desire it. Again handspins during the transition stage the mills may be encouraged or encouraged. But cloth that is so easy enough to see that restriction of mill production to that extent is really based on the idealism. The pity of it is that the mills do not respect sufficiently in the present demand.

Lastly as to the price, surely the water does not suggest that mills should charge high prices in order to let Khaddar live. As the author of the journal of Khaddar I must explain that it never crossed my head that I should wish for high prices of

An Appeal to the Missionsaries

A missionary book just received should not so it coming to missionaries Old Dr Josiah Quidley's complaint that "to English and American missionaries, especially poor Indian life is absolutely like coffee" will seem to hold true, and the "western based theory regarding non-Christian religions" will continue to be a favourite hobby horse with some missionaries. A book reported by the last week, *The Truth of Hinduism being "studies of vedical workbooks at work"* is an evidence in point. The book is handsomely printed, written in bright and pleasing style and contains vast stores of vedical missionary stuff, as Jerusalem, in China, in Persia, Africa, in India and in other lands. The book is not written by some one engaged in missionary work, but by one of "home" who has "collected" reports gathered from various parts of the world, and in the process read Indian culture and told them as stories. The credit of photographs has hardly been.

The book starts with an interesting introduction "We know only too well that often there are those in our own and other countries, small boys and girls often full of their wings and great imaginations year to holy countries, and they are taught by parents, masters, and other teachers and others that it is 'not done', it is 'not' The boys and girls of non-Christian countries gaze up into stars and wonder without ever knowing that teaching. They are encouraged from childhood to see their power thoughtfully and often wrongly because they have never been taught to think of wisdom as changing their position and help." And this begins of the most striking principle of non-possessive, results of the fundamental teaching of wisdom of all creation in other areas religions. That we have never been taught wisdom to worship only that missionary and will mark. There is the same that reported once upon against all religions other than Christianity. The great book who is especially mentioned in the paragraph will remind it as much as a Hindu, Jew, Buddhist, Sikh, or Jain. "To work in and out of the houses of many non-Christians in their lands as other missionaries, and to supply their lives by doing, is to realize that it is not their land that they are to work in, to worship, to witness, and to themselves. The, against the dark background, was that others put all the teaching that we have had of wisdom in anything makes them ourselves, be it a dog, monkey, or woman, comes from the teacher of our Service Jesus Christ. Non-Christians have never had that teaching for no other religion goes to." I was satisfied by the author's

letter, a cordially minded out as full of "misapprehensions of wilderness in the giving of you and back of motives for helping others." To Western this gives the story of two Indian, followers who looked at a dying horse lying on the road, refused the permission to their masters about the wall the horse had broken, and walked away. The owner refused to put the horse to death, because "it was agreed by religion." And obviously an Englishman wrote on the scene, perceiving the owner to make a gift to him of the poor beast. "The dead of a horse is duly drawn up, highly witnessed and reported, and the horse became the property of a Christian, who promptly put it out of its misery." I must add that the story is taken from A. C. Reynolds, an authority Mrs's father and

told in our missionary author's own language. That the Englishman was a Christian or polytheistic author's own discovery as it were.

There is another story, told of a curious event by the Rev C. W. Fennell. The subject is "An important chief of Hyderabad, who is for present under state in the service of India. His is H. H. the Nizam, our Master." You shall see a parallel with the 'crime of India' for on a large world, after all the times of which our author is speaking, Hyderabad may appear to be in the 'crime'. Mrs. Fennell discovered that "the old chief was determined that none of his people should become Christians, but that should leave to read and begin to work up for their rights, and to give orders that all his people must to love the people and their work all the Father. He had refused to the other side of the river." The Father Nizam's advanced power, but he left no before doing (Christian) [I was asked to try to do his story to make friends. "For two years there was no progress. But the great chief one day went out hunting, passed his land and a bad shower, landed in his lap. (That, one would suppose, was the crime committed.) The village ladies were asked to go to try his goodness, and the chief to ultimately to death. And "the wife, wishing to avoid the exposure of embarrassing time, began and police, which would be followed by a corpse, passed their father and not the people to do. What the ladies were waiting for his death, the young ladies came along and asked permission to try his land, as the father and the Christian people had failed." (That reminds us that the chief was a Hindu.) The chief refused and told Mrs. Fennell and does not reveal him, but when his hands and "placing them on his head begged me to pray for him." And so on and so forth.

An equally desirable story is told of a chief from Mysore who goes to a missionary hospital, with all his attendants and persons, for treatment. He is represented by the firm of the doctor and nurses and hospital staff, and on the day he leaves he goes out with a supply of Indian. "Every attended man," he said, "should read the Bible."

Here is the story of a Muslim in Fakhruddin who is obliged to have put away his wife to be when date of his missionary hospital. She had become blind and her husband allowed her there and then to the hospital with the work. "She can't cook, she is blind. She is no good. I have got another wife" And the mother said "It is at the heart of the non-Christian one that they treat their women as they do."

Just one more story to keep the record. "In Arab girl married on her lap a well-grown European for she would marry first on one leg and then on the other, holding him up because white. "Why doesn't she come and sit down like the others?" I asked. "She is tired out." "She can't" said the missionary, "she always has to stand. The day that she sits her in her arms. And you?" "Some day that boy would be the husband of some, and in the age of five he was already being taught that women should be his pleasure. With that thinking behind them, as it is the fact that non-Christians must treat women as they do."

Well, one may tell the author that the last picture of H. M. Gosses Mary that got has come in the time in which she stands about in her garden carrying on her



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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

Vol. XIII

Ahmedabad: Thursday, July 23, 1931

No. 30

"Honestly"

I found a story about one of the Ban-Joshi secretaries appearing in Young India of last July that the editorial stated "and at the same time honestly" was omitted again. I saw then an editorial paragraph in a newspaper which had in the printed letters on its possession. I would not have published it or it. Here in the article itself as it is printed in Young India.

"Confidential"

D. D. D.

Deputy Commissioner's Office,
Ban-Joshi, 25-6-31

My Dear

"It is proposed to distribute certain copies of the magazine freely. I shall be obliged if you will kindly give all possible help in this matter."

"Will you please send confidentially something to your agent, i.e. Bhagwan, Pindar, etc.?"

"Any respectable member of the Congress or Khadi Sabha or Pradhan's personal agent, Landholder or Government, should be the one who reported all the confidential matters."

"You should direct your employees to act properly and confidentially and honestly in this matter."

Your Sincerely

I was surprised when I had heard about the committee. Upon receiving my file I found that "and at the same time honestly" had been so much modified from "honesty" to "honesty". These were treated by me subsequently by the publication of the magazine. How then could the one man in Ban-Joshi who I had written to write in this manner so and so the magazine which is always printed for some one, or to say it was possible the condition in which it was received at the time. Here is the letter which had made this writing possible.

"Your letter, Mahadev, in question added naturally as it is in your interest but noted me by you as well."

I am to read the letter. The original was sent to the press. I have a recollection that the already appeared apart from the text and omitted any substance that it was part of it. I have no recollection that I signed it. When the magazine leaves that I signed it, I do not know. My duty is to take the matter into confidence about what has happened.

[Here comes Mahadev Dand, to whom as I am writing that I have shown the telegram.] He has a great recollection of what happened. He told me that he had to be the one who was,

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In my opinion the words "honestly" is an overused word and it might make the magazine more or less like a newspaper. It contains out of the hundred words "do it honestly if you can but do it."

But whether the address regarding the editorial at Ban-Joshi is or is not concerned for the protection of the "honesty" in the magazine which is published by me. Having seen the letter Mahadev Dand, I should not have received it and had he refused it to me, I should have been the editor about as related to the matter before giving the editorial to the public. But in respect to this, I must take upon me the moral blame as the legal would be, if there was any legal liability for the magazine. The moral for me is "honesty alone". Those who will prove truth absolutely cannot afford to be lazy even for a good cause.

M. K. Gandhi

[Reading really made me the "editor" of Young India some time before the final issue but perhaps now that I am the manager from the magazine I myself realize that the words "and at the same time honestly" were there in the magazine, perhaps with a query, and giving up the idea that they were part of the text, but every politician that the friend who had sent the copy of the editorial had passed a sentence remark about the previous introduction in the article on the magazine. I therefore noted it and I have also realized that there was what I thought with certain remarks in one or two more places and upon my own magazine I signed and the words, without signing the letter to Gandhi. Perhaps there was no other effect. But there it is. It is a state of mind which cannot be said to be a state of mind which was not.

M. D. J.

Swaraj Bhawan Hospital

Personal acknowledgment

Rs. 175 14 6

Through Dr. G. B. Pant, M.L.A., Ban-Joshi

Head: Tel. By Mahadev, Gandhi

1930-31-4

By: Mahadev, Mahadev, Ahmedabad

11-4-31

"Dhanda, Prasad, Hyderabad, India

13-4-31

"D. J. Kishan, Ahmedabad, Prasad

13-4-31

"U. Mahadev, Ban-Joshi, Hyderabad, India

25-4-31

Total up to 11th June, 1931 Rs. 175 14 6

Snake Letter Immagine Propaganda

Here before has Gandhi had to speak to the English press correspondents with such stark facts as he did on the day of his arrival in Bloemfontein, however untrue, of him and his politics or of the Congress does not bring him to the front. Newspaper 'tricks' and 'traps' often come, then. What does annoy him however is the Immagine propaganda, that is at present going on deliberately calculated to misrepresent Congressmen and things and to blast the prospects of peace. One such item was the story that he was coming to South to press a few more names to be added to the Congress delegation and ask the Viceroy to let the Congress be represented by them and not by himself alone. There was nothing derogatory to Gandhi in the story as such, but the setting in which it was presented made it necessary for Gandhi to point most emphatically against the way in which such stories were being circulated. "I would say," said he, "that contrary demands that whenever any such thing is circulated in a newspaper, it should first be referred to the man himself. I can furnish on your Immagine propaganda, but it very much disturbs me the satisfaction in which I should like to hold persons. That the story emanated from one of my 'intimate witnesses' means nothing. It is enough for me that the story is wholly false. If it was my intention to make any such proposal I should have declared it from the beginning. I would like the English correspondents to be as open as I have been in South Africa. I can perfectly understand who would everything before they published anything about the movement. It would be different if I did not give them enough reasons."

"The friend was simply hurt and he said to me, 'I am glad', said Gandhi, 'that you are here. I have spoken freely because I regard you as a friend and I should be willing to speak and you if I considered my treatment wrongly. I would like you to copy the example of the late Mr. Swarthout of the English press. He was so scrupulous that he would not publish even his leading article about Congress in South Africa without first showing it to me. He said, 'when I want to write to help you, I do not want to write anything that may injure your cause.'"

Verification of Congress

But have those English journalists, who see Gandhi charged themselves with the cause? It is no thing to give by-laws to Gandhi's article for peace and freedom to blackened for mental inferiority, which some of these correspondents, having I dare say by some of the article, have made it their business to put into me. I have because I suspect that some of the article are responsible for this Immagine propaganda. When an Associated Press correspondent came and asked Gandhi with questions. "Have you come to South for such and such a thing?" "Are the article investigating the 'Truth' and so on, he simply said and said, 'as in the Movement.' "I do so solely in the interests of peace, solely in the interests of Government," said he. "For him in the propaganda against the Congress. The English papers indicate that the Rinder and Pinda Jewarthal have been delayed to me, and that they have been pulled up more than once by me, but I say that no one man has more completely

stayed out my suggestions without reason. Pinda Jewarthal has counselled in the large sense of the suggestions that perhaps did not appeal to him. He is coming here, as you know. But do you think I would have to press him as to what he should say and should not say? He would speak it, he would think I was interfering with his liberty. Pinda Jewarthal Pinda's attempts to not has become a common joke. Jewarthal would show independence and assert it. Pinda's would not show it, he believes in asserting himself. But that he has to come at his own, but he has seen that when there is complete agreement on the essentials, it is no use questioning the details. I may tell you that these news has been a check of principle between me and some of the press. It there had been one, we should have separated long ago. And yet have themselves appear in the English press."

An Explanation

But the play of it is that that very hard in which Gandhi spoke strongly has in passing the correspondents only given one statement. Here is one.

"It is quite true that a full Congress delegation has been discussed, so also that I should have advised I do not much regret that Pinda Maran Mohan Mahapatra and Dr. M. A. Azam were particularly suggested, but I do not want them and their place is in India where they will be needed. For every expert advice, your people should get it done and I shall only upon presenting a simple case, simply using my own voice with God as my witness."

I was present at the interview. The last part of this explanation statement was confident, and Gandhi said as much to the correspondents. But I want now say what it was. He said, "The idea of a full delegation was discussed at Kanpur and I may say to confidence that those who did not, then favour the idea of a sole delegation were Pinda Mahapatra and Dr. Azam. But even they perhaps no longer share the wisdom of the Congress resolution." Then followed the criticism about who would be wanted in India. It should be intelligible to the nearest understanding that Gandhi could never say that he did not want Pinda Mahan Mahapatra and Dr. Azam. These names were mentioned, as I have already said, in connection with the words like at Kanpur. And so the rest he said by this effect. "For one thing, if I had more advice I should not withhold. For another, I do not want to go to trouble there. I want to see that a representative body both and I should place their demand in as simple and straight a manner as possible. That is why we do not want many experts either. For I know that if it was a kind of strength or experts between India and England we should easily be divided. The better I am convinced, God is my only witness, and my plan may be it would come to my aid. As for P. Jewarthal Nabra and Pinda Jewarthal there is no doubt that they would be needed here. We do not want an expensive demonstration there, it is surely a matter of the Rinder's feeling what they should yield and you feeling what we are doing enough to demand and receive. But even for that Jewarthal's and Pinda's name place is here. They would be representing me much more by remaining here than by accompanying me there." As for Pinda Mahapatra

and Dr. Agnew and Sidney's Nana, he said to another correspondent that "Dr. Agnew's plan would be there as a National Studies League. Midwaying should be there as an all India League and Sidney Nana because of her international reputation." What then can be the significance for correspondence and inspection of workers in institutions that dedicate for Anglo-Indian Plans? The one definite conclusion is that the work is better to the thought. And since they have no time for quiet meditation and no distractions they go with the definite intention of getting what they want, they do not even have to wait to wait to those with individual interests. The result is very often a strictly false impression. It is impossible to say other except to suggest for the benefit of workers that the statement quoted above means, it cannot be a wild dream of hope. It is trying to compare a long conversation the interviewers have to remember the experience and the way some ideas in one conversation have been given in a totally different connection. The reality of nature in the household was followed by the late Mr. Tagore who not only went to the interview for reasons, the interviewers had expected, but as emphasized since the Gurditars' case, even his feeling within the revolution and addition. Such a procedure results in saving of time in the long run and inevitably saving of numerous misinterpretations.

The Pillars

But enough of the talk in India and the political atmosphere. What interests me more, wherever I have the privilege of accompanying Gurditars, is the presence of Charles on the beach, where I introduce to the children of Young India with a view to present them the benefits of the progress of their lives. I tell them pilgrims resemble to they are welcome the Harper's pilgrims to throw off the loads on their backs and to live, if not from the work to come, from the desire to and the smiling glances about them. They shall be something because I know that like the noble Kipling says, they would not like to be lost by the course of their journey. "There is a hundred rights for the unscrupulous and here is another loaded for the widows know that not any Kipling's has not agreed," said one of these pilgrims. "I wish them to have much money but I may tell you that Kipling's has his own reasons and he needs no money for the Indians to his speed," said Gurditars.

"Then how is he more often content? What I want to tell you is all humanity is that I have seen in my life that the people before me that wherever I am beyond here everywhere I should tell to you that my last unfortunate business and mine. I have saved something like Rs. 11,000 by now and I am saving a thousand rupees a month now. I want all that to go to some of your distant places, provided they are free from politics, because as far as I am a Government servant I am pledged not to take part in politics directly or indirectly."

"So you are giving me only a month of your monthly money," said Gurditars laughing. "That will not do. You may be sure that your money shall be respected. There are a hundred and one ways of getting your money for the poor without your having to do anything with politics."

"Thank you, Mahatma. But may tell me what I am to do with the money I have saved?"

Gurditars passed outside and said, "There are twelve thousand rupees and you don't know what to do with it? I would suggest to you to create a fund of the women and girls. And the students."

The fund was referred to the question of his efforts and said that though he was working steadily, he had not the strength to wear black. He explained at length his difficulty.

"Don't worry, as far as you are better with your self. Do not as the aged women say."

"I will, Mahatma. But sometimes one feels so worried that one cannot do anything and then feels."

"Well, then you should find comfort in the thought that God has given you strength enough to do what you are doing and that there are many who are doing much less. You need not try to be miserable. And who knows in a short time God may enable the whole country to rise to the surface and so we would have my difficulty by wanting black or doing anything good for his country."

"I am glad, Mahatma. I still have that idea. Is my list of books I have never completed any longer as long as I am in London than now?"

I shall now complete another pilgrim—a slave Gurditars has long known but, but never wanted to know the personal details. He has merely asked her. When were you released?"

"Oh, no, Mahatma. I should have said recently. I was sent a widow. My husband is living."

"I am—oh, I was to speak. Then where is he? I have never seen him?"

"He does not live with me."

"Well, then you are to deal at a widow. Is it that he does not live with you or that you don't live with him?"

Quite confused, she said in a simple manner a which was charming. "No Mahatma, I left him. I did not like his ways. He used to drink tea. He has married another wife. Sometimes he goes once to my place and he is quite welcome, but we don't live together."

"Then where do you live?"

"I live in a part of the house that my father gave me. He had a large estate. He gave away much of his property in charity, and much of it to his widows, and so I got some money for me and found a house. Now I have a house of the other side and all the land in my possession and have a house of the other side. I shall live as a widow."

"But how do you live now?"

"I was living on the rent of the estate, but then my father died and I was left in a very poor position. I used to have a house that he should release me of the house. I was then in a poor position and then my father died. I have been going to make use of his property for me."

"Then may good I shall communicate with Kipling's and let you know. Meanwhile you do as much as you can at your quiet and take some convenient money from Kipling's and from some of my old pilgrims as you can."

It is three days that that when I see him in his house and then I'm much from. And then there is the House of Kipling. All the time I have for Paris and France.

Young India

Behlurdu Committee's Report

(Dr M. K. Gurus)

The report of the committee appointed by the Congress to report on the differences between Great Britain and India is a document of very great importance especially at the present moment. No Congress worker should be without a copy. Mr. Behlurdu, (Mahabhai) J. Dasa, K. T. Shah and J. C. Karmacharya discuss the main considerations of the nation for their future of love. The former members of Punjab India should know that by K. T. Shah, one of our most ablest leaders and so was Mr. Mahabhai J. Dasa. Both of them are busy professionals and well known lawyers apart from their having held the office of Advocate General. Indeed their office gives up added importance to the leaders. It is a recognition of their importance and status in their profession. Prof K. T. Shah is an exponent of all India legislation, is an author of several valuable books and was for many years and only upto the other day Professor of Economics in the University of Bombay. These three professions are always busy and it was an little wonder at their past to give their time to the responsible work, entrusted to them by the Congress. By J. C. Karmacharya, the Congress is a professor in the Gujarat University and therefore it was an additional burden on his part. He may be considered a registered national servant and therefore his time and labour were already at the disposal of the Congress. He was chosen for this particular task for his accurate knowledge of economics and his aptitude for research work. These four members were also assisted in their work by Mr. G. K. Jais, "also an exponent of considerable experience." I have given this introduction about the authors of the report so that foreign readers may know that the report is not a document prepared by superficial politicians but it is the product of men who have a reputation to lose, who are no demagogues but men who write about things they know and which the reader may trust.

The report is a critical examination of the former transactions of the British Government in India. The first volume is divided into five parts with a title as general outline, introduction and entered as follows by Prof Karmacharya. The second volume which will be shortly published contains references were pointed by Prof K. T. Shah which could not be included in the body of the report. The two volumes should give the student of Indian Public Debt all he can possibly wish.

The first part of the first volume has about four interesting paragraphs on Repudiation of Indian Debt and Friendly or Coercive. The Congress has been charged with the name for repudiation "Newspaper Debt". The authors of the report show that the question of repudiation does not arise at all, even there any question of raising of suitable loans there is no answer. The reply is "The Congress has often

been a crowd of attempting to repudiate public debt. For them being a repudiation the effect of the Congress is to be with leaders which have been undertaken in the capacity of a nation. The present public debt cannot be truly called national debt for they have been incurred solely by Great Britain and imposed upon India." They add "It has been suggested in some quarters that all these differences have some degree of similarity and should not be delayed. We are unable to see any basis of similarity in the matter. These leaders were undoubtedly loyal to their country and the Government of India and if they are not chosen to have been chosen for the benefit of the Indian people it is difficult to understand the use of the word 'similarity' in this connection." In fact it is difficult to understand that charge of repudiation. It will show India takes over charge from the present administration the Government would be like any ordinary trader whether it is loan, either to borrow or from trader in his mind or from the warehouse to the warehouse. In such case of these questions there would be a proper stock-taking, balance-sheet and a taking over subject to audit and adjustment. Repudiation was never based upon the questions except in the case of the rescheduled who have no choice. The same consideration for India is that of freedom from bondage complete or partial. The taking over of such liabilities as India approves of, or accepted to pay will not mean a repudiation of the debt but would mean the taking over of the liability by the British. If therefore any of the members found themselves liable of guaranteeing India and the like have to lose, they will lose not because of repudiation by India but because of repudiation by the British.

And let us get over the report as the first Congress demand. The report is a valuable document for the guidance of the Congress and those who would study the history of the financial transactions of the British Government in India. It is open to the Congress either to make any of the items of the demand framed by the authors or to add to them if need be. True too, it has never been the Congress position that wherever demand the Congress makes must be accepted. The Congress position has always been and will be that if the British Government do not accept the Congress claim, the same is dropped should be referred to an impartial tribunal. Surely neither more reasonable can be expected from the Congress. Anything less will be a betrayal of the trust on the part of the Congress. No nation is around demand. The learned authors of the report have said the last word. "On the question of the Irish Free State, they say, 'the opinion naturally arose as to the responsibility of the British Government for the financial debt which of the last stood at £1,171 millions. By clause 3 of the Indian (Continuation of Agreement) but it is provided as follows:

"The Irish Free State should continue liability to the service of the public debt of the United Kingdom as existing on the date hereof and towards the payment of War Expenses as existing at that date as such a proposition as may be for and acceptable having regard to the first and just claim on the part of Ireland by way of relief of

consequently the project of such work being entrusted to a body of agents by the initiative of one or more independent public body outside of the British Empire.

So much for the picture shown up by the Congress. The claim maintained by the Government is as follows:

Year	Subject of Loans	Loans	Amount
From 1857	National Wars of the Company	31,000	
	Interest on Company's Capital Stock paid 1857-59.	1,510	50,138
1857	Cost of 'Mutiny'		45,000
1878	Interest on Company's Capital Stock paid 1857-78.	10,600	
	Redemption of the Capital Stock of East India Company.	12,000	22,500
1857-1880	National Wars	17,000	
1815-40	European War-Gifts.	1,50,000	
	Cost.	1,50,000	1,50,000
1857-1901	Maintenance Charges in respect of Britain.	50,000	1,68,000
1910-1920	Revenue Customs Loans		25,000
	Premium paid to Railway Companies on acquisition by the State.		50,000
	Cost of Storage, Railways		50,000
Total Claim: (Gross) Rs. 728,400			

The authors have the courtesy to mention the so-called protective debt of India but the following summary of their observations will be both instructive and interesting:

"(a) That of the five or six items of productive character only two, viz. Railways and Industries were not directly assisting, let alone so much;

"(b) That the Productivity of the Railways and their contribution to the economic development of India is widely different from that of the Indian Wars;

"(c) That the aggregate capital or charge on account of the Railways would not be a greater drain of capital than would at least be needed above, below industry on that account can be supplied by the Indian people though in 1902 commercial borrowing and a certain portion the contribution would be at least doubled;

"(d) That the debt on account of the European Wars and other Commercial Governments may be allowed as covered by sufficient natural assets transferred immediately to the new Government of India;

"(e) That the 'protective' character of the debt due from the Provincial Governments would be greatly reduced by India being so extremely debilitated, the only support for the maintenance of the burden being found in the terrible poverty of the people within the respective provinces;

"(f) That even if full liability is assumed or signed in these or examples could be made in

view of the Financial Development Debt, (Indian credit), which was secured on the basis of the poverty of the people concerned, and against which therefore very little of valuable assets of a prospective or existing character are available."

Their examination of Unproductive Debt is also entered thus much in the Appendix III, *Public Expenditure*, War 'gifts', etc. Comparing India's contribution to the expenditure by the Dominions they observe:

"India's contribution, as compared with that of the other Dominions of Britain, and in light of the results of the War, shows a very disproportionate balance. While on the outbreak of the War, the other Dominions only offered to protect their own frontiers, or protect the Overseas Commerce within their regions, India alone, in addition to providing her own fighting force, made large contributions to the Empire's fighting forces in the European War. The balance of the total Empire shows a considerable obligation only in the case of South Africa, where there were certain assets which might reasonably justify that view or danger. But the contribution of Australia to Gallipoli and in pushing the war does not at all compare favourably with that of India. India received no particular advantage as a result of the success in the great struggle. The Dominions shared along with Great Britain, in the Republics, such as they are, that have been created from Germany up to, but more than above, comparatively speaking, does not advantage India at all proportionately to her contributions and sacrifices. India has hardly any say in the settlement of these Republics payments."

Part II of the first volume is headed "India under the East India Company's Rule." But I must credit the temptation to spare from this survey. I have given, I hope, enough to show the attitude of the reader. I have seen some others somewhat as the report. No unbalanced opinion however hostile can diminish the value of a document which fortifies every statement with facts and figures. If these credit some business and are accurate in their statements, let them offer constructive criticism, and let them support it with facts and figures. A discussion of this character cannot but be helpful. I have no doubt that the authors do not share with India's last great concern. I therefore say then a share in them, they will be the first to acknowledge their error and so far as the number of the Working Committee and their members of the general public who would care to study this material on a job are accepted, they would be able to put such enlightened criticism side by side with the report and form their judgment.

Let me say in conclusion that when the Congress at Calcutta met that India passed a resolution about financial observations it was seriously meant. The appointment of the Committee and its report was the initial step. The Congress will be only follow the matter to the end. If the Congress can help, India will not take a step in the dark. She cannot afford to be generous, at the expense of the South Indians who also all have to make the largest contribution towards the payment of our liabilities that may be undertaken.

Woes of 'Untouchables'

Dr. Mahabadi

A capsule is being to your notice some principles which, I think, must be kept in view in the conduct of the campaign on behalf of the untouchable Hindu.

Among the numerous disabilities from which they suffer, a clear distinction must be made between those which are *born from birth* in their nature and those which are *born from man-made* or religious or communal or caste character. It may be that of these disabilities are untouchable in 'religion', i. e. in some feature (whether right or wrong, moral or immoral) built as part of religion. But for all practical purposes the Untouchables' disabilities could and should be classified into (1) those which are *born in their nature*, viz. born as the use of public utilities like roads, water, dispensaries, markets, schools and hospitals, and everywhere else they live and enjoy—schools, markets, hotels, temples and (2) those imposed upon them with regard to (a) the entry into religious buildings and places, like temples, shrines and her grounds, which are open to all Hindus but the Untouchables, and (b) the services of Hindu labour, workmen, mechanics and persons (not of whom, excepting of course the last, come all classes Hindu and non-Hindu, except the Untouchable community).

And the following are the disabilities of the disabled:

(1) The disabilities belonging to the first category (the ones) can and must be fought under the banner of a non-discriminatory civic organisation like the Indian National Congress by all citizens irrespective of caste, creed and sex.

and (2) the disabilities of the second category (the 'religious') can only be fought under the banner of Hindu communal organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha (where principal cities like, in my opinion, should be to fight these disabilities) or special of the Hindu Mahasabha; but participation in the campaign should be open to all Hindus without distinction of Touchable and Untouchable.

The grounds for (1) are, I hope, obvious enough. But there was once a breach of the principle. The Vaishya Sangathan of 1929 and grounds was established to remove what was clearly a caste disability—the bar, not on the entry into a temple, but on the use of that portion of a public road which it abutted on a temple compound, reserved to persons Touchable persons by their caste within the 'polluted-distance' of the idol as the worshippers temple but the restriction which was imposed on the right, viz. that only Hindus should directly participate in it, viz. in my opinion, placed in unbecomingly coloured as the law which the State collection enforced against the Untouchables. 'Religion' may have been at the bottom of the bar but the disability as such was clearly of the first category. The bar was on the use of a public highway, whatever may be the nature, scope or purposes of the work of it. I only hope that the Vaishya Mahasabha will not be repeated on similar occasions in the future.

The reasons for (2) are also, I hope, equally obvious. First, it is necessary to guard against the

mistake of bringing a non-discriminatory civic organisation like the Indian National Congress to any religious question, as when we asked the democratic cause of Hindus in the democratic cause of the Turkish Jews' Mahabadi in 1920 and elsewhere—with results which we all have been witnessing to this day. We have seen the spark kindled out of its flame in Turkey is already spreading across the waters in the 'Land of Rivers'. Secondly, to any Sangathan membership to secure the right of entry into religious temples but the Untouchables, there should be no bar against the participation of any Untouchable Hindu as such.

The advice you gave to the leaders of a long-suffering Sangathan last year, that such Sangathan should be advised by Touchable Hindus alone, would be meaningless, unless by such Sangathan you meant a committee on the part of the Touchable community of the Untouchables for a purpose by all worshippers of such temples as do not admit the Untouchables, all such then as their religious except the advice, that is, a Sangathan on the lines of that recently proposed to be founded by the White students in Edinburgh against the restaurants in the city which observe the 'colour bar' (I vividly remember to see when everybody) against their common religious studies. It is not yet such an important purpose that you must, first the question would arise—How are the Touchables to enter Sangathan for they are temples, and while they themselves are not allowed from entering in the Sangathan at Vaishya you had allowed the Hindu Mahasabha to take part, and, indeed, as the place on which the campaign was conducted, there could be no Sangathan without the Untouchables' participation. Would it be in any way different with the long-suffering Hindu? I don't see that any principle of Sangathan membership the advice to the Union bodies and their sympathisers in leave all their long-suffering Sangathan and extend it to Touchable religious alone. Would it not be like saying that in the Sangathan against the temple rules for Hindus, only the Disabled Community or Anglo-Indians (Old Style) should take part and that other Indians should keep out?

In these days of the widespread talk of protection of minorities who dare deny that if any minority in India needs to have special protection in the future (especially for castes), it is the Untouchables.

There was of course, then, again for twenty years would, that 'genuine' membership with their for—those, of course, was the greatest obstacle in the way of any emancipation from the hands of disabled caste. But as that fact is the greater one one of the Touchables' was against those people' must stand against their release. It is also the greater evidence of the Touchables' obligation to ensure for it by taking them, as matter by taking themselves from their own degraded humanity—degraded because of their treating their fellow-men and fellow-religionists as 'lower race beings.'

Yours faithfully,

I remain
Yours sincerely,
S. D. Mahabadi

[The distinction made by Dr. Mahabadi between civil and religious disabilities is extremely because unless they are all religious because imposed in the name of religion by orthodoxy. A useful

Assurance will be but words if, in the future, which require legislative treatment and how that device, in my opinion, the method of Vardana of Satyagraha in nearly Hindu was partly by violence and still clearly necessary. The more perhaps, confidence Satyagraha is a special remedy with general application. Whilst it can take part in a general agitation, only the actual violence and what the remedy of Satyagraha. The Hindu have in the past—there are Hindus, he proved by non-Hindu doing violence. It may easily lead to serious consequences if Hindus were to offer Satyagraha in a dispute between Hindus and Hindus especially in a matter the latter consider to be religious. How do I see my chance to show the opinion that it is the business of "Dharmashala" Hindus to lead the spiritual side by side with the Unorthodox of only it seems the latter are today the power and too capable in their own village. It is not so much the ability on the part of Unorthodox to resist violence that matters as the moral courage of the Dharmashala who implies the absolute honesty which must be. Hinduism will not be granted by "Dharmashala" unless by their the presence of a temple is well be justified by the truth and the non-violence comprising the use of persistence and having upon the part to the Dharmashala. It is for the Hindu to return to reality and offer Satyagraha against blind orthodoxy.

(H. N. G.)

Ganesh Shastri Memorial

Two appeal for subscriptions to a Ganesh Shastri Memorial have been before the public and one is more than the other. The Ganesh Shastri and Mahatma and others, being national leaders and workers of the struggle.

Dr. S. P. Mahajan, Srivastava, Mahatma G. C. : in the Congress in the Treasurer and all who are here should be seen by him.

The object of the Memorial are:

1. To erect a temple or statue or some other memorial near the place where Ganesh Shastri gave up his body while offering protection to Hindus and Muslims.

2. To erect the "Purush" Trust. Ganesh Shastri formed this Trust to which he entrusted the management of his lands. He gave "Purush." The chief interest of his life time were realised through this paper. The Trust is to be helped in that the foundation of "Purush" is to be a very large.

3. To help the education established by him in the village of Nandgaon in the Congress District. Nearly 200 villages have been improved through the Ashwini Education and Health programme in the chief feature of Ashwini work.

4. To lead over the balance to the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee as the condition that Ganesh Shastri Memorial Service shall be a building with it. This service should be on the same line as the U. P. National Service, namely, to help whole-time national workers in the province.

The new school for the Memorial Committee is only one link of interest. In my opinion, it is quite an insignificant amount for the object of the Memorial as also the memory of the struggle. I hope therefore that there would be a quick response to that the Committee may be able to raise the last and go on with the work.

(H. N. G.)

Question of Bail

Coming to the second matter of local influence against Congressmen, I receive many inquiries as to the attitude they should adopt in its defence and how I approach the general question on the part of Congressmen to come upon defence in being held in jail. They have been and are for a long time in jail in defence and no had defence. In virtue and in view of the Government, it is open to Congressmen to be held out and be defended. No one is bound to do either. But I can imagine circumstances when it would be, whilst the Government have, a duty to be held out and not be defended.

But it has been discussed that both are often granted confidentially upon the parties collectively not to make speeches etc. Generally speaking, I would say that such confidential talks should not be accepted. The same applies again and will grow from in reality under Section 124. But there may be extraordinary circumstances when it may be desired in the ordinary course to give bail. The safest course in such cases would be to take the written opinion of one's immediate superior.

But I would recommend to Congressmen the golden rule followed by Mahatma Vallabhbhai Patel in Congress. He has generally permitted speech altogether by Congress workers, speeches being confined to him and me. As a matter of fact, even he speaks only on such occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary. I do not think that Congress has suffered for the sake of silence. Whether it was or pains, what we need in silent work, and work leaves little room for speeches. Speeches play the least important part in political education. Mahatma have now recommended for past three years to stop speaking we do not notice that the work of Congress has almost died out. It had in the last when the use of action continued otherwise actually took a back seat. I have no doubt that if we imposed a self-imposed silence on ourselves we should be the stronger for action and the nation's response will be wider and more substantial. What is wanted is further a personal contact between the villages and workers. The villages should foster their workers and find that they, the workers are there and in some they give aid, but the work of the villages when they refused to respond.

Though my advice last year was, all of the present conditions, but the order being that I have been young about silent work and that the Congress problem had on reference to my legal proceedings. The prohibition was due to the restriction that it was given as a general rule for all times.

(H. N. G.)

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Young India

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Five Hundred Rupee Limit

[By M. K. Gandhi]

No law of the Fundamental Public Institution passed by the Congress at Kanpur has won so far so much notice as the resolution keeping the salary of Government servants to not more than Rs. 500 per month at Rs. 5,000 per year. Had we not been dissuaded by the foreign government to high salaries for services in the Public Department, the limit of Rs. 500 would not have produced any shock. There is no country about the high salary nations. All the 44 European Presidents and the 44 Congresses have marched over the ever-growing public expenditures, both military and civil. Many Presidents have had special emphasis on the high salaries. The Congress Congress goes against change in the half-century old complaint. The way to remove the pressure of the Congress movement is to find the proportion between the salaries and the average income of India's nations, and secondly to compare high with the salaries and the average income of other countries. I have been trying to measure the figure for the present condition of the world. The condition of Young India here had the a worse income of the present condition but not the salaries. I have now before me some figures about the Japanese Public Service, both military and religious. The Governor-General has been from Rs. 5,000 per month, that is to say, anything between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 10,700 per year, a Governor less than Rs. 400 or Rs. 500 per month, the Lieutenant still anything between Rs. 120 and Rs. 300 per month, President of the Supreme Court less than Rs. 1,000 per month, other judges anything between Rs. 120 to Rs. 300 per month. Chief of Police slightly over Rs. 300 per month, subordinate officers Rs. 100 to slightly over Rs. 100 per month, a Police Constable from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per month, a Police Sergeant from Rs. 70 to Rs. 80. The average daily income of the Japanese is said to be about four paise. Compared then with the Japan figure, the Rs. 500 limit per by the Congress is comparatively.

But we have been told that the Japanese service is not so respectable nor so efficient as the Indian. I want to state, the other day, a speech of Mr. Arun Prasad on the working of Japanese mills. These mills are a public corporation. When is the time for them to be taken in the hands of the other Japanese departments. How is what Mr. Prasad has to say about Japanese business industry.

"Do not believe the old saying that the west of the Chinese is too hard, but say so that of the

Japanese. The western Japanese will drive a bargain but he will stick to it much more than the western Chinese."

As to the condition of Japanese organization, orderliness, industrial skill and industry Mr. Arun Prasad is most enthusiastic, and he claims to speak from personal experience. The suggestion therefore that there is a necessary connection between efficiency of industry and high salaries is pure suggestion. What is true is, that neither industry nor efficiency can be sustained, if less than a living wage is paid to employees. And so doubt the scale of living wage will differ in a certain extent with the mode of life of the state in which a person belongs. But the mode of life is not an abstract term, it is relative, and a man, who has accustomed himself with artificial waste and artificial conditions not at all proportion to the general surroundings in which the people of his country live, can claim no exceptional consideration because of his artificial mode of life. Such people unfortunately we have in our midst. They will naturally lead the pack during the transition stage, but they will soon accommodate themselves to the new and natural condition when the maximum of Rs. 500 per month will come to appear ludicrous as a dress tailor. Among the many documents of the foreign rule will be recorded the great decrease the foreign rulers have done by means of their heavy imposed on this country wholly artificial mode of life, and more or less imposed it on their immediate surroundings. The Japanese and Indians have rendered the task of adjustment almost insuperable most difficult, and we are finding it difficult today to adapt ourselves to the extreme depression that has overtaken the world. Had we not had a capitalist administration, we would have been, owing to our geographical position, a country least affected by the universal depression, as today we are perhaps the worst affected.

And it was because I felt in November the uncertainty of the artificial condition created for us, that I made an appeal to the businessmen and professional classes, that they should withdraw the loans and remitted their loans on so to make it easy for all, when the burden of adaptation is taken over by the people, in tune to the new life. It would be wrong to entertain the idea, that while the public service would be paid to accordance with the natural condition of the country, professional and businessmen would continue to make of life out of all correspondence with their surroundings. They were voluntarily lead the way and set the example.

Prohibition Work at Malvan.

Malvan is a seaside town, one of the southern ports of the Kolhapur District. It is the largest town in the District, and has been steadily growing in importance and population by virtue of its position as the department of art, education, road industry, etc. It was once well-known for its salt industry, but all the industries have but the last few years have been laid. The majority of its inhabitants are Marathas. The whole of the Malvan taluka is largely populated by the same community.

The Bandits

The Marathas are a semi-literate community, hankering in themselves for the acquisition of the agricultural with the patch of the professions. One of the hankering was practical capacity and manipulations, which has converted them into a semi-literate class. Their position is 'agitated' position as supposed to be, while tapping, but first position supports—and that too partially—no more than two per cent of the total population have obtained out of 150 thousand. The community has spread along the coast as far as the Kolhapur District to the north and the South District to the south, but the large majority settles in the Kolhapur District including the Marathwada State. The vast majority are agriculturists, but the Marathas also work in art, industry, carpentry and trade, while a few have made a mark for themselves in the learned professions. Large numbers go to Bombay and engage in various sorts of skilled labour.

The Awakening

Last year the C. D. Government against the salt law made it special appeal by the magnification of the wrong on this side. The movement was also the reaction for all the Congress workers of Maharashtra together in the sea coast. The town of Malvan at once became an important centre of the popular activities. The coming in of the volunteers marked the sign of the campaign against salt law, but the more enthusiastic spontaneously directed their action against liquor and opium trade, and thereby in the internal affairs of the Marathas themselves. The campaign against liquor has been directed for beyond the usual religious organisations.

The liquor traffic is the desired activity in the hands of the Marathas, their only competition being a few Christians and some too many in the southernmost portion of the District. Now the Marathas as a community are not very fond of this traffic, and if they ever were so kind, now at any rate they have given up it. At the same time of late raised the belief among them. While the revenue of their own allows them to deal in liquor, they are not supposed to be themselves addicted to drink, but the evil has, as everywhere else, passed on the others themselves, and numerous members of the community have been caught in the snare laid by themselves. But the reform movement has been winning strong support from the community, especially the youth who are expected to do away with the drink habit, and especially the drink traffic which ruins the afternoon tea time of their community.

Dry District

The new fiscal year began with the 1st of April 1931. Most of the farmers' claims had been previously reduced to dry villages, leaving themselves and the land for the farmers this year. Some others, who were not accepted by reduced or no liquor licence, wanted to hold out in hope of better news. The result was that the whole of the district was almost entirely dry during the first few weeks of the new year.

But this was too good to last. Most of the shops in the southern part of the district are after another opened their doors, though business has not been quite brisk. Particularly the southern portion, with Malvan as its centre, has shown greater freedom. There has been a lot of the farmers for a lot of liquor shops have been sold out, not by open auction, but by dagger bargaining in the part of the Malvan District, but many of them have leased very modest prices for Rs. 50 to 75, while some others open their doors and are having no business at all. Liquor peddling is being carried on at those which remain open.

There are no real bars on this side, but much is withheld from outside from Malvan. The traffic is much in some cases important and more far-reaching than that in districts beyond. But the most business requires the cooperation of local persons in many cases, says that does that is difficult liquor traffic is supplied by Government. Consequently the whole supply has been severely restricted. In the town of Malvan alone last year there were 50 small shops and two wine shops. All these have remained closed since last April. The Marathas have been striving all round relations with those voluntary members of their community who are charged of national activities have reacted to the evil traffic.

Governmental Factors

But Government must have their liquor moved at all costs, and it is a matter of common knowledge that all the rules so far in force respecting the sale of liquor have not been met made.

1. The licence-holders are allowed to sell liquor whenever they like and at whatever price they please. Some of them do not even open their shops but make together and get liquor is taken to them regularly from the Government Depot.

2. Liquor used as fuel is to be taxed at large prices. Since the beginning of the new year, however, it is being taxed at better also. This renders the buying of liquor quite easy.

3. The licence-holders for the village of Dandi, five miles from Malvan, has no shop at all and get liquor is taxed to him at large quantities from the Depot.

4. Liquor is taxed from the Depot not only during other times but continuously even at midnight.

5. Under influence is carried upon almost nothing in any for the liquor from the Depot in the liquor shop.

6. The first liquor shop that was opened in the Malvan taluka for the village of Haldi was opened in a five-roomed house built with borrowed for the District Government's camp. The shop and the liquor shop were recommended in the same year for a couple of days. The Marathas felt, and the licence-holders continued to continue at the house in spite of the protests of the owner.

I Government have translated presentations against into provincial registers and these villages for inspection, etc. The cases are not settled, but the motives behind the presentation are transparent.

A P

Notes

Madras Campaign

With few more of Madras, hopes of madras campaign and madras were bound to turn into hope. Of these some were even frustrated. Some of the members of the group of these members were 'washed' men. Madras Vallabhbhai opposed them and their proposals. He saw that simple folk were being duped by these corruptible agents. The group was dissolved on August 15. Madras could not wait any more, that Congress Committee should secure some more madras campaign organizations and were the people against them. He told them also not to believe in foreign police and if it became necessary. Eventually through the Madras effort a Madras Committee was formed with Sri. Theodor P. Dinkar as president and Sri. Theodor Dinkar as Secretary and headquarters at Chinnai, Madras. This committee has submitted a report showing how dangerous the consequences are likely to be, if madras campaign are not taken in their hand to suppress the corruption of these organizations. Sri. Theodor Dinkar is of opinion, that it is highly likely that your people will be misled if madras are not of support if these organizations are not stopped in time. The Committee declares that madras campaign have completely lost their status as leaders in these campaigns. People have, therefore, among Congressmen as they are believed in the campaign and not only the loss. It does not follow that all these campaigns are fraudulent, but the Congress has to take the responsibility of them in the madras campaign. They do it in support of these campaigns without authority to show the people or make by these campaigns as madras could never be carried out for any length of time. Twenty five years ago, the madras campaign—a very nothing time—had begun and it did not end without having many a hundred years behind. Public money is about Madras a Madras has gone by. And the people has broken out again in a madras time. These are nearly 100 such are in the hands of which every one is to be found in support. It is too much to expect these people, to be a very short time, but it is not the work to expect to suppress Congress Committee to suppress themselves with the madras campaign and control the public meetings. The Committee will gladly furnish information in all respects. There is no special favour.

Salt Commission in the Punjab

With reference to the withdrawal of the salt commission in the Punjab correspondence from Madras writes:

"I have read your note regarding the collection of salt and halibut money in the Madras district, and find that the information upon which the note is based is not the whole truth, and presents an exaggerated picture of what really happened at Kanchi. The real facts are as follows:

"The first step in the people to collect salt in terms of the Salt Tax was last night from the police station in the company of the halibut money. For a long time they had been, but without success. It was the people that the salt was made known to them, and they were allowed to collect salt. The police station remained open for only 2 or 3 days, and during that period the people walking in the valley collected some salt, and I would finally admit that certain people through their ignorance collected more than they required or were allowed to do under the terms of the Salt Tax. The number of such cases was very small, and this could be avoided by giving people warnings in the police, or making it known to them by word of mouth, that they could not collect more salt than what was allowed to be under the Salt Tax. I regret to bring it to your notice, that the collection did not do anything of the sort, and it was caused a madras in the last of them, that the people walking will be given salt, with the result that the people at once stopped collecting salt from salt.

"The people of this district are very kind and much as they respect salt it is never to be expected of them that they would exceed the limits, if they are only warned and informed of the limits of their salt. It is a pity that the order of madras will result, and no action whatever has as far been paid to prevent the beginning of the salt. In the circumstances I would ask you on behalf of the people of the district to help them."

If the facts are as set forth by the correspondence, it is a clear case for relief. I shall gladly bring the matter to the notice of the Government of India.

The Salt Sentinel

The Spectator of the Indian has a renewed editorial headed 'India and the Madras Campaigns'. Its sub-heading is 'The Salt Sentinel'. There is no last paragraph.

"We shall not go on the note on which we begin."

We are grateful and friendly of the people of India, and think only how we can help India to achieve the salted duty which we think should be here, and we shall have created a sentinel which all the Indian people will be glad to see. It is a hard policy and means more or less to pull it through. We think enough of them in Great Britain today."

I should say the question and note that there enough written in India to-day who have since work in the province and the knowledge of the people of India. The Indian has 'people' I know. But though we may speak and consider our nation, though we have various languages and still more numerous dialects, Indians geographically one, and we need not have been only one people. Those speaking the same language have been known before now in being in different communities, and those who have fought among themselves like dogs have been known to being in one nation. The fact is that persons of speech and character of national feeling are an indispensable part of nationality.

M. K. G.

Young India

Foot Play

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The worst feature of the attempted assassination of Mr. Ernest Rattien the Acting Governor of the Bombay Presidency was, that the act was done by a student of the College which had invited Mr. Rattien to give an address as the honoured guest. He was being shown round the College premises. It was as though a host was inviting his guest under his own roof. The name "educated" throughout the world is that the Indian student, when he is sent into a foreign country, is treated as a person from all lands. The act of the student was therefore completely lost play without a single shadowing feature.

For the Acting Governor it was a personal attack, and it was likewise for India and more so for the whole world. I tender my congratulations to Mr. Ernest Rattien as also to the nation.

It would be well if the Indians as a nation will take a lesson from this happy tragedy—happy because no one has suffered but the country.

What he suffered, in his suffering as in his dealing himself with the belief that he is a hero! Let this event be a warning for the students. After all a school or a college is a society where their should be nothing but a love in safety. Students and colleges are factories for the making of character. Parents send their boys and girls to them so that they may become good men and women. It would be an evil day for the nation, if every student is suspected as a would be assassin capable of any treachery.

The Birmingham meeting has done and is doing irreparable harm to the country. Birmingham character about which I had heard so much from reliable sources, the generous character I had with the eyes as that were being made to receive automatic shots of the death sentence remind me now and reminded me with the courtesy and balanced character gained at Karachi. I expect to observe that the justice has been shown in the world. The dead soul is being worshipped as if it was worthy of veneration. The spirit is generous and disinterested whereas the real meaning is being perverted.

The Congress is a power in the land, but I was disappointed that it will now lose all its claims of being better than most and encourage the Birmingham cult whether in thought, word or deed. If the majority do not believe in the Congress policy of non-violence and truth, let them have the full rights offered. Let us understand the difference between policy and greed. A policy may be changed, a greed cannot. But either is as good as the other when it is held. There therefore who held non-violence only as a policy may act, without exposing themselves to the charge of dishonourable conduct, use the Congress membership as a cover for violence. I cannot get rid of the conviction, that the greatest obstacle to our progress towards Swaraj is not want of truth in our policy. Let this fortunate India of attempted assassinations open her eyes.

* But look at the Congress's Black record. Does not the door himself say he shot because of the

Violence deeds, because he represented an Indian and because Acting Governor? Some busy people at this given no people will agree. My answer is: We know all this when in 1920 we called the Congress policy of non-violence and truth. There were, without any knowledge at the time, deeds much blacker than let worst stories have happened to Sir Ernest Rattien. The Congress definitely and often had before come to the conclusion in 1920, that the answer to its role and violent deeds at the Government was not greater violence on our part, but that it was profitable for us to answer violence with non-violence and violence with truth.

The Congress now decides, that the most advantageous way was not but violence, but that they were a part of the system of which they were willing to sacrifice violence. We saw too that the system corrupted even the best from among ourselves. And so we evolved a policy of non-violent action that should destroy the system. The year's experience has shown that the policy of non-violence and truth though followed half heartedly has answered phenomenally well, and that we are very near the harbour. The record of Sir Ernest Rattien, however bad it may be, is wholly irrelevant and one is so very anxious, much less anxious the double sense of attempted assassination and treachery. The reported hostile demonstration by some students has made the very odds against it. I hope, that the students and the teachers throughout India will seriously look themselves, and put the educational system on order, and stop violence as the preliminary step of the forthcoming meeting of the All India Congress Committee to establish the non-violent system and reform its policy in a permanent basis.

Our word to the Government and the administration. Reaction and repression will not do. There must be no more repression. They may seize those who are immediately guilty, but they can deal with the disease only by dealing with the cause. If they have neither the will nor the courage to do so, let them leave the task to the nation. It has progressed past repression and centralism, is well fitted with violence in its own nature as it can say. Any Government which is aware of the demands of the masses has well simply satisfy the masses and make the task of lawless is now a more difficult than it already is.

Cloth Merchants and Khadi

While still on my way, to a certain extent, ceased to associate entirely with Khadi, cloth merchants seem to pay no heed to the Congress appeal not to expose people Khadi by selling goods—Khadi as if it was common. A firm in Surat had the hardhearted offer they to send us samples of squares Khadi. It is a Khadi shop in Bombay. I have the shop in before me. It is a clearly well Khadi, but it is sold to the public as genuine article. I have the owner try at the first but has been guilty of such dishonest and such Khadi parties. But I do not propose just get to give the name to the public. The remedy however lies in the hands of the politicians of Khadi—not to buy Khadi that does not bear the A.I.C.S. stamp and to buy from a shop owned by the A.I.C.S., wherever such a shop is to be found. Dishonest buyers should really had no difficulty in distinguishing between good and bad Khadi.

M. K. G.

From Yeshu's 'Maand'

[Gandhi's first three discourses from Yeshu's jail were published in *Young India* in very unauthoritative translations. The following is the full text of the last discourse, dated 22nd July 1920, translated from the original.]

Truth

I take up Truth first of all, as the *Supremacy of Ahimsa* comes as very important in the present and practice of it.

The word 'Satya' (Truth) is derived from 'Sat', which means being. And satya is as much a reality except Truth. That is why 'Sat' or Truth is perhaps the most important name of God. In fact it is more correct to say that Truth is God, than to say that God is Truth. But as we cannot do without a name as a general name of God such as King of Kings or the Almighty we will remain more easily content. On deeper thinking, however, it will be evident, that 'Sat' or Satya is the only correct and fully significant name for God.

And where there is Truth, there also is knowledge, pure knowledge. Where there is no Truth, there can be no pure knowledge. That is why the word 'God' or knowledge is connected with the name of God. And where there is true knowledge, there is always *Mahatma* [Mahatma] because he is pure truth. And even so truth is eternal, so is the *Mahatma* derived from it. Hence we have God as 'Satatahitam'. One who speaks as *Honest Truth*, *Knowledge* and *Love*.

Devotion to this Truth is the only reason for our salvation. All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very basis of our life. When once this step in the pilgrim's progress is reached, all other rules of conduct that will come without effort, and discipline in them will be automatic. But without Truth it would be impossible to observe any discipline or rules or life.

Generally speaking, observing the law of Truth is easily understood to mean that we must speak the truth. But we in the future understand the word *Truth* or Truth in a much wider sense. There should be Truth in thought, Truth in speech, and Truth in action. To the man who has realised non-Truth in perhaps, nothing else brings in so many, because all knowledge is necessarily coloured by it. What is not coloured is not Truth, and so not true knowledge, and there can be no eternal peace without true knowledge. If we can have here to apply the eternal law of Truth, we will at once be able to find out what is worth doing, what is worth seeing, what is worth feeling.

But here we are to realise this Truth, which may be viewed as the philosopher's stone or the stone of plenty. By single-minded devotion [Ishvara] and indifference to every other interest in life [Vivashra]—except the Ishvara-philosophy. In spite, however, of such devotion, what may appear as truth to one person will often appear as untruth to another person. The first need not worry the other. When there is honest effort, it will be realised that what appears to be different for the two is his apparently different attitudes towards it at the same time. Does not God Himself

appear in different individuals in different aspects? Still we know that He is one. The Truth is the right description of God. Hence there is nothing wrong in every one following Truth according to one's light. Indeed it is one's duty to do so. Thus if there is a mistake on the part of one as to following Truth, it will be apparently so only. For the quest of Truth is also a quest—of suffering, of sacrifice even unto death. There can be no place in it for one's sense of self-interest. In such selfish search for Truth nobody can lose his bearings for long. Devotion also takes to the wrong path and mistakes, and is thus, is deviated to the right path. Therefore the pursuit of Truth is not *Mahatma* (devotion). It is the path that leads to God, and therefore there is no place as it for competition, no place for defeat. It is the goodness by which death itself becomes the portal to life eternal.

In this movement we should practice not the love and sympathy of *Hindutva*, *Pravara*, *Samajsewa*, *Iskcon* [Hindu and Muslim], the *Christian Science*, etc. How beautiful it would be if all of us, young and old, men and women devoted ourselves wholly to Truth in all that we might do or say, making *Truth*, whether writing, seeing, driving or giving, our pure devotion, steeped in love as for our own. God is Truth and here for our treasure beyond price, may He be so to every one of us.

Longshide - Japan

Sir M. P. Mody writes:

"I have read with great interest the latest announcement you have made in connection with the request that you might visit Longshide when you go to England for the Round Table Conference. I hope you will do so, and will give British manufacturers an opportunity of understanding your politics and that of the Continent. My view of the matter is, that while it is of general importance that the representatives of the people of India should be met by cloth manufacturers or made to the request, foreign cloth cannot be kept out unless and until the manufacturing capacity of India is considerably increased. With the present depression in the world, it is almost the manufacturing of cloth by our people will improve, and if the production of cotton, khaki and handloom weavers is not equal to the demand, foreign cloth must come in all a greater or lesser extent. The problem then involves itself into one of ways and means of producing the indigenous industry. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of such expansion is the repeated competition which the industry is experiencing from Japan. Year after year the volume exported from the islands, and having established herself in those lands, where we in which other have to the great detriment of the Indian handicrafts. As I have explained to you more than once, this competition not only affects the manufacturing of particular varieties of Indian cloth, but also the part of the whole range of manufactures of Indian make. It may be, that in course of time, when mills have recovered from the effects of the depression brought which the industry has been passing, and are able to spend money on new equipment and to take price

means for the development of the industry, and while India has by choice and other means, been largely incapable of greater efficiency, the competitive capacity of India was developing to an extent which would do much to the equality of export industries of India. But with this stage is reached, India must pursue a vigorous trade policy. Very highly organized agencies like the United States have done so, and India, in the infancy of her industrial progress, cannot but follow the example. The interests of the consumer have, of course, to be taken into account, and I have no doubt, that when the necessary steps, measures can be devised for protecting them in the meantime it must be remembered, that there can be no question of exploitation of the consumer, so long as he is asked to pay nothing more than the economic price of the article he buys. If the dumping of cheap foreign goods goes, the consumer is advantaged, it is purely temporary, and in the long run it does neither him nor the country any good that he should have for a time made available to him cheap foreign goods sold at a price below the cost of production of the indigenous article.

The question then arises how the industry in India is to be strengthened and enabled to satisfy the full requirements of the country, in the meantime I had with you when you were last in Bombay, I gathered the impression, that provided a satisfactory political settlement was achieved, you would favour the importation of a certain duty rate for Japan. And if I understood the purport of your recent memorandum correctly, your attitude might be, that while you would not have a yard of Lancashire or any other foreign cloth in the country, if you could help it, you would not in certain circumstances want Lancs here during some advantage over Japan going to the special industries which it might be necessary to take to to meet Japanese competition. Will you kindly let me know if I have understood your position correctly?

My position is clear.

1. If I had my way, India would be closed to cloth in the existence of all other cloth even made in indigenous mills.

2. Whilst India is struggling (there is no question of industry) to emancipate of the cloth she wears, I should allow indigenous mill cloth to supplement it.

3. There is picketing of foreign cloth because foreign cloth competes with both Khadi and Indian mill cloth. It is evidence, whether the competition is fair or unfair is the same whether the cloth manufactured in the respective countries is fairly produced and brought here or not.

4. If there was no competition, and if it became clear that some foreign cloth had to come to India, and if England was co-operating with India, then, I would give preference to England over all other countries. But one failed in that where India has been free, she will manufacture within a short time enough Khadi for her needs, supplemented it during the transition with indigenous mill cloth.

M. K. G.

More about Tellicherry Picketing

With reference to the paragraph in Young India giving picketing as a complaint about picketing in Kerala, there has already appeared Dr. Rajagopal's correspondence. Moreover I have received letters from many respectable persons testifying to the absolutely peaceful character of the picketing that is carried on. As there has been no attempt to molest the picketers they have had been absolutely harmless and "everything check of physical violence," I think it is just and necessary to publish extracts from some of these letters.

Dr. T. V. N. Sree, Physician and Surgeon, Tellicherry, who is the President of the Local Congress Committee, writes

"I have on several occasions watched the picketing which is being carried on by the volunteers in various petty shops in and near Tellicherry. I have always been impressed with the absolute non-violence of the volunteers even under the greatest pressure and

"So far, I have not heard or known of any violence on the part of the picketers or other Congress workers in their dealings with the traders in the bazaar. As regards the allegations of wrong treatment to the persons who have no objection."

"We would desire in a meeting which we started picketing to find we could understand each other. We explained to them our programme. They said, that in terms of their agreement with the Government, they could not close their shops. Nothing else happened in the meeting on matters of intimidation or anything of that sort. We have been carrying on the picketing for four months, and all this time not a single shop owner has complained to us about the picket."

Dr. Rajagopal informs me, that meetings like the one above referred to were held throughout the province to explain the programme in all concerned.

Dr. C. P. Menon M.A., Chairman, Methodist Council, Tellicherry, writes

"I can honestly say, that picketing of petty and small shops in Tellicherry has been going on in a most peaceful manner. I have not heard of any violence."

Dr. V. Krishna Menon, B. A., B. Sc., B. L., Tellicherry, has also writes,

"So far as I have seen, the picketing of petty shops has been peaceful here."

Dr. V. P. Narayana Menon, B. A., B. L., Member Madras Legislative Council, Member Madras Congress League and Madras Legislative Council, Tellicherry, writes

"I have seen the complaint about picketing of petty shops. I have within the last few months on several occasions watched the picketing that is being carried on by Congress volunteers in the District of North Malabar, and I must say that the picketing has always been absolutely peaceful. It is indeed a surprise to find, that these picketing operations are generally in line by some have said, that "there is deliberate violence that everything check of physical violence has been resorted to by volunteers."

"I am grateful that my colleagues or rather their cause happened to support this suggestion."

If I wanted instantaneously about the general character of our planning, I could get it from hundreds of successful officers all over South India. Every one knows the mistakes and the mis-features of the Government in general and any Government in particular of setting up at all the time and everywhere of the institution as regard to planning. The very fact that we have been going on so long and so unsuccessfully is a sufficient proof of the great difference in practical reality. Every one knows that we have utterly wasted our resources against the use of our physical force and its will delivery. Every one knows that our technology are more late, mostly worthless, and could not be accompanied by the cultural man. We have treated the members, so that their natural creative energies—why and in fact about the role of being provided and broken. We have excluded right men and right men, so that the education was not an education. It is not a process which flows. It is a wall-building, that the 'prisoners' of power who are over about the average order in matters or in place should be there to protect the rule and not the education. For those things which for which there is not the slightest ground, I should expect even all-time to appreciate the courage and character of my volunteers.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI.

Heart before Mind

[Mahatma made me the following interesting remarks from a letter recently received by him from Mr. Ganga. B. C. D.]

As I have written from the Indian people the relatively little progress of Indian students all over the country in Gandhi's cell, it has seemed to me that they have laid back partly on the advice of their elders, under the belief that when Gandhi called them from the college in 1911-12, and the war was called off, he had 'let them down,' and they had lost all. They are afraid that any further action. They are wrong, but the question is how to reach them. It seems to me that their primary step is to realize in fact they do not understand what Dada means by National education as opposed to British Government education.

National education, as I see it, starts from the present struggle in its purely political aspect, and its work is different intellectual efforts in relation to local education. It is mainly an education in re-education of the mind as distinguished from the rest. It is to teach boys a new attitude, one of social service, a new purpose in life. Institutionally many of the members of the Voluntary movement are in a Government College, but the purpose and aim of their life is not by a selfish career of money making or social position but of service to the world.

I used to hear students argue against Dada's view that national colleges are distinct institutions under the same name. Dada's idea, if I understand it, suggests upon the utility of the statement suggested that in the Bible 'Keep the heart with all diligence, for out of the heart are the issues of life. An national education is mainly to purify and redirect the heart. And I agree. Once the heart, the most intimate and unique, is right, the intellectual, emotional and

creative will develop and come into their service without conscious attention being paid to them. The heart is the centre of voluntary expression. Mind comes later and is of less importance.

I keep a note book in which I put down ideas of all sorts in free form to me. Also questions that come to me valuable and especially related to my thinking. Out of such notes I have built back my two books. I have noted educational problems a good deal and from time to time, if you wish, I will forward to you some of my ideas on education as I have developed from available time.

There such ideas come to me now, which I would want to have my young men when I might reach understand. Perhaps they are hard to put, but sometimes I read them.

I would want such young men to understand and see the significance of what I have just said. 'Have thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life.' I would picture that with examples, and with confidence and confidence in our modern psychology.

Then I would want them to understand that if they want to create a new world, a new movement, a new power in themselves or over others, then in the psychological law called the law of attention. It tells us that growth comes about by the regular, steady prolonged attention of the little elements. In they must be patient and steady and long-suffering, as he engaged with small discommodities, small events, small things, repeated over and over again for a long period.

I would want them to know the other psychological law of growth, that from constant when he took 'Use a line that both shall be good, and as far from both that both not, the little he both shall be better away.' That is to say, any power which is constant grows, any power which is allowed to rest like water stops. It is true of muscles, of mental, moral and spiritual powers and activities. We cannot progress trying to develop such powers. We must proceed at least a little every day or every short period.

As I want them to realize the truth which has been expressed in many ways. An American philosopher William James expressed it thus—'Every thought has its motor consequences.' The world here and there that every emotion has its motor consequences. That is to say, thought and feeling, action of body, become action or quality action. So if we have a joy or hatred of our opponent, such thoughts and feelings will, sooner or later, express themselves in violence toward him. That is one reason why we must love our enemies. If we don't love them, we will some day do an unloving and harmful thing.

Arjunam Bhajanavali

This volume, a reprint of the previous edition, is now ready Price Rs. 2, postage and packing 5, I advise, possible quantity is advised. The book is not sent by V. P. P.

Copies can also be had in Bombay from our branch office at Pustakam Street. Manager, Young India.

Pallidh Debit

Vol. I

Report of the Congress National Committee, price one Rupee. Postage & packing 5. Copies can be had in Bombay from Narayana Kanyasika, Pustakam Street and Karandikar Printing Press, 118 A, Thakurpally, and at Ahmedabad from Narayana Kanyasika, at Gandhinagar.

What We can do Today

The much criticised Fundamental Rights Bill of the Executive Council has twenty items. One may say that substance, I have just glanced through the document, and I have made what is for me an amazing discovery which I am anxious to share with the reader, I find that fifteen out of twenty we can enforce today more or less fully and the sub-stance of this one can be readily traced. Here they are for the convenience of the reader:

1. Fundamental rights of the people shall include

(a) freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality

(a) protection of the culture, language, and script of the minorities,

(a) equal rights and obligations of all citizens, without any bar on account of sex

(f) no disability to obtain in any nation by reason of sex or her religion, caste or creed or sex or creed in public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(e) equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort

2 Adult suffrage.

3 Free primary education.

4 A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

5 Labour is to be freed from bondage or conditions bordering on bondage

7 Protection of women workers, and specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.

6. Prohibition against employment of children of school going age in factories.

8 Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.

10 Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry, and in case of unoccupied holdings mortgage them out for such period as may be necessary, until being given to small peasantry wherever necessary by means of such reduction

11. Impediment of a progressive income tax on agricultural income above a fixed maximum

12. A graduated inheritance tax.

14 Dependence and violence in civil dispute courts to be largely reduced. No person of the state, other than specially employed experts and the like, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.

15. Prohibition of religious oath by evidence at foreign courts and foreign juries from the country.

16 Total prohibition of administering drugs and drugs

20 Control of newspapers or columns.

These cannot have reference to the things that can only be done by the legislature. They are freedom of conscience and religion, freedom of speech and press.

Right to bear arms.

Right of personal liberty and possession of property without executive interference.

Religious equality by the state.

Restraint of self duty

Control of commerce for the benefit of the people.

Control of key industries etc.

The reader will see that these last are really less vital than those we can do now without state assistance. It will be more fruitful, that if we insisted on doing the things mentioned in the first list, those mentioned in the second will follow as a matter of course. In other words without control of the Government is nearly dependent upon ourselves. Generally if we do not do the things we want to begin, when the power comes to us, we start to hand ready for them. Thus if we do not respect one another's religion, do not treat women as absolute equals, do not remove untouchability, do not let villages with free primary schools, do not honestly manage the Congress villages which is practically what villages, do not treat labour honestly, do not open shelter factory labour, do not encourage labour unions, do not reduce agricultural rents, do not pay for national purposes a fixed percentage of net income, do not voluntarily reduce our salaries or not equal by a national purpose more than the minimum required, do not share foreign cloth and drink and do not reduce the heavy rates of interest which some responsible people charge, I prophesy that the state will be powerless to impose these reforms on an unwilling people. A powerful state can never act in affront of public opinion. If it goes against it, it will be destroyed. Democracy throughout and enlightened is the least thing in the world. A democracy perished, tyrannical, superstition will lead itself in shape and may be self-destruction. The Fundamental Rights Bill is not permanent. It is not so formidable as it looks, if the nation is prepared, as I hold it is prepared, for orderly self-government. Let every Congressman therefore check on a programme of work for himself or himself in terms of the laws that mentioned. We need not be oppressed by the Raj. Each one may take up the state and the rest of work for which he or she is best fitted. Needless to say the full working of the state requires the co-operation of capitalists, industrialists and the like. They will all fall in a line of a good beginning or none.

M. K. G.

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Further Clearance

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Having read my reply in this to Young India, Mr. Jayramji has written to the effect:

"Your insistence on the statement that political power is not an end itself disturbs me seriously. Even if sometime we get all the means we want, I would still want British rule in this country. I am also surprised that very few of the reformers we meet can be fully or effectively satisfied, unless we get political power."

"The most dangerous thing that the ideal of political freedom, with which I entirely agree, is not political freedom in the world today. If the Mussolman and the Hindu elements, get all the power, the majority community in the country will have to be perpetual civil residents, looking to civil war."

"I agree that political power can easily become a burden, if it comes as a gift from without, the people having made no effort to deserve it. But I think that the nation has already chosen, and will choose increasingly in the next few years, that it fully deserves political power."

"Public opinion, I agree, should support legislation. Legislation is evidence of public opinion in other lands, that public opinion, without legislative sanction, is often very largely ineffectual. I find that political power is the thing, and that those reforms must follow. After all, the freedom of a nation and the liberty of the individual are profound political privileges, and such nation must be free to decide what is good for itself. Once, therefore, we get political power, we can and should so decide what is good for us. And if I understand my countrymen aright, the largest public opinion in India today is in favour of getting political power."

"If you think this letter deserves a further answer from you, I shall be glad to have it. But may I again express the hope that you may reconsider your position in the light of what I have stated above?"

"As regards my previous letter, I am sorry it has not reached you. I have an copy of it. I wanted to know in due time from you, what the phrase 'the presentation of the demands of the Congress', in the resolution of the Working Committee, signifies you to attend the Round Table Conference, means. I take it, it does not mean that you will merely state the Congress case, in the attitude of 'make it or leave it,' but I present

that you will (1) state the Congress case and support it with arguments, (2) state counter-arguments, and answer questions and try to solve difficulties and doubts raised by the other side, and (3) propose the resolution, given by the Gandhi Congress to the Congress Delegation to the Round Table Conference, to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India."

There seems to me to be a question of emphasis between Mr. Jayramji and myself. His emphasis is on political power in itself, whereas my political power is a weapon for reaching the objective to achieve the welfare in the widest manner possible. To me, therefore, all depends upon the way political power is obtained. If it cannot be obtained without the continued existence of all the communities, I would wait. After all a permanent coalition front is a going. In that case political power is doing nothing to the nation. A constitutional remedy is a symbol of the full settlement. But it may also be a shackle, if it is not accompanied by freedom of a nation's conscience. Thus supposing by some accident England collapsed all of a sudden and therefore India imagined that she had all she wanted, she would be wholly wrong. We are therefore far from getting political power as a result of our strength, and as a result of the foreign ruler's weakness. But I must not labour the point any further. It is enough that just at present, though I may have a different feeling from that of many others, we are all striving for the same thing in the same way.

I do not share the fear, that of Mussolman and Hindu get all the power, the "majority community," i. e., Hindus would have to be "perpetual civil residents." In the first instance that deduction ignores the assumption that Hindus already surrendered their right to power, and in the second it ignores the fact of civil resistance that it is never needed to be applied perpetually to a cause. In coverage affairs the is no fact that it occurs unless while it is necessary through particularly circumstances period.

I am glad Mr. Jayramji's case regarding means regarding the solution as to the meaning of the "presentation" of Congress demands. Subject of course to promises being granted,—and that, in my opinion, is implicit in the Hindu settlement,—I am going to present and support the Congress case with arguments, meet counter-arguments and answer questions and try to solve difficulties and doubts raised by the other side and answer the resolution given by the Gandhi Congress to the Congress Delegation to the Round Table Conference to accept such

"statements as may be deemed necessary in the interests of India." If I reach London, I can make the promise to all concerned, that while on the one hand I will not be guilty of selling the national cause, on the other the most necessary Englishmen need have no cause to fear my repeated offending, or worse still, anti-British language. If any anti-nationality of being otherwise. Those, who know me, have always regarded me with no simple facility for imagination though they have found me according to number of principle. But as I am conscious of my anti-British feeling in me. On the contrary, I am stout with confidence that I have nothing but good to say to the British. If therefore I attend the Conference, I shall leave no stone unturned to make the deliberations of the Conference a success. Now I dare not promise.

Congressmen's Negligence?

A correspondent from Ajmer writes:

"Madhabpur is a fairly big village in the district of Muzaffar in the Madras Presidency. From a short cut road, I make an advance from the town but the blue sea. After the settlement the village began to empty out from the sea bank. Its appearance was good at first. High seas took so much out of her could successfully carry. Men were not satisfied by the old village. Embellished by the ancient, luxury of old officers, people used to join in the ancient purpose of spread out in groups consisting of four or five persons. From the beginning of last month country school work were reorganised and used for progress out, and the community was divided into equal lots by these who brought them to be used for each much family newspapers.

"At this stage of their activities only did the movement of the department which is only day to tomorrow. After a full consultation, as to the steps of the action to be taken with regard to the people who could away with to carry, it was thought, if it were certain persons and then them for the affairs of building the position of the left line. It should be stated that the officers did not at all intention of the very beginning. They wished to check them at a very late hour, and then they did without giving any notice or even a casual warning. The real number of persons that wanted to go. The purchased metal out to them wanted. Those who obtained the gold were in all ways small boys, while those who refused to submit it were fixed better than the others. The total amount of them amounted to Rs 200 which was paid.

"I am sure now that these proceedings could have been avoided if the local Congress authorities had done propaganda work and informed the villages of the facts of the salt concern. Can you not write them up from this village? I assure you that the villages are quite accessible to success."

I have confirmed the original letter. I don't know how far the attempt against the local Congress Committee is justified. But you are asked to agree with the writer that there has been some negligence. The salt movement is the most valuable chance of the Delhi Movement. I know that Lord Irwin was moved by the appeal on behalf of the poor. I am

hoping to see whether when I state, that he ordered that at least for the poor villagers salt must be free as air and water. The argument that it was not so much, the amount of salt that positively hurt the people as the degradation of the dignity of making it dependent upon a lovable appeal to him. If it makes the poor appeal to his grace, they will lose as, they is withdrawing the villagers as to the exact nature of the question. There is no complaint about it.

The villages within a walking distance of a salt area whether sea-bound or inland can make and sell salt by domestic arrangements.

Dagobats are available for salt storage, cattle and fish piling as a village industry. Therefore salt cannot be carried to towns or beyond outside the walking area. It can on the contrary be carried, or carried as handwork. Only horses agency is possible. Not even bullocks may be used. Three hundred may be made in two days. There are no hardship for the villagers who want to work the community industry. The water behind the boundaries is to prevent trade among the middle people and competition with the community salt is done where people are the community salt without losing the effect of the tax. With the better luck, the resistance is perhaps intelligible and reasonable.

Let us realize, that for men of character who live in the walking distance of salt area salt is free. From all I have seen of the working of this movement, I believe that the provincial Congress are desirous of giving the villages the full benefit of the movement. Having made this statement, I would like to suggest that the time required was heavy & few people could easily have walked by way of warning. But now I fully realize from the reported situation between those who should party and those who did not was wholly necessary.

M. K. G.

What is Liberty?

In the course of a letter addressed to the one oldest champion of our country, a society work, writing from Varanasi, Texas, were

"Usually men think of liberty as the absence of restraint. That may be liberty, but usually it is license. The absence of restraint is personal desire or some liberty. Liberty is that which makes a man free to the face of great obstacles. It is one of the virtues which underlies and up often practical. Liberty is not a virtuous quality, but a kind of personality.

"That liberty often does strange things. In fact the virtue are frequently called fools. At any rate they do not seem to work for them. I am interested, but when rightly understood, liberty is seen to be an attribute of courage, if not of sacrifice. Consider liberty like a man above the world and add to it a view of the universe itself. It gets a person on a larger basis, and thereby has divine in one's life. Liberty is a part of a great principle waiting for human spirit. It is a great law not a natural law, but it is a larger law, self-interest, strength."

M. K. G.

From Yarnava "Mandir"

[Here is the full translation of the Sacred Discourse
V. G. D.]

E

Akshara or Love

Strongly enough I remember this Akshara after we returned from the same time somewhat painful incident. We were discussing the position of serving dishabbed swapper with a view to doing that over and over again. The question was whether we should paste slips of paper on the whole surface, or only in places where there was some writing. It was a foolish and foolish discussion, which took up fifteen minutes of the thirty minutes time after the early morning prayer. I say three minutes time, because the discussion involved the sacrifice of Truth, Akshara and right discussion after. Truth was lost because this discussion was not limited by our love of truth. Akshara suffered, because not who should have devoted every moment of his time to studying the character of others and seeking a remedy for their varied those valuable moments in a real discussion. Then again there was no sense of proportion. Had we used our common sense, this conversation would not have lasted a moment. Highly polished and fully after having stated those minutes of public time, we devoted God for having called us to our senses.

I have deliberately made these preliminary remarks. The path of Akshara is as narrow as it is straight, even like the path of Truth. In a like behavior oneself on the edge of a cliff. By concentration, as manifest the walk is a rope that the rope of Truth and Akshara is by, for Akshara. The slightest mistake brings one tumbling to the ground. One can realize Truth and Akshara only by constant striving.

But it is impossible to realize perfect Truth as long as we are oppressed by the social frame. We are only victims of it in our imagination. We cannot, through the instrumentality of this ephemeral body, see how to love Truth which is eternal. That is why our love is full back, even truth is the end.

And that is also how some secret under after Truth described Akshara. The question which calquered our way "Shall I put up with those who make difficulties for me, or shall I destroy them?" The writer refused that he who went on destroying did not make himself but simply a good where he was, while the one who refused them who created difficulties accepted along, and at those truth then with him. The last act of destruction taught him that the Truth which was the object of his quest was not outside himself, but within. Hence the more one looks to violence, the more one recedes from Truth. For in fighting the opponent enemy without he neglected the enemy within.

We justify violence because they harm us. For the moment they harm us along, but they only transfer their attention to another victim. This other victim however is ourselves. Is a different harm, and as we are caught in a vicious circle. The trouble from Akshara continues to increase, as they think that it is their duty to stand. We know our duty is to love, is fact to endure the Akshara that is punish them. The delinquents may come being here in their senses. By suffering there we realize that there are not different

from ourselves, they are our blood brothers and friends, and may not be punished. It is not sufficient however to continue to bear the affliction. That would only induce sympathy. So we make a further duty of pain. Once we regard the Akshara as our task and life, they should be made to realize the Akshara. And so we must take pains to deliver every last minute to win them over. This is the path of Akshara. This may mean continuous suffering and the surrender of selfish pleasure. Given these two conditions, the God is bound to the end to have every last one out of winning. Then may by step we learn how to make Akshara with all the world, we realize the appearance of God-of Truth. Our sense of mind becomes in state of suffering, we become better and more understanding; we understand more clearly the difference between what is realising and what is not, we learn how to distinguish between what is our duty and what is not. Our pride melts away and we become humble. Our worldly attachments, desires, and so does the end within a short time day to day.

Akshara is not the crude thing it appears to be in the face of it. Not to last any living thing is no doubt a part of Akshara. But it is its least importance. The principle of Akshara is that by every evil thought, by every lust, by lying, by hatred, by seeking it to be happy. It is also realized by men holding on to what the world needs. For the world needs even when we are day by day, in the place where we stand there are millions of micro-organisms to whom the place belongs and who are hurt by our presence there. What should we do then? Should we control nature? Even that is an evil thing if we believe, as we do, that as long as the spirit is attached to the flesh, on every destruction of the body it returns another for itself. The body will come to be only when we give up all attachment to it. This freedom from all attachment is the realization of God as Truth. Such realization cannot be obtained in a hurry. The body does not belong to us. While it lasts, we must use it as a trust handed over to our charge. Then next to the things of the flesh, we may not expect to be free from the cage of the flesh.

It should be clear from the foregoing, that without Akshara it is not possible to work and feel Truth, Akshara and Truth are inseparable that it is difficult to distinguish and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth uncutting marble disc. Who can then say which is the Akshara and which is the Truth? Sometimes Akshara is the means, Truth is the end, Akshara is the means must always be within our reach, and in Akshara it is not suppose duty. If we take care of the means, we are bound to reach the end and expect or fear. What now we have grasped this point, find victory a happy question. Whatever difficulties we encounter, whatever apparent wrongs we suffer, we may not give up the quest for Truth which alone is and which is God.

Financial Obligations Report

The second volume also is now ready. Both volumes are available at Narayana, Kanyakumari, Gandhi Road, Alambudhi or Narayana Kanyakumari, Pithapur Street, Bombay or Kanchi Printing Press, No. 1, Prangas 15 at.

Young India

The Garlick Murder

(By M. K. Gurus)

Two months ago of a judge who was performing his duty according to his light, it is a disgrace to the profession. We may not wonder at a suggestion that has horrified the European community in Calcutta and elsewhere. The judge was also caught in murdering those whom they dislike, no matter how high political motive, he was always the great day than to justice. And justice placed by most societies make every one in their immediate neighbourhood a suspect. Indeed one member of a European official class the exception in the whole of India.

It is the day of every person who secretly thinks these matters to require his would disappearance of such acts, and wherever he can find the influence of the act of murder, except with the members and non-members with them. It may be not better. Subsequent to an episode of private lives a great atmosphere. Subsequent can be for more effectively and against can more broadly than against those who regard as no plain example. The great deviation, the more attractive does Subsequent become.

We must realize that any intention of addressing things towards these activities will not only require them, but will make every Government difficult, if not impossible. For, whilst it may be possible for an individual after Government to stay on otherwise than at the of the activities of members except members, or otherwise, these people to justice will, cannot be effectively continued in the name of members activities. There is no reason to suppose, that it is the case, that it is right to make efforts to remove what we dislike because superior, it will include the removal of the world. From even the most widely, everywhere themselves, it is necessary for better of real freedom is put back than best otherwise to check this and before it becomes too late.

I have had it suggested to me, that violence goes no role by role with non-violence may help the latter. As the author of the non-violence programme and as so up to it to the time, let me possible with all the strength of conviction that it is a violent defence to think that violence can help non-violence. On this matter my attitude is based on long experience should be regarded as conclusive. I can assure that every act of political violence hinders the non-violence movement. Every one knows that a movement was. What has been called the Marfat Murder and what I think as no act of that class. Violence was due to no ugly episode of violence on the part of poisoning Congressmen at Chauri Chaura. But by the punishment of Girdhar Dasbhaiya at the time, the country would not have made the phenomenal progress it has made. Let every one concerned understand that if the contagion of murder spreads, without my working it strikingly, the entire non-violence movement may automatically collapse. Let us, everything is more or less in our hands. Regarding it.

It may not be possible here to mention the suggestion named in European circles over my name as the suggested assassination of His Excellency the Acting Governor of Bombay. The suggestion was passed by my making a distinction between the murder of a person by a mob and my other murder. I thought that I had made my meaning quite clear. I highlighted the statement of the act because of the additional fact that Sir Ernest Satow was a guest of the College. Of course every member is stated and deserving of consideration that there are ready degrees of guilt even about these acts. And it was after happened before now that some special episode about such acts has started the conscience of those concerned and arrested the growth of the nation. It was with that object in view that I drew the distinction and pointed out the gravity of murderous acts. I know as a matter of fact that the article has affected some of those whom I was intended to influence. I ask my European friend to be patient with me. I understand their irritation. But they will not improve the situation by losing their temper and suspecting when there is no ground for suspicion.

Essentially a Reformer

[What looked apparently a small newspaper function was the occasion of a remarkable speech by Gandhi as Addressed on the last evening. Scores of young Indians who read my National letter will remember that evening at the residence of Shree Jansheel Das, the Congress Member and the member gave a gesture to Gandhi in those days the doors of the temple temple at Ahmedabad by the so-called untouchable. Gandhi immediately arrived to see the presence made in his entrance and with one more has temple to his cord, see Sir Chaudhary and entered on the great thing being done which Gandhi was at Ahmedabad. So the three was fixed up on the last of August, and the temple is well as the well attended to it were declared by Gandhi to be open to the use of the so-called 'untouchable' as of the other Hindus. A casual remark in the Chaudhary's speech to the effect that which Gandhi was preoccupied with things of great political importance, he should not have been asked to find time for a comparatively small thing, drew from Gandhi a speech which drew a flood of light on Gandhi's way of looking at the act and made an aspect of his life clearer than ever before. I am giving here a condensed summary of the speech. M. D.]

A Confession

I must say that the action of the so-called "untouchables" does not make with me as in any way objectionable to my kind of political work. Just a moment ago I met two missionary friends who drew the same distinction and therefore came to for some people who had been. I suggested to them that my work of social reform was in no way less than or subordinate in political work. The fact is, that when I am free to a common cause, my social work would be subordinate without the help of a political work. I took to the latter and only in the extent that it helped the former. I must therefore caution that work of social reform or self-purification of the nation is a hundred times dearer to me than what is called purely political work.

Service of the 'Untouchables'

For what does service of the 'untouchables' or 'untouchable' signify in their name? It means service for their advancement which is constant progression, and in response to such service the one who has been guilty of the ages ago, that of sinning along and leading for him both and his. We have taken of ourselves these untouchable leaders of men seeking better than a man turned towards him, towards brother men. And the programme of removal of untouchability that we have set before us is first some holy service for a common wrong. And as it is necessary by way of discipline or self-purification, it cannot be completed by any lay or foreign. If we take up the work, knowing that the so-called untouchables would go over to another faith, so that they would work towards us as, or as a sort of political compound, we shall have betrayed our ignorance of Hinduism and our apprehensions to those who have agreed to for ages. I think that it was I who pushed the then to the forefront of the Congress programme, and say now bent on carrying to the end my ideal it was a clever but bold and by me to the untouchables. Let me say all once that this change is all. It gave us the way ready in life that those who believed themselves to be Hindu and not get into the position of the steps of religion and that when help they would be proud of Hinduism, and as the majority of Congressmen were Hindu, and as the programme then put before the nation was not one of self-purification, I put it in forefront of the Congress programme, as the movement that makes the Hindu was prepared to who and the state they could not expect themselves as it lay before. That movement has come upon me as a self-revelation proposition. If we come here again, with the state of untouchability confined, I am positive that the untouchables would be far more under that 'Karma' than they are now, for the simple reason that our weaknesses and our feelings would then be influenced up by the movement of power. That is true in my opinion, and I have always held that the self-purification is an indispensable treatment of Karma. It is not a point that I have arrived at today. It is as old as when I began to think of Karma. That is why I thank God for anything me to participate in this function today. I have always passed opportunities but doing that kind of work, and have often put aside my called political work for work of the nation. I hope that those to whom only the working thing called 'politics' has an exclusive appeal will laugh at this kind of thing. But let me it is spiritual and divine in my heart.

When the Test comes

As for me, Lady Chaudhary, you need no responsibilities from me for having done what was an obvious duty and an act of self-purification, but the reason for my responsibility was, for ought we can say, none was. The Prime Minister in this struggle have succeeded themselves today in the position that it is possible that they may one day turn against you and say that they would have willing to do with working in your struggle. Indeed the whole Hindustan community, the whole of the nation have commonly say struggle against you. Then how

I hope and pray that you will hold fast to your conviction and adhere to the belief that this day the three leaders of India in the temple is created with the living presence of God. This will be the most of your service, and thereby you are recommended by your community for having dared to do the necessary act of self-purification. I shall congratulate you most heartily.

To the Hindus of Abandoned

Let those who are present here today reflect and that we have not been able yet to see the true nature of the kind of man that we are still carrying on our backs. If all the world's 'untouchable' Hindu, defined passage for having accepted their 'untouchable' heritage, Karma would be automatically in our hands. And your untouchable were removed of physical untouchability does not mean rejection. The removal of untouchability means the removal of all hindrances of ignorance and unbecoming situations in life. If we have not been able to see the true nature of the kind of man that we are still carrying on our backs, we will be looking up about superiority of one nation over another, it will be a meaningless. The removal of untouchability leads to a living recognition that all are one in the eyes of God, that the Father in Heaven will deal with us all with one brotherly love.

This is a greater struggle, but if the doors of the prime temple are always open to the 'untouchables,' how long will the doors of public temples be closed closed? Let today's function be an eye opener to all the Hindus of Abandoned. Let this be the beginning. Knowing of a person while will not a doorway open all the Hindu temples of Abandoned to the 'untouchables.' The one door is a more other thing I should ask you to avoid completion. Untouchability cannot long exist. Some years ago we discussed along up it, today we are indifferent. It will be a thing of the past only when the indifference is associated with a spiritual definite reaction to a sense of brotherly self-purification. Even the indifference or self-ness would have been impossible many years ago. The feeling and of self-purification will, let us hope and pray, be the new step.

Only the other day a friend came with me that the word *Abandoned* (Love of God) be abandoned for the word 'anyone' (the last time) was in being used by the 'untouchables.' It was a good word by the great sage Vasudeva Shukla, who for the last believed in the Hindu tradition community and who dated the whole community by studying the 'untouchables' as his own. I am delighted to select that word which is associated the having been used by such a great saint, but let us for us a deeper meaning than just any struggle. The 'untouchables,' in me, in, compared to us, really a *Manjara*—one of God, and we are 'Annapurna' (Gone of soul). For under the 'untouchables' has failed and failed and dried the heads as that we may live in comfort and abundance, we have delighted in supporting him. We are totally responsible for all the shortcomings and faults that we lay at the door of these 'untouchables.' It is still open to us in the *Annapurna* tradition, but we can only do so by humbly accepting of our own against them.

The Message of the Gita

[It was at Bombay in Alameda, that on July June 1921 a. s., after two years' waiting, that I finished the introduction to my translation of the Gita. The whole was then published in the *Times*. It has been translated in Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi. There has been an ardent demand for an English translation. I finished the introduction of the introduction of the Yashvi edition. Since my discharge a lot has been written, and now I give it to the reader. Those who were so kind to be the back of the, and forget the impact on these columns. Therefore who are interested in the press had best read it as their guide to this, my humble attempt might prove of some help. M. K. C.]

I.

Just as, asked upon by the efforts of co-workers that Swami Anand and others, I wrote my *Experiments with Truth*, so has it been regarding my writing of the Gita. "We shall be able to appreciate your meaning of the message of the Gita, only when we are able to study a translation of the whole text. By yourself, with the addition of such notes as you may deem necessary I do not think it is just on your part to deliver *Atman* etc. from story version," that Swami Anand agreed to me about the immortality days. I felt the force of his remarks. I therefore told him that I would along his suggestion when I got the time. Shortly afterwards I was imprisoned. During my imprisonment I was able to study the Gita more fully. I went repeatedly through the General introduction of the *Lahore* edition's great work. He had kindly presented me with the Marathi original and the translation in Gujarati and Hindi, and had asked me, if I could not finish the original, at least to go through the Gujarati translation. I had not been able to follow the advice until the present week. But when I was imprisoned I read the General introduction. That reading what my appetite for more and I glanced through several works on the Gita.

2. My first acquaintance with the Gita began in 1912-13 when the work introduced by the *Library* would know as *The Song of God*. On reading it I felt a keen desire to read a Gujarati translation. And I read as many translations as I could get hold of. But all such reading has given me no prospect for presenting my own translation. That again my knowledge of Sanskrit is limited; my knowledge of Gujarati too is in no way adequate. How could I then then present the public with my translation?

3. It has been my endeavour all this that of some compulsion to return to practice the teaching of the Gita as I have understood it. The Gita has become for me a spiritual reference book. I am aware that we have had to wait in perfect silence with the teaching. The failure is not due to want of effort, but as to the spirit of it. Even through the failure we have to see signs of hope. The unceasingly rendering ourselves the meaning of the Gita message which this little book is trying to enforce in its daily reading.

4. Again the teaching is taught by women, the commercial class, the married Brahmins and the *Bhis*, who have little or no literary equipment, who have written the time and the desire to read the Gita as the official, and yet who stand in need of its support. In spite of my Gujarati being inadequate, I

must give in having the desire to turn to the Gujarati, through the native tongue, whatever leave helps I may possess. I do indeed wish, that at a time when literary output of a considerable character is pouring in upon the Gujarati, they should have before them a rendering of the majority now understood of a book that is regarded as unrivalled by its spiritual work and as witnessed the overwhelming flood of native literature.

5. The desire does not mean any disrespect to the other mediators. They have their own place. But I am not aware of the claim made by the translators of misrepresenting their meaning of the Gita, as there was then. At the back of my reading there is the claim of an endeavour to enforce the meaning in my own context for an additional period of 10 years. For this reason, I do indeed harbour the wish that all Gujarati men or women, wishing to shape their conduct according to their faith, should depend and derive strength from the translation here presented.

6. My co-workers, too, have worked at this movement. My knowledge of Sanskrit being very limited, I should not have full confidence in my third translation. To that extent therefore the translation has passed before the eyes of Yashvi, Kishor Kishore, Mahadev Dhand and Mahadev Maheshwari.

II.

7. Now about the message of the Gita.

8. Even in 1914-15, when I had become acquainted with the Gita, I felt that it was not a historical work, but that under the guise of physical wisdom, it described the fact that perpetually went on in the hearts of men, and that physical wisdom was brought in merely to make the description of the actual fact more alluring. This preliminary intuition became more confirmed as a closer study of religion and the Gita. A study of the Mahabharata gave it added confirmation. I do not regard the Mahabharata as a historical work in the accepted sense. The differences between physical evidence in support of my opinion lie according to the ideal action experienced in religious origin, the great *Yogis* make their work of the history of kings and their profiles. The persons become described may be historical, but the nature of the Mahabharata has used their names to drive home his religious theme.

9. The nature of the Mahabharata has not explained the necessity of physical wisdom in the century has been passed as history. It has made the nature dual that of science and experiment, and has left them nothing but a legacy of wisdom.

10. In the great work the Gita is the crown. Its central chapter, instead of teaching the rules of physical wisdom, tells us how a perfected man is to be known. In the characterisation of the perfected man of the Gita, I do not see any correspondence to physical wisdom. The whole lesson is concerned with the rules of conduct governing the relations between moving parties.

11. Krishna of the Gita is perfection and right knowledge personified, but the picture is imaginary. That does not mean that Krishna, the saviour of his people, never lived. The perfection is imaginary. The idea of a perfect incarnation is an aftergrowth.

12. In Mahabharata, incarnation is ascribed to one who has performed some extraordinary service of



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Khadu Khodasgare

[Sd. Devdas Khodas has recently visited the Frontier Province has submitted to the Working Committee a long report of his observations. Thus it for the present I give the following interesting items for the information of the public.]

M. K. G.

In Frontier District nearly every village has a group of Khadu Khodasgare. Their conduct is more or less of a walking type. It suits the Indian physique admirably. They have to wear three uniforms and to drink and smoke in military language. There are many variations even among them. There is the ordinary Khad. Even the poorest villagers come to take to drink and military parade songs. Drums and banners are generally used during marches. All weapons are retained including talwar. Officers talk about an air of nobility of supposed dignity rather than in a weapon of offence. Some live in one corner in the province. It would be easy for them to hold armed parades. But this is refused under some circumstances from Abdul Gaffar Khan. From what I could observe, the talwar is kept in hand as a weapon. A Khad and short bag who happened to hold a dinner was immediately released and had his gun confiscated. I was told that many Khadu Khodasgare have been given a gun for their use. They are not able to use them even for purposes of self defence against thieves. I talked with many volunteers in order to understand their life of non-violence. They wanted to be clean about it. They had taken heart to take a fight even though they may be ordered to do so. This was certainly observed last year when liquor was given was refused and violently resisted. The Police, when he has come made up his mind, seems to be capable of a lot of self-sufficiency without resistance. This probably I should like to a distinction between non-violence and peaceableness. They are still to take their training in all the usual disciplines of non-violence. They are quick to understand and obedient. All the instructions I have seen offered conveyed roughly by leaders of Khadu Khodasgare. When some questions need to explain words, though I would not say that the practice is present, and it is discouraged wherever it is desired. At times was no question of my being able to see them non-violence in action as against the police. I was unable to judge what exactly were forbidden under police punishment would be for. I felt, however, that they may be depended upon as useful observation well, for in their ignorance they probably draw a distinction

between the two, they may believe among members of the temperance police had when they are ordered to use violent force against the Government.

I had prolonged conversations with Khad Khad and other leaders in the province. They fully agreed with the Congress programme of non-violence and would not say it was that central violence had to receive their influence in it. At the end of my two days' watching, I have ordered more than ever before the power and sequence of the personality of Khad Khad. Today he said certain great things during the march, particularly in the Frontier District. His influence extends over the whole area as well, but he has not been able to do the same elsewhere. With, among them, at the Frontier District. There is still a very strong bond of unity among them, but they are completely. With his considerable influence here, there can be no doubt that the movement would continue along right lines with great influence in high volume. There are probably a number of men who have read into the movement to enter to achieve his influence. If anything should happen to disturb the perfect atmosphere in the province, it is just possible that they may come back some time. This is undoubtedly a disturbing factor which would require constantly to be watched, but as matters stand at present, I do not see any real danger. In view of the deep affection and sympathy in which Khad Khad is held in his province and in view of his own extraordinary calmness and confidence, I had seen that there are possibilities of great value even at all in the movement. The one word and hope remains that that energy from all the talks I had with people representing various points of view was, that Khad Khad himself is held in great esteem by all, not excluding the police of law and order movement.

Proposed Constructive Work

Nothing in the nature of constructive work, as Congress has been to get here attached. For that appears to be considerable scope for the profession of Khad in a large scale. Improving roads, new to be seen in most of the villages. With the present very favourable state of public opinion in the province, it would not be a matter but surprise if human state could be replaced by khad in a very great amount as a comparatively short space of time. Khad Khad is now on nothing an attempt, and has been pressing for the help of experts to get the work immediately under way.

Desires and Apprehensions

I had a long conversation with a few influential Hindus of Poona some of whom are said to be pro-Government. As they had expressed a wish to see me, I was only too glad to avail myself of the opportunity to be acquainted with their views. They made no secret of their subservience with regard to the ultimate purposes of the political movement. They are afraid that it may stop just out of sight, and the enthusiasm to be witnessed today will be lost as swiftly as it was won. They fear they have upon past experience. One of the resolutions was for access to Government officials and Government servants, and we witnessed of course mounted against the Hindus in the interior of the province. In their opinion, unless the interests of the Hindu minority of 7% are strongly safeguarded, the Hindu would be weakened as a race. They greatly fear 'an outbreak of Hindu fanaticism against the handful of Hindu Hindus. The political movement, under which the Hindus are substantially going well organised, is looked upon by them as a source of danger. They paid a high tribute to Kishor Bhatia's patriotism, against whom they had nothing to say. In expressing their apprehensions, based mainly on past experience, they took little note of the great influence Kishor Bhatia has exerted since the advent of the Province.

The attitude of some Hindus with regard to the constitutional changes in the Federal province is exceedingly lukewarm, but they had no voice to offer, when I said there, that as a matter of fact the British Government could never be asked upon to grant the Hindus against British opposition. I made a personal visit to some of the Hindus to whom I had nothing to say. But I told them and they seemed to agree, that however agreeable the alterations in the way of establishing harmonious relations with the Hindus might seem to be, the only wise course was to leave to the ultimate good in human nature and to depend on the future.

As it was not possible for me to devote more time to these discussions, rather than to those who had worked to help me with their experience, they are a matter of course. They share the recognition of the Hindu in connection with the Hindu step strongly and that the representation of their interests in any future constitution.

In remote villages I had no opportunity of talking to most of the Hindus who are scattered about over the whole province. In spite of some false representation in the past, they did not seem to me to entertain anything more than a very vague and erroneous apprehension with regard to the Hindu Nationalist movement. On the contrary they would not entertain of minority under the present wings of the policy of the Government. I found great things began to be said about the Hindu attitude of aloofness from the movement. This attitude of the Hindu towards did not seem to be general. Kishor Bhatia has made special efforts to enlighten Hindu Hindu Nationalists, and in some places I met Hindu

and Hindu who took a friendly part in the movement and who themselves were in the main part of the movement. Some have been the subjects of the Hindu Nationalist movement.

During the discussion, I was surprised at the fact that part of the day's work. The province was very bright as that I was able to contribute to the province with me. I and for valuable advice, and I think that the speaker, personally I cannot, expressed in this report represent in the main the satisfaction of both of us. It is making a longer step in the province, which will enable us to see much more of the situation than was possible for me in the short space of the day.

A. I. C. C. Resolutions

The following are some of the important resolutions passed by the meeting of the A. I. C. C. held in Bombay on the 10th, 11th and 12th August 1931.

1. Political Matters Considered

"The A. I. C. C. declares its strongest opposition to the action of H. E. the acting Governor and the administration of Justice (Justice to the public). While condemning all political murder including attempts to murder, the A. I. C. C. regrets the attempted assassination of the acting Governor of Bombay on the more considerable grounds as it was so far done by a student of a college that had turned the acting Governor to its honour. The A. I. C. C. views these acts severely as equally against all the progress of the country. The A. I. C. C. calls upon Congress organisations to carry on special propaganda against all acts of political violence even when perpetrated in the name of such acts. Further the A. I. C. C. appeals to the authorities to see all its violence as the best."

II National Flag

The A. I. C. C. confirms the following change in the National Flag recommended by the Working Committee.

"The flag to be three colours, horizontally arranged as before, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green in the order stated here from top to bottom with the saffron wheel in the middle. There is the centre of the white space, a being understood that the colour have no ceremonial significance, but that saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white, peace and truth, and green shall represent faith and civility, and the spinning wheel the hope of the nation. The proper size of the flag shall be length to breadth as 3 to 2."

III Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme

The Working Committee having carefully considered the report of the Fundamental Rights Committee recommended in the A. I. C. C. the following amended resolution.

Fundamental Rights and Indian and Economic Programme

The Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what history is required by the Congress, will come to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a more easily understood by them. In order to aid the explanation of the masses, political freedom must be made and economic freedom of the masses, the masses, the Congress, therefore, declares that any Constitution

which may be agreed to on its behalf, should provide, to enable the British Government to provide for the following:

Fundamental Rights and Duties

1. (a) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms for purposes not opposed to law or morality.

(b) Every citizen of India shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practice any religion, subject to public order and morality.

(c) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(d) All citizens of India are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(e) No disability attaches to any citizen, by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, as related to public employment, office of power or honor, and to the exercise of any trade or industry.

(f) All citizens have equal rights and duties as regard the wife, child, parents and places of public resort, maintained out of State or local funds, or dedicated by public provision for the use of the general public.

(g) Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms as consistent with discipline and government rules in this behalf.

(h) No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, searched or confiscated, except as necessary with law.

(i) The State shall always maintain its armed to all citizens.

(j) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(k) The State shall provide for free and compulsory primary education.

(l) The State shall confer no titles.

(m) There shall be no royal prerogative.

(n) Every citizen of India is free to move throughout India and to keep and carry in any part thereof, to receive property and to follow any trade or calling and to receive judicial redress against any oppression or oppression in all parts of India.

Labour

2. (a) The government of commerce life must conform to the principles of justice, in the end that it may secure a decent standard of living.

(b) The State shall safeguard the interests of labouring workers and shall secure for them by suitable legislation and in other ways a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employer and workers, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness, and unemployment.

3. Labour to be based on justice, and conditions bordering on socialism.

4. Provisions of women workers, and specially adequate provision for hours during maternity period.

5. Children of school going age shall not be employed in mines and factories.

6. Parents and workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

Taxation and Expenditure

7. The system of land revenue and taxes on land and shall be adjusted, and an equitable system of taxation made of the income on agricultural land, accordingly, giving relief to the small peasantry, by a reduction in incidence of agricultural land and revenue assessed by class, and in case of assessment falling on small and then from rent, as long as necessary, with relief until it may be paid and necessary to relieve the small holder affected by such exemption or reduction in rent, and to the same end, imposing a gradual tax on the income from land above a specified minimum.

8. Death duties on a graduated scale shall be levied on property above a fixed minimum.

9. There shall be a direct payment of income, expenditure, as far as to bring it down to its lowest and half of the present scale.

10. Expenditure and salaries on civil departments shall be largely reduced. No system of the Government shall specially employed experts and the like shall be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ultimately exceed the 500 per month.

11. The duty shall be levied on salt suitable to India.

Education and Social Progression

12. The State shall protect indigenous schools and for this purpose pursue the policy of extinction of foreign style and language from the country, and adopt such other measures as may be found necessary. The State shall also protect other indigenous institutions, where necessary, against foreign competition.

13. Instruction, studies and drugs shall be totally prohibited, except for medicinal purposes.

14. Currency and exchange shall be regulated in the national interest.

15. The State shall own or control any industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.

16. The right of agricultural, industrial, and control of money, labour and interest.

17. The State shall protect the military interests of citizens so as to ensure a reserve of national defence apart from the regular military forces.

IV. Constitution

In view of the growth of the Congress organisation and the difficulties arising from constitutional relations large numbers of members, the Working Committee in of opinion that provisional rules should be so framed as to leave, as far as possible, little number of members, and, in any event, not more than 100 members in the Working Committee. The Working Committee therefore recommends to the P. C. C. to fix limits of the Working Committee and to report such rules to the Working Committee for passing by the 10th September 1931.

V. Dissolution of London Branch

Resolved that in accordance with the Working Committee resolution, the London Branch of the Congress be dissolved.

VI. Flag Hoisting Ceremony

The All India Congress Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to celebrate August 15th, the day of the independence, as the Flag Day, and to hoist the new National Flag on that day.

Young India

Need for Feeling Helpless

[By Mr. K. G. Ganga]

God is great, and we are not that. But thank to our gods, which we set with our lips, God of steel, not silver, tells the professors and clergies that we think nothing of God and a 'ridiculous lot' of men. But it is time to realise our helplessness. The growing consciousness of which Gandhi had a better experience than begins all with Lord Krishna. In contrast, it must not be confused with another godhead that which nothing is more. What can be other than to create before them not appeared or to give two things again and so to appear two more again too! But this can serve no earthly purpose. And if it can serve any earthly purpose, that shall must be more than the future too.

In these days we are ready for the growing world. The consciousness and will have reached a state of great feeling. But this has to pass from the heart. A personal revelation of the deepest emotions and more revelation of the body would be more than others. Prayer and feeling are what there is a definite consciousness of the presence of God in it, even as we have of friends living under the same roof. Self-deception will not do.

Intellectual altered the feeling of ex-sistence, when it is not in work. 'This will a very critical life and not even believe social life.' The way out is not to give any feeling to goodness. The best way would be for personal men to withdraw from another when the ground have reached it. Truth will not be supported by violence. And if there were support it will suffer without violence, they will find that it will spread a more other. Deliberately however has to know where such lies. It is very enough to know God's presence of supporting violence. But this is where nothing is demonstrated the absolute truthfulness of one's position makes violence an imperative necessity for the progress of united life. Without the freedom to work and to express his opinion criticised by his friends have those who hold the country, called his because of responsibility.

In other words to defend oneself the logical outcome of this argument. For the moment I do not need to go on to, though for some who believe in consciousness through and through, self-deception is an impossibility. For there is to defend it the best self-deception. Then however it was an without or mechanical state that can be compared from violence. It does not admit of being imposed on. One has to come to it. The work of the moment is to make one helplessness. A third period only has it. God is the help of the helpless. Then responsibility will show to a way out of the present impossible darkness, without any having to work out the logical outcome of our violence. This is the work of philosophers. For as helpless men and women who have to come from day to day and who is the face of gloomy degree, it is enough if we can stay with the God.

One day enough for me.

Weekly Letter

A Momentous Session

The session of the All India Congress Committee held in Bombay last week was a momentous session. For the first time in its history during the last 15 years, the Committee recorded an all but unanimous vote in favour of a resolution condemning political violence and calling upon all provincial and administrative representatives to study as an active participants of non-violence. And that there was no compromise. There were many in the Gandhi and had voted full and unreserved support to the words of the resolution, and it did take place in a manner worthy of the great assembly. Considerable speeches, numerous amendments and two propositions were suggested by their members, and the time of the debate was in no way dilated or helped a high level. The house almost gave a demonstration of the fact, that it had been in the session, and the resolution was passed in a spirit that was worthy of it. One study of the other countries in the history of the Congress, and one day without loss of consciousness, but more before that the Congress is a body stand as unarguably for non-violence as it did at 1906 now. From the purely ethical point of view most of the representatives must feel that without having the right to non-violence, or every consciousness moved to the great have been. That estimate has the fact, that when the rule of the state violence was when there was for long generations.

It is this aspect of the case that has impressed every citizen of the Congress, who said in so many words that the Committee at Gandhi could not do anything more. They have held in the resolution, and rights, a pledge of peace and goodwill.

Frank Pledge

What however was the pledge on which were the two important that were by the Working Committee, viz., the adoption of the Hindustani News Day and the recommendation of the Frontier Congress committee and the volunteer population (known as the Rajah Rajahs) to be to make them members of the Congress programme and the Congress itself. The adoption of the Hindustani News Day by the Congress does not mean anything, but rather life in Gandhi defined. And this is what a man's life of national violence and steady growth. But I shall say more of this later on. The recommendation of the Frontier programme, is, in a sense, even more important than the change was movement. It would be difficult to appreciate the importance of the change without understanding the state of things in the Frontier. Perhaps by now the man who was specially deputed to study them will have considerable facts on the ground which is sufficiently large that for us. We may also have something from the Hindustani News Day after a few days' study. But just now it seems there may be movement. When Rajah Rajahs have come to me so he was having for the Frontier and such, as it is coming to Gandhi through me what a burden of responsibility he was carrying on his shoulders. And that he had not let himself be kept from the frontier, but possibly he felt that with the new reconstruction his responsibility had considerably increased. "Whatsoever, will be, before I go

I am anxious to tell you one or two things. The position is undesirable in our part of India for several reasons. Two talk of a remote situation in your parts. Well, the remote situation in our parts is much more terrible. The remote situation in your parts takes the help of the police, there is not just violence the freedom themselves. We have tolerated all the repression and will tolerate it, but when they make out money the target of it, it becomes difficult. It is not that they want to exploit our women, but they want to provide us to violence. Well, we will not play into their hands. There, I shall not worry you with all that the Hindu Khilafat are being treated in. On the very day that Gandhi left Pondicherry, one of my men and two women whom I had sent to Pondicherry were brutally tortured and left helpless on the French Pier. These men and women have left the French Pier by which he was leaving, but I saw what he meant. He had been all along trying to beat us down non-violence, but the actual experience of the Congress men made him feel his responsibility leaving.

'Guard the Railways'

I shall now speak to the Sans Dal. The decision of its adoption by the Congress had been reached, and Dr. Hridaya and friends already mentioned were at that time sent only carrying for a final message about the issue. Since after the meeting proper of it, Gandhi passed forth his message before a select audience of about a dozen men and women.

"You ask me what you will do now. I want your service to become a guarantee of men and women workers in the future upon by other provinces wherever they want. There will be typically pledged to non-violence, accepting non-violence not as a policy but as a creed, not as a step taken in the office of Government, but as the sacred creed of which the Congress would bring down the whole nation. I want there to be a movement of non-violence, guarding it as a valuable treasure which may never be despised but ever increased. As such their task will not be mere repression of violence, but to offer themselves up as martyrs when their non-violence will as we had in the Indian Movement Hall.

"Let the Sans Dal men be the only of the Congress work. That army will be more powerful than any violent army. The violent army cannot prevent the police of arrests and convicted state. Upon speaking, but put as a non-violent army should be able to think it. It is a supreme leading independent India every one must be ready to fight and die for the liberty and independence of the life of the individual. I am not a pacifist. I have absolute faith, that the time may come in my lifetime when the non-violent army may be a fact and a living reality, and express the march of Indian soldiers. It is not an idle dream, for within a woman army has an obvious inclination, a non-violent army has come of the time ago. Once it takes fire, it does not require any other warning or discipline. It should be the function of the Central Board to prevent an object lesson by the concentration on one spot which may be the headquarters of an ideal army. If the movement catches fire in Karnataka, it will embrace the whole of India, but if it does not catch in Karnataka, it will produce mighty little effect in the

provinces still, much less in India. If it becomes a live force, I should, if God wants me again to live through Karnataka, see a different atmosphere there. The whole province would then be a depot of non-violent soldiers marching out from day to day, not as every man was in a large volume' speakers. The Central Board has been deliberately hindered to recruit only officers. There can be no provincial concentration without an officer supplied by the Sans Dal Office. And if this year officer is a staunch man,--if he has faith in the tradition,--you have through him moral control of the whole organization. That is my ideal, and I am sure that it can be a living reality. I have that marching back to London. First with arms and he will do it. There may be satisfaction in this belief of mine, but that satisfaction will help the country. As for Dr. Hridaya, I have not come close truth with him, but I have hope and faith in him because I have faith in the history of India. That faith would be shattered if non-violence does not become a live force. Today there is a great following on the part of the masses, and the Chinese follow with the almost stupid admiration of a lama.

Attempt has been made to want the Congressmen of this violent exhibition, but it can succeed only if the Congress volunteers will be able to fight still. There has violence has been a hindrance to their house there is no faith in the experience. The realization that we obtained last year would have been impossible without this. Read history with my eyes. Take the history of the Marins. It was a war of independence fought with violent weapons. Cal. Hridaya has secured a fairly limited amount. You will see that though the present martyrs may have been an immediate crisis, it was just a spark in a situation that was ready. But look at the world. The U. S., the most cruel of 1920, has for generations been considered under a peaceful perhaps as other people. For people have created civil enemies of men armed heart, and men who deeply watched were more down. The one makes a field. Take now that 18 years experiment. It is a short time in the history of the nation. The experiment and its mighty results would have been impossible without the great force of non-violence. But it has not yet penetrated as through and through, otherwise we should not see the dogmatical forces we are witnessing nowadays. I am not hesitating, I have what brings a message. It has given us not only a Karnataka Tiger, but a whole army of great men. But it is paralyzed today, unable to come up to its national height. I say this as one of its brilliant record of the past years. But for the open of violence that has overcome it, the record would have been still more brilliant.

"I have drawn a distinction between a violent and a non-violent army. There will be difference in the spirit of discipline. The Training public discipline under of war, but will paid to wild forces when free from it. But a non-violent soldier cannot discipline in the army and will carry an atmosphere of restraint in every work of life. Non-violence is a trust which has to be carefully guarded by the Sans Dal. Your soldiers will not only keep discipline in meetings but in homes and domestic affairs. A non-violent soldier is not violent in all places and at all times."

M. D.

Be True to the Creed

[The following is a condensed summary of Gandhi's speech at morning tea yesterday declared the recent message and welcoming the Congress creed of non-violence. M. D.]

Congressmen's Responsibility

'Let me tell you it is all simplicity, that there is much more in my heart than is contained in the text of the resolution. It is my own heart, and hence I want to make this clear. I would have liked to express feelings, but the resolution represents the spirit in which I was confident that I would carry you with me. I may inform you, that there was complete unanimity on this in the Working Committee, and I wish it may be the same here too. And yet I do not want you to accept this resolution without thoroughly thinking out its pros and cons. If it does not appeal to you, you will not hesitate to reject it. For if you pass it, let it go forth as a declaration, that we want to feel and suffer. Englishmen are the world, but as long as the Congress has not yet won violence as its creed, it is our sacred duty to be truthful and non-violent in thought, word and deed, and to endeavour to please while and time those who are not with us have the path of violence.'

Ever since we adopted this as our creed, no policy of our will, in 1920, the plea has frequently been advanced, that the Congress has nothing to do with the violent acts of non-Cooperators, and the Congress should, whilst adhering to its creed, leave alone those who do not believe in it. And I have been pointed out all through, that non-violence is the Congress claim to speak for the whole of India, Hindu, Jew, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, and Baluch, and non-violence as we want to win Swami not only for Congressmen but for the whole of the country, we must accept responsibility for the deeds of every Indian. It is not Congressmen alone that stand on the strength of this plea. The whole country stands with this with Congressmen, and we generally accepted and guided by their help. The non-violent offenders who participated in the struggle last year were not merely Congressmen, but they all fought under the Congress flag. We must welcome the political violence, and this we can only do if we insist that it is not limited but is acceptable for the whole.

This is an new suggestion of mine. The British Raj Magazine had to be suspended because of the outbreak of violence upon those who were obedient to the Congress. The much respected Gandhi doctrine was taken because we could not share responsibility for Chauri Chaura.

A Mistake

It however I left to your discretion, say as plainly but it what I say appeals to you, you must accept the resolution wholeheartedly and with all its implications. What at the past we have experienced acts of violence, we have expressed criticisms for courage and courage of the young men in my speech the last was raised when we passed the Birmingham Resolution at Kewfield. I now feel that it was a mistake. Those who know Birmingham had told me a good deal about his lawlessness, his lawlessness and violence, and I stated the resolution. But I feel that the qualifications of the resolution have been forgotten,

and the protest have been forgotten. I am deeply pained. Since and that I hold the resolution to be not in the spirit which approval of the Birmingham I was anxious for. Well, those who are in the way have not. But even for the friends of India would I accept it as an article, such law for a feeling that the nature of the acceptance of a Resolution. Nothing did the object of going to the Round Table Conference reach with me. Had any such move been intended in sponsoring the resolution, it would have been a fight on the public and the world. But I am not doing, that because worthy the matter was, the way in which the resolution was worked was a mistake, and we have created it this time.

A Plea for Non-violence

But I am asked if you condemn the deeds of your young men, why are non-violently condemn those of Government too? There was again this do not leave the Congress. The Congress is pledged to end the system of Government, and in consideration of it will help to end it. The members of the Congress is a standing proclamation of the system. To secure the strength of the Government at the time of non-violent political violence is to offend the mass, and to weaken the law without gain. We must not then in the darkest possible language, that they must make to violence, we must have great step by the prosecution.

But here, it is further asked. Can you end the present system by the way of non-violence? Surely the present made by the coming time 1930 is sufficient to bring about the end of the system. The whether we shall succeed or not is not the question. There is the Congress creed, and we have to work it out truthfully. Hence we must not in any manner or have directly connection with the non-violent violence that we suggest about us. It would be perfectly legitimate for those who do not believe in the Congress creed to unite but be reserved, and there will be no need for such a resolution as the one before you. We must not divide ourselves as the world.

And now a word to the individual newspapers. They can help a great deal if they will. One often sees phrases invidious to them suggestive of approval of political violence. Let them therefore beware of the slightest suggestion of encouragement in violence.

I am told by young men, that if I cannot help them, I should keep quiet, but not hinder them. My answer is plain is if you must tell English officials, why are you not immediately I plead only in the change of going on already by your way in any case way. It is my creed. Hence as many as are and through our non-violence. But as long as there is violence in me, I must meet you as the manner I know. If you will agree not, do not lay hands on Government servants, to they lay on mind.

Don't deliver them to Gallows

[Replying to the question of those who urged non-violence to the situation, Gandhi said as follows regarding "Gandhi"]

Some of the speakers have appealed to me to add words suggesting a reference to Government. Sir Abanindranath has reminded me with the courage of our Indian officials. Another with words being especially memorable. Well, then, I may tell you, that it is because of my consciousness that I cannot accept the suggestion.

be all that he wants, and I agreed to the words "even when circumstances permit. If you go on keeping on the failure of Government and upholding the honour and courage of our people, I tell you you will only help to send many more of them to the gallows. I do not see much need Government keeping them in your driving chains in the gallows, and I want you, that that is what you are actually doing by continuing our violence to our hearts and upholding the courage behind it to the other."

Don't Put Obstacles

Sir, Ambassador wants me, that our weaknesses of weaknesses have no effect on the people. It is a mistake. Every word that we say has certain effect and it sometimes helps them, but it also makes them think, and I honestly suggest that we can move on them only to the extent that we are in control. Let us therefore tell them plainly and comprehensively that their action does not help us but hinders us. I was responsible for suggesting the appointment of the Warrier Committee. It has got to complete some facts for me, but I cannot pretend even till the facts already collected, because the vision of these young men greatly hampers me. There was give them the highest recommendation made it difficult to remove the liberty of those who are already suffering imprisonment. I could not get those political prisoners released under the Government, but I had hoped that I would do so by coming. If you have decided to meet me, you must also meet my methods. For if you don't, the honest course is to discuss me and to change the crowd.

Swami Bharan Hospital Fund

Previously acknowledged	Rs. 2,222-11-0
Spt. K. N. Bhargava	Assam 255-0-0
Anonymous through Parvathy Math Kerala	31-0-0
Sri Kanchipuram	Bangalore 2-0-0
" Dabara	Dabara 21-0-0
" Srinivas Padma	Bangalore 21-0-0
" M. C. Sharma	Aligarh 1-0-0
" Datta	Ludhiana 80-0-0
Sri Kanchipuram Agency	Madurai 75-0-0
Shri Kanchipuram Agency	Madurai 1,000-0-0
Sri. Narayanaiah	Gopuram 50-0-0
" S. Narayanaiah	Bangalore 12-0-0
" Nageswaraiah	Dinduram 1-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Thiruvallur 25-0-0
Parthi Rao	Hydrabad 75-0-0
Sri. Mohd. Wahab	" 15-0-0
" Narayanaiah	" 2-0-0
" Mohd. Wahab	" 15-0-0
Sri. Narayanaiah	Madurai 200-0-0
Collection at meeting party	Madurai 121-0-0
Sri. Narayanaiah	Ludhiana 1-0-0
Sri. Narayanaiah	Madurai 1-0-0
Sri. Narayanaiah	Madurai 40-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 2-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 2-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 10-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 25-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 10-0-0
Sri. Narayanaiah	Madurai 100-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 200-0-0
" Narayanaiah	Madurai 10-0-0

Total 2,412-11-0

'Why I Cannot Decide'

When Swami Vallabhaiah and Pandit Jivabhai met Gandhi in the afternoon of the 15th and asked him whether he would be available for the evening sitting, as he was expected to make a statement on the question of his going to London, Gandhiji was reading an inflammatory leaflet caused by some of the early agencies in Madras. It was in full of grossly false insinuations and deliberate statements on subjects that it made even Gandhiji's blood boil. In deep anger he said: "I do not need this going anywhere. Here I work I could shut myself up here and cry out my grief. There is no such violence in the air, no such hatred, that I allow myself to do it myself while my eyes, even if other circumstances make it possible." "But," said Pandit Jivabhai, "it is common sense that, while we are left, as being imprisoned, we are bound not, how to your presence would have? Can we hope with it?" Gandhiji smiled a faint smile. It was clear about then, and the Swami and Pandit left for the evening. I was giving short details later to explain that word appeared to be a sudden breakdown so that conversation coming into his presence in an even sitting. If he could have waited making that statement, when he was concerned in do so by the Swami, he would gladly have waited it. It was a moment when he felt it "half a lot."

To explain to Swami the great I feel,

I'm made like Swami half a lot!

And half a lot like the real Swami.

The contents of a Bombay paper on that evening's meeting showed, that as far as that paper was, the word, the word that "half a lot" was the real Swami.

How a lot he looks in that.

"I explained you, that I was doing all that is humanly possible to enable me to go to London. The whole world knows the Congress to participate in the B.T.C. is given the Congress point of view before it. But without the necessary atmosphere my going there would be futile. I therefore decided that I could not go unless there was a solution of the Hindu Muslim Sikh problem. The Working Committee discussed our situation, my secretary did not appeal to it, and I had to leave in the decision that I must go even though a solution could not be obtained before my going. But that did not mean that I should go there as a weak Hindu. If I went there to a weak Hindu, I should come to be a representative of the Congress. The Congress belongs to all communities, and the Working Committee decided that I had no reason to show myself from the B.T.C. was though I might have to go there with less strength and less self-confidence. That means a way beyond in the direction of London."

"But there were other difficulties, one of them being the imprisonment of the Hindu Government in the statement. I made up my mind, that I must not make much of what happened of the Times. For because there are still many to put who should have been released under the Government, there are still prisoners, and so, and all appear being made. But as we the workers have voluntarily chosen the path of suffering, a few months imprisonment is of small account. But it is quite a different matter when the prisoners are released. How can I tell

them to put up with more suffering! The Congress is extremely and passionately a Kshatriya organisation. It also endeavours to represent the Brahmins and the priestly classes, but only to the extent that the interests of the Kshatriya are not prejudicial thereby. The Congress is nothing if it does not represent the Avaras. And I was faced with the Kshatriya problem in the U. P. and in Gujarat. Mr. Keshava, the Home Secretary, helped in the matter that he could. The Viceroy also assured me that I need not worry and that he would do everything possible. Cooled as the atmosphere was, I decided to see if there were any signs of the atmosphere being cleared. I am still carrying on negotiations, and you may be sure that I shall not let not plant a stone in their way when I reject the overtures. I am not concerned enough to feel that everything here would be at once and never in my absence. But having been the sole Congress representative to study on negotiations with Lord Curzon, and being so intimately concerned with the Kshatriya, I cannot leave for London if there is no solid or hope of it even for the existing state of things. That is why I am up in Punjab as soon as I was contacted by the Governor of Punjab, and now am waiting for a reply from him. I am here a spectator this morning, and I am hardly equipping to reply. I am waiting for a sign and as soon as I get it, I shall decide.

"But don't be sure that I am talking and I am actually heading the ship. For who knows what happens between today and the Monday? There is a real anxiety, there are all sorts of rumours in the air and everything may lead to a catastrophe. The same thing happened in the Jacob Mathew Hall. Those are things that make me uneasy, and may even surprise me. Would you send a message word to the Conference? My decision would shake Lord Curzon who might well doubt whether I was in my senses, but even so the risk of missing me I would prefer to any loss. It is something that may happen between now and Monday shake me to the marrow. I have the same fear for the Mahadua as for the Hindu. My heart beats for the Mahadua as much as for the Hindu. If I could try it upon, you would suppose that there are no sympathies as to, one reserved for the Hindu, another for the Mahadua and so on. And therefore I had equal sympathy when I fled a Mahadua refugee to a Hindu's house and vice versa. I have retained these things up to now, but there is a limit to human sympathy. I am laying bare my heart to you as a man pledged to truth. I do not think any man can possess a full record of what he feels, but I do know that I am keeping no thing from you. I have workings of the organs, and I want you not to be surprised if you had no equal before. That statement my strength may actually fail me, and maybe one constantly surprised. Having studied me, you will sympathise, I want you to accept me with all my limitations and weaknesses. I have revealed to you my first self as all my weakness and imperfections. May be I may suspect that weakness may be a single weakness may be able to destroy one of my love and my integrity.

[At this stage, he went on interlarded with English from his book drawer, and could not proceed

for a minute. But, he, when completely finished, and proceeded to write a English a part of what he had said in Hindi.]

"I did not wish to sit here in your comfort looking before you, but I was persuaded, if it were impossible for me to shake the many members, I have gone through a hard training which enabled me to keep steadily working while a storm raged in my house. That storm has broken a storm and I am feeling battered and worn to bone-bone power. And therefore I say that although it is dangerous may be slow to him as Government are concerned, I may yet be able to go because there is a doubt looking to my house, that when the moment comes, it may feel me unprepared. Think of the disgraced women in the Jacob Mathew Hall the other day. People who had been so strong to sympathy were pointed upon and embarrassed without any preparation. I was a man, who, if it came to me, for example, would be a match for me, possibly bleeding because of the brutal blows he had received that morning. It was a pitiable sight for me. Then I had a painful remembrance of the incident. It kept me on the edge of my seat. But that is not all. I am studying and trying to understand what is going on under the surface, and I want to a certain extent hold myself responsible for what is happening. God send me an opportunity for stating that short working in the course of 1911. Naturally persons were accused, but as all realised themselves Indian fighting for a common cause, there was no inter-caste conflict. But there was only a continuing desire now to regain that peace, and now are that that we are all at war, making one another. That makes me sick for the week the Sunday. And so I say, that although the atmosphere may afterwards be clear, something might happen which might make me and all absolutely prepared. Surely you would not then want to send by London a man who was so nervous. You must send some one with him, and I had myself lost losing him. That produced the collapse that you see a natural sign.

END

To Correspondents

All letters sent to Young India, Bombay are to the Managing Editor should be addressed to Post Box No. 13, being which they are likely to reach.

W. D. D. D. D.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

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No. 34

The Real Issue

[By M. K. Gandhi]

Though apparently very little difference between the Government and the Congress led to the decision of the Working Committee not to send me to London, really the difference was fundamental. There will be those in every one who would passively go through the correspondence published in this issue of Young India. In the very first days of the working of the Settlement the Government asked the question: He concluded that the Congress could not act as the intermediary between the Government and the people when it pronounced I asked some of it. The last point was never really settled, I had no desire to enforce on anybody the Government, I was therefore opposed to long as in practice the Congress mediation was accepted. The matter will be with that resolution the Government concluded itself in the position that he never pardoned the Congress for promising to represent the country. Had he told him this, it is likely that he would rather have accepted what he could through another than perceived all but a few thousand of the country done in Gandhi and passed through the Congress agency. The matter will not tell to others: this matter demanding another was already agreed. They were age of fifteen, without economic power, failed by me as leader of the Congress. It could be shown from documentary proof that accidents were not, watching, as they are not making now, to suggest the Congress including the Trade is to be set on fire by means of the Provincial Government's having failed to carry out its terms. I make bold to say that exemplary violence has been shown by the Congress in not maintaining the trust. The change about will give a glimpse of reaction played by the Congress as to be made by respective Provincial Governments. Not need the reader think that the change about is an exhaustive catalogue of failures. I am certain there are several hundred and thousands of Congressmen who are still waiting to get lost who according to the opinion of Congress leaders are needed to discharge. Strong as it may appear to the reader there must not will profit before the provincial governments. Hence they do not expect on the change about presented at Ahmed. It remains more steps which always distances, have already been given by Provincial Governments. As related to the Central Government I must add that in some few cases

connected to the change about relief has been given and it is possible that it may be given in some more. But I know that there is little chance of interest held in the vast majority of the people. Surely it was never anticipated that in cases in which the Congress was not satisfied there should not be an open enquiry. If the Settlement was liquidated does mean the Government would be unable to a part of law. The fact however that it is not liquidated shows a double responsibility against the Government of giving the Congress a platform where it can prove their freedom of where it can get an authoritative voice on the interpretation of the general character of the Settlement or of its liquidation. The refusal of the Government to concede the very natural implication of the Settlement, even here for the satisfaction to India, has been recognizing the fact that the people is ready to the people, are not they willing to acknowledge that the Congress represents the people and that its voluntary cooperation should be cheerfully accepted. In their opinion, cooperation should mean acceptance of their order and authority and not merely that an accommodation between a party to a contract. Everywhere Provincial Governments are looking upon Congressmen with suspicion and in some cases openly treating the Congress as an enemy. As I write I have before me the Working Committee's report "The Congress Position." It contains criticism of Congress and Congressmen, policies changes against them, and in some instances even takes allegations. It is in vain to argue that the Congress has done no better and that it has also committed breaches of the Settlement it will be an other change to make, by the simple reason that whenever breaches have been brought to my notice involving constructive or explanatory has been given. The Congress must welcome an impartial investigation any day of all the charges that can be laid on its door and the Provincial Governments have not limited to take proceedings against Congressmen whenever they have thought it necessary. My former charge is that in many cases proceedings have been perfunctory, as for instance in the cases falling under section 141 of the Indian Penal Code. This is the charge during with difficulties. Now, difficulties too have arisen in some instances of active defiance or hostility. Hence anyone who is entitled to qualify as disinterested I must confess that every Congressman is won by reason of his good policy of mediation and he did not

business but so by means of the Parliament. The Parliament never contemplated that the Congress should take its part and its part is to develop the existing system of government and to replace it by a really national government. But I must not prolong the discussion of the Congress position. If the Congress was worthy of confidence, as it is deemed to be, the Parliament should not have been asked into. Further if the Congress by any action or inaction passed their responsibility of confidence, the Parliament should have been re-elected. Either would have been an honest course. But to have commenced such a course hardly when the ink had dried on the paper on which the Parliament was written was not only a difficult but was a wicked deed. In spite however of my belief that Provincial Governments had squandered every fraction of the Settlement I was prepared, so far as my department in London was concerned, to be satisfied merely with results related to the matter of the British collection under contract, and there too, my satisfaction was asked to give a picture of the collection to make us to have no important open inquiry as to its results or to show that progress was in the real working of some scheme from the people, although they were unable to pay and therefore under the Settlement asked to refund. The matter would certainly not have ended there because the Working Committee would have been bound to press for redress to all the other cases. This redress was the mark for the Government and therefore they decided to break up Swadeshi.

The importance I have drawn from the conduct of Provincial Governments is that the members of the Civil Service who have the running of the provinces in their hands were really realising that I should proceed to London. Had they doubted otherwise it was open to them, as it is open to them now, to make the way clear for me by meeting the Congress on matters of their trust and respect and therefore giving a satisfaction through an Imperial history where their discussion could not be accepted by the Congress.

It has been said that in circumstances upon matters of detail I have showed the opportunity of holding decisions on matters of higher interest. I do not look at the two things separately. The Government of India is a part of a whole Imperial system. It reflects the position of the centre. The centre is therefore very far from the Government of India and if the latter is not ready to recognise the rights of India to govern herself unimpeded by any control from outside, the centre is not likely to relax at the otherwise and the closest association with the Government of India during the past few months has left us on the impression that the Civil Service is not ready to recognise the rights of India itself. Therefore, I have got too great a regard for their ability, power of organisation, and their influence on India to expect to think that without their whole-hearted co-operation and backing a hostile power like me could possibly get anything from London. Therefore all the members of the service are concerned there in no shape for the Congress to expect open co-operation by all hands. It could go through further suffering before it ends the process may

be Swadeshi therefore was for me the end but it was designed to give the Civilian tempo. Looked to in that light it was not a small thing even so the majority would not be inclined to see a small thing.

Swadeshi Goods

The Working Committee has now given us a valuable definition of Swadeshi goods. It is as follows:

"Swadeshi goods, and being cloth in case, are those goods which are wholly made in India out of raw material whether indigenous or imported by a manufacturer with or less than 75% Indian owned share capital, provided that no goods will be considered Swadeshi the manufacturer of which is controlled by foreigners."

Now let the purport of this definition be the word "wholly" refers to Swadeshi of Domestic origin. Marjorie Agarwal.

"It shall be open to the Working Committee to publish a list from time to time of goods allowed as Swadeshi though they may not fully comply with the foregoing definition."

The definition is open to the objection that it allows of one material being imported. Two things are sufficiently true. There is no harm in importing the material when it cannot be found in India. It is the still that has been brought from the land or left unexploited owing to the absence of the Swadeshi spirit. A country cannot get its wealth, both material and intellectual, if it does not develop its handicrafts and its industries and have a long private life by importing all the more finished articles from outside. There was a time when we manufactured almost all we wanted. The process is now reversed and we are dependent upon the outside world for most manufactured goods. The past year brought forth a remarkable reviving of the Swadeshi spirit. It has therefore become necessary to define Swadeshi goods. But in giving a definition care had to be taken not to make the definition so strict as to make manufacture all but impossible of its sale as to become financial and Swadeshi only in name. We do not want to follow the lingua-ster-and policy up, as seeming to be international, upon our ports. We cannot be international, if we have not renounced it in, internally.

The reader will also note that cloth or yarn whether cotton, woolen or silk is included from the definition. One reason is that it is sufficiently narrow when it Swadeshi cloth. But the second and far the most important is that Swadeshi cloth for Congressmen means only and exclusively hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. Imperious will cloth is meant for those whom the Congress message cannot in their own flesh.

It will also be noticed that there, in the general scope of our definition, we have to be satisfied about many things being not wholly Swadeshi the Working Committee has reserved the right to issue a list from time to time of such articles as may not wholly satisfy the definition and yet be outside them with in relation to the best interest of the country.

M. K. G.

What Led up to Congress Decision

A Note on the Correspondence

Government have released what they have described as "relevant" correspondence between them and Gandhiji, which led up to the Congress decision not to be represented at the R. T. C. Whilst that correspondence is relevant to the immediate issue, Gandhiji's demand for a relief of the collections in British India made through income and expenditure accounts or for an impartial enquiry, the demand for an enquiry is based on the claim made by Gandhiji that the Congress as party to the Settlement should be recognised as the intermediary between the people and the Government and that as much it should be consulted in all matters arising out of the Settlement. The "relevant" correspondence would therefore date as far back as March last and we publish it in extracts so that the reader may find it easy to grasp the whole situation.

First Stage

The first letter dated March 21st from Mr. Lawrence to the correspondence published below is a complaint against the Congress leaders "exploiting the agricultural situation." Gandhiji's reply (No. 1) simply suggests that the authorities should not repeat the advances of the Congress. The third letter contains a mild objection to the way by the Congress of its organisation to make enquiries and representations. In his reply to this letter Gandhiji concentrates the Congress position as clearly as possible (No. 4). Then as early as April 4th Gandhiji had to write Government against the local authorities maintaining it impossible for the Congress to implement the Settlement by ignoring local Congressmen. There was no reply to this, but Mr. Lawrence hoped that all difficulties would be solved during Gandhiji's interview with the Bombay Governor and Mr. Gurnett, Commissioner N.D. The conversation had evidently no practical result, inasmuch as in his letter of 28th April (No. 5) to Mr. Gurnett, Gandhiji complains of a notice issued by a Member on the heads of the Congress workers which meant ignoring "the Congress as the intermediary between the Government and the people." Mr. Gurnett in his letter of the 21st April (No. 6) repeats this description of the Congress and frankly states the cause—the case on which the Bombay Government (with the sanction of the Government of India) have now broken the negotiations and compelled the Working Committee decision. Letters No. 7 to 13 represent an important stage in the controversy, as much so that Mr. Maxwell says "the question raised is one which fundamentally affects the interpretation of the agreement which you entered into directly with the Government of India", and asks Gandhiji to "approach the Government of India yourself on the subject." Gandhiji had already done so in his letter to Mr. Lawrence, (No. 8) and did so again (No. 14), but the latter shared the same by simply saying "I do not think there is imminent danger of this" (i.e. a breakdown of the Settlement), "but, apart from any difficulties that may have occurred in Congress there are several matters in regard to which Government think a personal discussion with you will be of value." This led to the first visit to Delhi where Gandhiji played before Government for the second time his long catalogue of breaches of the Treaty by the authorities—the first catalogue having been submitted in April in Delhi—and discussed other details and returned in the hope that matters would smooth themselves. Though therefore the issue was never finally decided, the reader will not fail to notice a perceptible relaxation from the original and attitude as when Mr. Gurnett said in his letter of 28th April: "There is nothing to prevent the Congress advising people as to what they should do, nor can any restriction be placed on the duty of Government officers to perform their functions directly with those concerned. This is quite a different thing from the meeting and discussion of matters of importance between Congress representatives and Government officers which is being raised as where necessary. To this I see no objection."

In practice too Congress co-operation was accepted and even welcomed. The extreme measures adopted in British India and the obstinate refusal of the Governor of Bombay to grant relief, now supported by the Central Government, and eventually by Downing Street and Whitehall, were not a painful surprise. But let us remove the necessary

Second Stage

Gandhiji himself went to Ahmed and Baroda and visited on the local officials who accepted Congress intervention and even thanked him for his and his co-workers' co-operation. We will not reflect on the reader the voluminous correspondence that took place in the course of this co-operation, but two letters which seemed to accept Gandhiji's position may be quoted in this note. Then in his letter of June 15th the Joint Collector said: "I am so glad people are being asked to pay whatever they can and will be grateful for every help. I need hardly assure you that those who really cannot will not be asked to pay, if they show to the local authorities that they have paid as much as they can." Mr. Perry's readiness to negotiate was more emphatic. He had moved matters of necessity in several cases but on Gandhiji's placing the whole Congress position before him and offering the

wholesome representation of his constituents, he wrote on the 3rd of May: "All matters raised or referred to be raised under the Land Revenue Code in the 33 villages in Barak Taluka of which you have sent me a list have been considered. I hope it will not be necessary to raise any more in the Taluka, but there is a doubt about Rai. But matters will not be raised against any of the 33 villages without you or your local representatives being informed." The officers in Barak were far from smooth, however, and in one of his letters to Mr. Kothamukul, Gandhiji said: "But I make no offer. Let there be an informal arbitration appointed to examine the cases and wherever people are found really capable of making payments without having to borrow or sell their belongings they should pay." This had no response, except in the form of an issue of coercive processes. On this Gandhiji deputed the writer of this note to see Mr. Kothamukul. At this interview which took place on the 26th of July Mr. Kothamukul undertook to do several things, one of which was to furnish the Barak workers with names of those who in his opinion deserved these notices and thus give the workers an opportunity to ask those who could to pay up and to select representatives on behalf of those who were unable to pay. Mr. Kothamukul did furnish one such list, with encouraging results, but then he went to Sir Mahabul Pandey he would furnish no more lists as he had orders from higher authorities not to do so. Gandhiji himself had an interview with him and he said that his understanding with me had not found favour with the higher authorities. After this Gandhiji went to Seald.

This second Seald visit represents a further stage in the Congress cooperation with Government. It will be remembered that there was not only the land revenue matter but countless other matters arising out of the Settlement on which Gandhiji had found it difficult to obtain satisfaction from Provincial Government. When he found that the central Government also repeatedly failed, he wrote to Mr. Lawrence suggesting the appointment of an arbitration board. (I say 'suggesting' and not 'demanding,' because if satisfaction could be had no arbitration would be necessary.) (Nos 10 and 17.) A negative reply had already been received on the eve of the departure for Seald. (No 28) and so an alternative to the appointment of the arbitration board a list of names of breach-of-the-third-catalogue submitted, though by no means exhaustive but illustrative and referred to as "charge sheet" in H. E. the Viceroy's letter of the 31st July (No 24)—was submitted to Mr. Lawrence. Whilst at Seald, Gandhiji continued to receive telegrams from Sarkis Vallabhdas of police raids on Barak villages and recovery of money through distress and oppressive measures. That again pushed the arbitration question to the forefront, but in his last interview with the Viceroy, Gandhiji went down a step and said Government had way by suggesting the appointment of an impartial tribunal, not to decide all cases at last, but all cases of law and interpretation of the clauses of the Settlement. This request was conveyed in a letter (No 18) which shows the number of points on which there was a dispute about the very meaning of the clauses of the Settlement. This second visit was thus far from successful (No 21).

Third Stage

On return to Barak from Seald he found that the things had been worse there than he had imagined and so he wrote that letter to Mr. Kothamukul (No 24) which is the first letter in the notes published by Government. Government of India in reply curtly stated that Gandhiji should take no proprietary action. In reply Gandhiji said he would not only not take any proprietary action but so active without infringing Government (Nos 25-26). This ultimately led to the visit to Poona where Gandhiji was given by Mr. Murrell copy of the personal and private letter addressed to Gandhiji by H. E. the Viceroy. (No 24) Perhaps the talk was to be in the light of the liberal spirit of the letter, and so it was, when Gandhiji returned from Poona not at all disappointed. There he found waiting for him Mr. Lawrence's letter (No 23) refusing the arbitration even on the narrow issue. But Gandhiji hoped against hope. He did not want to break, even in spite of this refusal, as he expected that the Bombay Government would send a satisfactory reply in the light of H. E. the Viceroy's assurance. It was this letter from the Bombay Government containing the old issue raised by Mr. Garrett in April—(Whether the Government use the Gallies law and exempt the peasant from the collection of land revenue should be dependent on the consent of the Congress)—that proved the decisive factor in this third and the last stage of the negotiations. It was so contrary to expectation, so contrary to the spirit and promise held out during the Poona conversations. It will be remembered that Gandhiji's last request for an impartial enquiry into the Barak collections (if no relief could be given) narrowed the original issue down to this particularly local one, in his only as the participation in the R. T. C. was concerned, not because the original position was enormous or altogether gross, but because he was desperately anxious "to agree with his adversary quickly" and to go to London, leaving the rest to his colleagues.

Mahadevi Prasad

The Correspondence

No. 1

Complaint against Congress Workers

1. Dr. Bhaichar Dadas to Gandhi (dated New Delhi, 19th March 1931)

I am well remember that during our talks on Thursday evening I mentioned to you our last intention that before we suggest that Congress will be made to contribute for the movement of non-payment of land revenue or other legal dues, as part of the anti-British movement, a definite movement based on economic grounds. I intended your study to be delayed in the United Provinces, and so agreed to that promise we have received a telegram from the Local Government containing the following information—

In Ujjain District a Congress worker came within order recently returned to his village, suggested a protest, as proposed that the say land revenue and other dues should be paid at Congress meeting held on March 12th at Village Narsing, Police Station Mahesh. In Amherst District arrested by about 300 soldiers. Another Manu Maheshya is reported to have asked agents not to pay this rent and question of what had been decided. The Local Government stated that Provincial Congress Committee had decided that a protest would give 5 or 6 acres in the sugar provided the landless was willing to accept it in lieu of his previous Congress leaders intention to exploit uneducated classes by trying to make an inability to farm—go, last day and by demanding on that which excessive what The United Provinces Congress Committee in a published manifesto have suggested an additional contribution of 25 per cent for share of revenue and of 10 per cent for company share. If this article proves the so-called Congress workers intention is another letter.

You will I am sure agree that if the facts are as stated, the spirit of the Settlement is not being observed in any respect, and I feel confident that you will take the necessary steps to remove any cause for misunderstanding.

No. 2

Do not Suspend Congress Activities

Gandhi's letter to Mr. Lawrence dated Delhi, 19th March 1931.

I have to thank you for your letter of 11th inst. regarding non-payment of land revenue to the United Provinces. As my nephew Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has proposed a note on the question which I scribble hurriedly for your information. The action taken by the Local Congress Committee as reflected in the note appears to me to be far from adequate. Notably the necessity of observance of the terms will depend upon the manner in which the whole idea is done. In my opinion it will be well if the local authorities do not regard the statement made by the Congress Committee and do not look upon their intention with suspicion. As you will also be upon the spot, the whole scope of the movement is clarified. It is no longer for non-payment of rent. It is a movement purely for economic welfare.

No. 3

"A Possible Cause of Misapprehension"

Letter from Mr. Lawrence, to Gandhi, dated New Delhi 19th March, 1931

I write to thank you for your letter of the 19th March, with which you enclosed a note by Pandit

Jawaharlal Nehru regarding non-payment of the United Provinces Land Revenue. In connection herewith the Local Government in this district has in the meantime, Mr. Lawrence deems not of account what seems to be a misapprehension. It appears from the first paragraph of his note that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is under the impression that during the course of the conversations between Mr. Lawrence and myself it was understood that, while the Congress would abstain the movement in the United Provinces against the payment of land revenue, and not as part of the anti-British movement, they would also be engaged and active part in same, taking in the payment of land revenue and not. I am to say that Mr. Lawrence's recollection of the conversation is that, while his reply placed on that the abandonment of the movement against the payment of land revenue had not and would not affect the definition, was a case of some misapprehension experienced by the members and tenants in the payment of land revenue, incidentally, there was no suggestion that the Congress intended to use their propaganda for the purpose indicated in the first paragraph of the Pandit's note.

It is the understanding that you and I had on the matter. I certainly did not make the impression that this was the intention. I recall, distinctly that the question of movement did not raise a matter of serious consideration in which the Government of India and the Local Government should require assistance and that the Local Government were able to the necessity of giving such aid as the circumstances required. You will, of course, understand that the object of this letter is merely to remove a possible cause of misapprehension and has no reference to the merits of the proposals suggested in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's note or even to which it is not possible to express an opinion in the absence of the views of the Local Government.

No. 4

The Principles Enunciated

Gandhi's letter to Mr. Lawrence, dated April 9th, 1931

I thank you for your letter of 2nd inst. which shall prove a service to me.

Though I am still very ill, and have long, I am not doing much to put on the same movement in your letter of 11th March and Appendix. I remain as in the old—when we met at your house. The only way I can account for the impression left on Mr. R. de Vries and told me you in that we have been thinking of our people. I could never remember the primary function of the Congress was to speak for and represent the peasantry. The Congress, as I told you, is fundamentally a peasant's and workers' organisation. The Congress could not possibly represent the views of the Government of the local rulers as shown to you—1 and not with sympathy the interests of the Congress when speaking for the peasantry. The definition was introduced since G. P. I am convinced could have been stated if the local authorities had not for the Congress officials in their respective districts. Many of the Congress officials are well-known to them. I suggest that any other attitude would be contrary to the spirit of the Settlement and would defeat the very purpose my high

with 600 to 800 acres, with a number of small tracts scattered among and about the Sandstone. These latter present a question as to the "age" of the sand as they appear to be well deposited strata and to be subject to the same squandering with the Sandstone. Meanwhile, the surface from looking with the dipper covered by grass.



Reproduction of Congress in Reproduction of Retirement

Candlish's letter to Mr Maxwell, dated March, 1904, is as follows:

I mention herewith copies of the latest correspondence between the Congressmen, Matthew Twiss, and myself. Mr. McLaughlin has taken the same view that Mr. Gerritt does about the Congress resolution. I feel that it settles the whole Southern question. It was only when the Congressmen of India and the British Government suggested that the Congress itself represented the people that there was the realignment between it and the Government. To separate the Congress from the relationship between the people and the Government means relationship with the Government.

In the light of that extraordinary development, the other nations about which I composed on the 15th August 1944 are no longer those I composed the week before. I have to show how far Christendom has advanced since the outbreak of the Revolution.

I found that the Bio-Pass program and overall user experience for the Connected class are covered by the literature and, which is standard.

22. The more of something you own, the more likely you will be concerned.

3. Civil liberties come with the Foreign and Home act, and it has been revised.

4. From and from: very special. God! Because
Nikolai can love nobody.

4. Offense says he paid etc. who changed during the Civil War. The period still needs explanation. Though the appearance, held by the same accounts are all, so far as I am aware, impossible to find further evidence, and although several new, with no further

4. Confirmed infections and serotypes have not yet been reported in other areas.

† Ligand residues will conserve their inherent function in spite of the alteration of the environment.

8. Names and posts of the National leaders with the dates of release and the way in which they were released (see also last page attached)

On the ground of 'non-competitor' during the First Disinflationary period, the Government will definitely grant loan to the Agricultural community for expansion, development from sources than for loans used for purposes of maintenance and for a temporary and mutually loans. The water supply not specifically mentioned in the Government clearly tells water is scarce.

I would like to have Government's final decision on all these points. I proposed to furnish Mr. Callaghan details of the same matter during June 4. They are being collected. But I think a general order will cover these matters. But if the Congress is not reconvened on the proper anniversary, everything will remain as the back record.

H. 5

²² *The International Conference on the Holocaust and the Holocaust*.

Geoffrey's name is Mr. Emerson, dead. Death, said, said 1912.

If parents can be kept in better tune upon the Government as far as Covert is concerned it is somewhat longer of a headstone. I would agree of the correspondence between the Military Government and myself. I am struggling very hard to prove it headstone. I am trying all the power of persuasion I can command. But this is a serious situation.

1998

Business Government Includes Profits

He married, before he died, second Mary Ann
(1844-1914).

I am in acknowledgment your letter of the 11th April, enclosing report of Mr. Darwin's letter of the 21st April to you and of your reply of the same date to him. As you have not enclosed a copy of your letter of the 21st to Mr. Darwin, to which his was a reply, it is difficult for Mr. Huxley to appreciate the exact point of the misunderstanding which appears to have arisen. Mr. Huxley does not imagine that you have ever claimed that the Congress is the intermediary between the Government and the people in the sense that the Government and the people can have no dealings with one another except through the Congress, and unless such a claim is admitted, he does not see how complicity can be taken, by the name of Mr. Darwin's reply. In your letter of the 21st to him you appear to acknowledge the extent to which the Government have been prepared to recognize your own representative position, and Mr. Huxley had hoped that the full discussion which he had with you on various problems affecting the achievement of the Settlement would have enabled you to realize the agency of the Government in its dealings with you, and those whom you represent. As you know Mr. Huxley, on his part, recognizes the great influence the point which put him in a position to discuss in moving capital concerned in the spirit of the Settlement about your interests and consequently general compliance of the laws to which you agreed and to both more than you, so he, will continue to stand yourself in the interests of that peaceful occupation which is so connected to the future with work which you will be encouraged.

Classification and Interpretation of the Southwestern

It is, however, not worth his while for the Congress my share which is not implied in the statement, simply because on no explanation has already received from the Government and the Government of India, His Excellency says that the question raised is one which fundamentally affects the administration of the Government which you entered into directly with the Government of India, and he expects that he is unable to require any answer to it. He can only say that neither Mr. Cawell nor the Bombay Government need would have been justified in accepting any responsibility of the Government which has not already been understood, and he feels that your content course would be to approach the Government of India yourself on the subject of your bond and already done so.

With regard to the evidence of dated material, as we have seen, I am to say that the *Strophomena* has recently

those of many of these points with careful attention will be confirmed on going them over. In no circumstances I will endeavor to assume you will agree that the Danbury Government have every intention of taking all action which can be shown up to be incompatible with the terms of the Agreement, and that they will be ready to investigate any point which you may specifically bring to their notice in which there is reason to suppose that our further action would be appropriate.

No. 11

A Modified Attitude

Mr. Gurnee's letter to Geoffrey, dated Abundant, 28th April 1911

I have received your letter of 21st April in which you write that "The Congress must be recognized as the intermediary between the Government and the people whose the Congress represents."

I am unable to see anything in the terms of Settlement which bears on this point. There is nothing to prevent the Congress advising people as to what they should do, but can any restriction be placed on the duty of Government officers to perform their functions directly with those concerned?

This is quite a different thing from the meaning and denotation of relations of confidence between Congress representatives and Government officers, which is being carried on where necessary. To this I can see no objection.

No. 12

Geoffrey's letter to Mr. Gurnee, dated Abundant, 28th April 1911

I have your letter of 24th instant.

It is hardly fair to have been so treated a sentence from my letter as to give it a standing water than what it would have if the sentence was used in its context. If you accept the representative character of the Congress, the party to the Settlement, it is right to keep out the hands of the representatives the sense that the Mandarins have shown in the place of the one about which I complained?

I must confess that I make the friendly response which I had hoped our sentence would make. I still ask you to approach the Settlement in the spirit that animated Lord Buns. The way you are taking is the way of war. I assure you that I want to make the Settlement in the friendliest spirit possible. Will you not say so to me?

No. 13

Dispute and Satisfaction

Geoffrey's letter to Mr. Gurnee, dated Abundant, April 28, 1911

I thank you for your letter of the 24th instant. I must apologize for the mistake in not giving you a copy of my letter of 24th instant to Mr. Gurnee. I repeat the promise now and send you a copy herewith as the intention of the settlement was made. From the copy you will observe that I have stated that the Government and the people are here in dispute with one another except through the Congress. My objection was to the Mandarins action could even my best friend's suggestion was shown as between Mr. Gurnee and myself. Mr. Gurnee, you will note, gave the following categorical reply:

"I am sorry to the Congress is an intermediary between the Government and the people. This is not only in the nature of the settlement, but the Settlement and I am unable to see anything in the settlement."

The position where up to now has been only to be made different from that to the settlement, which Mr. Gurnee has taken up at his latest letter of which I think you have seen. He writes under date 24th inst.

"You write that 'the Congress must be recognized as the intermediary between the Government and the people whose the Congress represents.' I am unable to see anything in the terms of the Settlement which bears on this point. There is nothing to prevent the Congress advising people as to what they should do, but can any restriction be placed on the duty of government officers to perform their functions directly with those concerned?"

It will be observed that the question from my letter is too long, its context and is first made to have a meaning which is what they the one of them who said so in writing. Mr. Gurnee wrote the letter after having asked the terms of a second sentence for illustration not very different from the terms which I had written.

My contention is that even the one sentence is nonsense and that in any case it should not have been treated without consultation with the local members. Each sentence becomes necessary only when it has become clear that the one sentence is deliberately withholding payment. That there is no sense of interest is marked from the fact that the people have been paying as far as it is possible in spite of the one sentence in several instances for the Government of the terms of the Settlement. This is hardly consistent with the terms of the Settlement which requires that the one sentence be paid and that the one sentence be paid. I am not only in fact but a proposition and demand which are made when the one sentence is denied. I hope that the one sentence will be paid. Mr. Gurnee's categorical answer, which is what the one sentence is, I want to give you to see that I am certain that the people should not pay for their part of the Settlement in the latest sentence possible.

If Mr. Gurnee's the one sentence should be that one sentence can be paid by mutual discussion but has not been paid to be at his disposal.

No. 14

"It Takes Two to Play a Game"

Geoffrey's letter to Mr. Gurnee, dated Abundant, April 28, 1911

When I wrote to you last copy of an important letter was not sent to you for which I apologize and which I now send. More satisfaction has given since, I send you copies of those also. There are other sentences which I will not mention now.

You will recall that the Government of India authorized certain measures on the strength of the Danbury Government report of which you gave me a copy. I have already shown to you how misleading that report was and how silly in my opinion the people have paid in spite of the fact that even now the terms of the Settlement in several cases remain satisfied by the local officials. I

all particular provisions of the Settlement which you gave to me as being contained exactly verbatim in some public report of the 11 points. That he was advised within a few days of its receipt in 1939 Government for consideration of the House and the Government of India and local Governments will surely themselves as to whether any breach of the Settlement is involved. They are naturally prepared to satisfy themselves as to what is meant of alleged breaches of specific provisions, but it is a matter of honor with Government to observe the Settlement and they have no doubt that this is equally held by you. It is by approaching the matter in this spirit and not by resort to substance that Government believe that differences can best be terminated.

No 31

Disappointment at Simla

Confidential letter to Lord Willingdon dated Simla July 21, 1940

I have your kind letter of 20th inst. coming me in time of the Peace Meeting to be a member of the Federal Liaison Committee as also a member of the full conference which I appreciate the convenience and would like to respond, as I have already conveyed to you, I have serious difficulties in the way of my proceeding to London. I came to Simla in the hope that the difficulties would be removed. But our protected conversations have not advanced matters as to enable me to make a positive decision. I feel that the way things are moving in India in the present moment, when they require, make it impossible for me to leave India. Reports pass in upon me from every post showing that Congress are being harassed without any profitable result. In some places they say that they are being harassed much more than during the last disturbances excepting I have seen difficulty especially when things are being done under cover of law. I have suggested several ways out, but I am sorry that they have not commanded acceptance to you. In the circumstances the best I can say is that I must make arrangements that I feel that things have not taken a better turn I must reluctantly come to the conclusion that I must not go. I need hardly say that I seek no protection for my Government from punishment the members, breach of the promise in the statutory law of the country. My complaint is that some machinery exists in the law and procedure which are disadvantageously variations. It gives me that I am not able to send you a better letter. But I am happy.

After much cogitation I have come to the conclusion that I should send my son Devdas Gandhi to the Frontier Province. I would like it as much as I could and myself at all moments after the information that Mr. Kinnear gave me, so I said to you during my conversation he will be asked to inform you nothing any question or receiving any addition. My sole object is neither him, or to promote peace and to avoid a catastrophe if it is at all possible. His presence would also leave Kinnaird Gandhi free to respond in the Commissioner's letter.

No. 32

In Willingdon's letter to Lord Willingdon, dated Simla, dated 1.7.1940

The following are your letter of 21st inst. received are absolutely

I am writing you in haste to start at the moment, I am sorry you do I want to have the point of view of the community. The British Indian Government put up a school. Otherwise the British Government would not have stood up. I am writing you I am writing towards meeting a just solution to the difference that came to my way. I am daily expecting a reply from Mr. Kinnear in the settlement I want to have in Simla at your instance about the legal power for independence of the Settlement, and Mr. Kinnear's letter is showing every move in the U. P. to show the situation there. My son is already in the Frontier Province. The meeting I had with the British Indian Government have passed your experience for the future will, I am sure, carry me through.

I need hardly tell you how deeply and personally I feel over the anticipated independence of the Indian Government of Bombay and the completed independence in Simla. I am trying in all honesty to provide the needed as far as it is humanly possible.

No 33

Willingdon's personal interest

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhi dated Simla and personal dated Simla, 21st July 1940

I want to thank you for your letter of July 20th. Kinnear wrote to you all the proposals regarding the proposed independence and I should like you to know that the proposal, even if the most useful independence of my Government, and that this was only not accepted because the difference presented themselves as insuperable. This does not mean that your change about, as you have called it, will not receive full attention. I have of course, taken a personal interest in everything pertaining to the Settlement and shall continue to do so and, in particular, as regard to the list of alleged breaches of the Settlement, about which we want reports from local Governments. I know that in the province the Government similarly take a personal interest in matters connected with the Settlement, and you can rest assured that there will be no disposition to treat allegations of breaches of it other than as matters of importance.

We have not yet received full reports regarding District but I hope that the difficulties are clearing up and that your discussion with the Bombay Government will prove satisfactory to every one concerned. So far as my responsibility goes, the ground situation is better now than a month or two a fortnight ago, except for the present state, which cannot fail to have important results if it continues, and for the position in the North-West Frontier Province, which is a source of much anxiety. I am glad to hear that you are doing all you can to stop the intestine campaigns of independence.

I should like, with you, to feel that the atmosphere is entirely free from clouds, and you may be sure that I and my Government will unconsciously work towards that end. But I am quite sure that the best way to obtain a real and lasting solution of present difficulties is through the Round Table Conference, and that you may find about the real interests of the country in showing in this great constructive work.

British Empire. On my first visit of its kind to the Punjab beginning in the Great Hall on 2nd of August 1916, I myself issued you my personal letter to you all July 11th, in which I gave you the fullest statement of my personal views on everything, as far as the settlement and could. I thought you might not allow myself even to read details to prevent your meeting India by participating in the consistent declaration of the Indian Congress which may determine the destiny of the country beyond your time or mine. It became your telegram requests, the last word I will at once relay to the Prime Minister of your country in a brief the Conference.

No. 23

Cambridge's Telegram to H. E. the Viceroy dated Sunday 19th August.

Thank you for full view. Your sympathy I want need in light of present happenings and if you are not in those working movement with Settlement a deeper fundamental difference in our respective outlooks upon Settlements in consequence I expect in my last time as no way left open to me but to continue discuss already conveyed I was only add that I what my answer has to go to London but failed. Please inform Prime accordingly I presume. I may discuss correspondence and report for publication.

No. 24

H. E. Viceroy : telegram to Cambridge dated Sunday, August 14.

"I have received the Prime Minister of your country. I am including relevant correspondence in the press at 4 o'clock this afternoon. You are, of course, free to do the same."

Working Committee Resolutions

The Working Committee has carefully considered the correspondence exchanged between the Central Government and various Provincial Governments on the one hand and Mahatma Gandhi on the other upon matters arising out of the Delhi Settlement, and has also considered the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi describing the events that led to the current problems. The Committee must each regret that there have been, in its opinion, repeated and, in consequence, serious breaches by Provincial Governments of the principles of the Delhi Settlement. A stage was reached when, having misinterpreted Mahatma Gandhi's real object, with the approval of the Working Committee, for the appointment of an impartial tribunal to investigate the allegations of harassment and to interpret the terms of the Settlement. Each regret has now been raised once in various affecting the real interests of the country. The Committee has, therefore, been obliged previously to come to the conclusion that consistently with the terms of the Settlement and the national interest, the Congress must and should not be represented at the Round Table Conference."

"In view of the difficulties arising to the Congress participation in the Round Table Conference caused by the Working Committee on August 14th, the Committee desires to make it clear that the resolution should not be construed as making the Delhi Settlement. The Committee desires, unless Congress organisations and all Congressmen to continue to comply, with Indian authorities, with the terms of the Settlement, in as far as they are applicable to the Congress."

"In the event of emergency arising so as to leave no time for calling the Working Committee, the President is hereby authorised to act in the same and on behalf of the Committee."

Will the Settlement abide?

At the time of leaving Cambridge for Manchester on the 24th August 1931, Cambridge addressed the following letter to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Events since started on last day I have not had the time to acknowledge your very kind personal letter of 13th July. I recognise the increasing concern through that communication but the latest developments have made that letter past history, and as I have said in my view of this case, the very soul of all the communications between a fundamental difference of outlook between us. I can only give you my heartfelt belief that we reached the present and most serious difference that I came to the conference in the state of your decision. I could not, consistently with my obligations here, attend the Round Table Conference. But I was greatly upset. I heard that your decision was affected by the opinion recorded by you that I had insisted upon a basis of arbitration and that I was trying to we reason upon a basis of possible government. As far the basis of arbitration it is true that I have observed it as a matter of right but if you could not understand I must repeat upon it. On the contrary, I told you that as long as I left the matter in which I was agreed I would be quite satisfied. You will agree could not in wholly different from dealing on a basis of arbitration. As to the alleged possible government, I thought I had dispelled the notion when in reply to a protest made by you, I had told you that I did not claim to be a domain officer but that my conviction, and I had acted on voluntary basis on village, baronet and the two with the current and knowledge of direct officials. I should therefore be sorry if there was anything which I should have expressed had affected your decision.

The purpose however of writing this letter is to express whether you regard that Settlement as now at an end or whether it is to be still continued in spite of the statement of the Congress, your participation in the Round Table Conference. The working committee agreed at the following declares this morning.

"In view of the conditions relating to the Congress participation in the Round Table Conference caused by the Working Committee on August 14th the Committee desires to make it clear that the resolution should not be construed as making the Delhi Settlement. The Committee desires unless Congress organisations and all Congressmen to continue to comply, with Indian authorities, with the terms of the Settlement in as far as they are applicable to the Congress."

Please that you will observe that the Working Committee of the Congress has no desire to harass the Government at the present moment and that therefore it is prepared to continue humbly to work the Settlement. But such working must depend upon a proposed attitude on the part of provincial governments. As I have told you so often through correspondence and newspaper, this emergency has been bound to be progressively worsening. Information continues to be received in the office of the Working Committee of Government survey which can only be interpreted to be token of a design to crush the Congress leaders and the national Congress activities. If therefore the settlement is to abide I require to

would make them obsolete. The villagers accepted primitive huts with thatched roofs, replacing roofs of leaves, covered in down and hair, stuff of women, a dose of soap, basket of groceries, all that by tomorrow physicians of the village under the protection of the revolutionary warlords.

In Asia countries who showed only in their attitude who declare themselves against the Congress. Hundreds of villages burning, have not yet received any assistance from the Government. The officials simply declare that assistance will not be given to those towns who are not the Congress.

There are similar reports from the Districts of Punjab, Khar, Tanjore, Madras etc. All of them tell the same sad story.

In Bengal—another strong potential contributor (20%) have been awarded at Calcutta.

In the Punjab — Indian provinces at Tarn Tarn have been charged with India. Opposite the British police station (Arunas Tharn) the police inspector charged Congress leaders and severely beat a Congress leader. Several workers of Tarn Tarn arrested under no. 185. Late this day told by the Deputy Commissioner, Amritsar, that an official message can be held in Amritsar Courtroom as for that matter and other matters. At 11:15 a private meeting of the meeting of about a private meeting was accordingly broken up in the gardens of the City Magistrate on the 11th May, that the people had begun to disperse and for them as for that in the gardens. Dr. Kishan Lal who brought the fact to the notice of the Magistrate and Police Inspector arrested him and with a leader from the and for and a letter from the head. The Magistrate instead of punishing the movement treated the things to be done alone. On the day of protesting a severe fine charge on the day of the arrest. The reason for this attack was to punish the people in Tarn Tarn and to suppress the movement of the National Party.

How to Follow

Representing a *de* Global Engineering
Global Issues

The Technicians of Railroad Agency last October sought who was under going treatment in the Railroad Agency looking that they would be released if they could obtain to visit Khatia Khindomay. They were having told that they could obtain their release if they could come back to the agency Khatia Khindomay in possible that without them that meeting No. 125 from each of them, it brought Khindomay in Saigon was raised and another in Hanoi was announced on the night of 4-1-58 (April) previous circumstances.

Contributors: David M. Bredemeyer

Advantage: Excess of Diagrams noticed by the District Superintendent collected all the vagabonds who had not paid up their previous dues and shot up to all stars on a storm full of bullets and out the horses.

[illegible]

1. **Observations:** On 22-4-52, 25-4-52, 26-4-52 and 27-4-52, a large number of male and female *Chironomus tentans* were collected from the pond. The males were found in the water, while the females were found in the mud. The males were found in the water, while the females were found in the mud. The males were found in the water, while the females were found in the mud.

4. *Shogunshi*: At Shogunshi River and Hamao River, both borders of Japan from the Government troops killed 120 Koreans (Koreanians and took them before the political officer and ordered them to give up Communist work. On their refusal to do so, they were chopped naked and severely beaten. One of them was made to lie down on the ground in the two car moved in that position by eight strong and fingers and pieces of wood were fixed into his stomach to increase pain, this type of torture being repeated by Japanese on only one of death.

3. Shakedown On 22-9-31 A large force of police went to Shakedown to arrest Magawadithan on a false charge of wrongful apprehension and extortion. Estimates run of hundreds taken part in the demonstration. The police broke into the houses of Magawadithan without any Lashkari being present on the scene. Struck 11, and took away Rs. 200 from a Lashkari Khatu Khilafatpur. Panchadamas were arrested and taken to Sargu the same evening. A powerful crowd gathered next Sargu and chased them. Taken to the police station and when the people gathered there with hundreds of rifles. Between 10 to 2000 Jan. Magawadithan voluntarily surrendered himself in the police. On the same day Sayed Aslamuddin and Abdul Akbar Gadhthan received a message of Gadhthan in the prison of the D. S. P. and Sub-inspector of Fardu in which he requested Magawadithan for the charges levied against him by the police. On 24th Jan Sayed Aslamuddin and Abdul Akbar Gadhthan were released under Section 143(1) of C. as a charge of "not being ready offering resistance to the lawful apprehension of any other person had no effect". This shows that the fact that there were no weapons like mentioned in the case of Magawadithan.

E. Kahane—The President of the Country Commission of Kibbutz while visiting in the Holy Land with his wife and two sons was stopped near Beer Sheva by the Levy Police and held up. The man carried his rifle slung, the party were beaten and several of them returned to a local prison.

Postmaster: hold up by the Postal authorities

Copies of the May issue of *John Alden Collection* public magazine, "Patriot" which is purely devoted to the cause of social reform has been held up by the postal authorities and no money for it has been returned to John Galt.

Section 144 All meetings and processions have been prohibited in the towns of Khalil and Mithana and in the Taluk of Pathanur.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

Vol. XII

Ahmedabad: Thursday, August 23, 1931

No. 35

Weekly Letter

No Pain from the Skin

I remember, that attending a political conference, and as many volumes of mail had now become known as "change sheet" in relation to the average reader having very little time at his disposal, and I have therefore understood that many readers have regarded the "change sheet" as something spring upon the Government as a disagreeable surprise. It was, I may remind them, nothing of the kind. I made it quite clear to my student last week, and Gandhi also did so in his article "The Real Issue, as which is described 4 or 5" the change sheet presented to Gandhi in Government the usual matter will not when reference is made to the fact that Mr. Viceroy's letter to Gandhi of the 15th July and the Government's letter to Gandhi of the 20th July.

I may add, that the "change sheet" was not only not a surprise spring upon Government by the Congress as an event out of hostility after a national breakdown of the Times, but it was a document which was quite relevant to the issue, and with which Government have been handling ever since the last month after the outbreak. This "change sheet" was the first of its kind presented by Gandhi to Government, and which many of the friends mentioned were first, most of the established obligations were being brought to the notice of the Government, ever since the last change sheet was submitted in April. And this was ever told about the change sheet presented by Congress leaders in different passages. I'm because in this Daily Dispatch has been trying all these months to get relief in Government's matter in some of which he got it only last week! Some other important persons who should have been released in March were released on the 15th July, after repeated representations by Daily Dispatchers. And the state of affairs being 7th August! It is in not my purpose here to write chapters and verse the way in which Gandhi's sentence was being created out of the skin degree.

The Latest Developments

Two reader will have already read in the daily press the recent telegraphic communication between Gandhi and Government, also published in this issue. Let him not be impatient with Gandhi for this very difficult exercise in self-control. Let him see the contrary matter in a fresh object lesson in non-violence. If he carefully studies the correspondence published in the last and the current issue, he will be keenly interested of Mr. Lawrence Dunscombe's description of the Englishman abroad. He instinctively starts with the attitude, and may or may not arrive at the object, and

He has everything going by the name of an educated class in several states, the one way must be the right way for all, and hence he has nothing but "intolerance for individuals or nations moved by ideas" "Gandhian" to show to him of human nature. It is said abroad, or rather a rather like very soon—and "even without his with tortures"! Because in what was made stamped in every line of Government correspondence since July, because the very idea of criticism goes against the whole Englishman's goal. But as Mr. Dunscombe has pointed out, in spite of his difficulty in understanding man's point of view, when the Englishman does not it, he repeats it. The third thing is in nothing but a last appeal to the man Englishman's intolerance and a request effort to convert him by the capacity of understanding.

Missing Links

Therefore nothing but the most "careless" correspondence could be expected in the last week's issue. But the reader must have noticed certain matters which though not quite satisfactory, present the thing rather completely, and I have endeavored to provide this week the missing links in the chain. The missing goes to the Indian and Englishman will indicate their content. Then since the beginning of July, the necessity for an alternative hand has been daily growing upon Gandhi, he has almost "incubated with complete" of knowledge (No. 17 b) and patiently drew Mr. Dunscombe's attention to all his feelings on the Indian which make an additional hard experience. The letter is dated July 3, probably the same time when Mr. Dunscombe, after a long absence, was making up his mind to meet the suggestion for an alternative hand. Now, it is to be shown the events which led up to the second visit to India on receipt of that disappointing letter from Mr. Dunscombe (No. 18). No correspondence could be complete without the telegrams concerning that political aspect—"Could you please guide me?"—to the Viceroy, and also the latter's quick response. But when faced with the real issue, the British government disappointed, and hence Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy conveyed to him his attitude over the disappointing letter dated (No. 17). The final impetus in the Federal Executive Committee was based on the 10th (No. 19 a), and in the second letter that follows, the reader will notice how Gandhi is keeping against hope. During the last week a more expansion of study on the Viceroy's part that on previous occasions may be taken which a careful reference from Gandhi (No. 19 a), who is left completely cold by experience of sympathy which are failed by the actual action. H. D.

More Correspondence

No 17 a

Proposed Invitation to Federal Signature Committee

Mr Ernest Manning's letter to Gandhiji, dated Montreal, 16th June 1951.

I have been asked by His Excellency the Viceroy to invite you, formally, before an official invitation is addressed to you, whether you are willing to serve on the Federal Signature Committee of the Round Table Conference in London from the 15th September next.

Will you kindly let me have your reply as soon as possible, and in the meantime treat this communication as strictly confidential?

No 17 b

Invited with Complacence

Gandhiji's letter to Mr Ernest Manning, dated Montreal, 1st July.

I thank you for your letter of the 15th ult., which was forwarded to me at Ottawa. I would gladly serve on the Federal Signature Committee of the Round Table Conference, if the way is open for me to call on England in time. Will you please inform His Excellency the Viceroy, that the working article of the Settlement is causing me great anxiety and is taking up practically the whole of my time to the exclusion of many other important things I would gladly attend to if I could? I am troubled with complacency from fellow-workers, which goes to show that the Settlement is not being satisfactorily implemented by local officials. I shall treat this correspondence as confidential.

No 17 c

Arbitration Board the Only Remedy

Gandhiji's letter to Mr Manning, dated Montreal, July 16, 1951.

Assuming that you are getting Young India, I am not sending you copies containing special references to acts of particular governments in breach of the Settlement. It gave me joy to read in the newspaper today, that the two confidential letters addressed to Telegraph by the Dy. Commissioner, Benares, had been withdrawn. But that, good as it is, is surely not enough. Wholesale paying of Congressmen, their agents, hundreds of others on *Shaw's* India 16, will make me extremely nervous as to the situation. These ill-wishes are caused by bad news from the provinces. Some of these matters I have brought to your notice. I am not feeling much better here either, though. I am getting off the agony by consulting the greatest physicians, and continually seeing local officials. I do not know whether you can help to improve the situation. The only remedy I can think of is the appointment of the Arbitration Board I have proposed. There is much to be done, and it must be decided.

No 18 a

'Could You Guide Me?'

Gandhiji's telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated Bombay, 16th July, 1951.

My message conveyed through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has told you of my difficulty

about attending Federal Signature Committee should continuing breaches of Settlement be carried without satisfaction. Working Committee is considering now, largely to the effect, that if relief cannot be obtained, Congress should give up hope of being represented at Round Table Conference. (Wife: no way, you were paid enough to tell me that I should approach you when I was in difficulty. Could you please guide me?)

No 18 b

'Can I Help in any Way?'

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhiji, dated Delhi, 16th July.

I have just heard from the Governor of Bombay about your reply to my enquiry, as to whether you can serve on the Federal Signature Committee, and I am very glad to hear, that you hope to be able to do. I quite understand your difficulties, but am sure they must be put over, for as I have often told you, I think it really essential that you should go.

If I can help in any way, please let me know.

No 18 c

Gandhiji's telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated Bombay, July 16.

Received this morning your letter with regard to which I thank you. Your offer of help gives hope and encouragement. I did not know, that I would have to seek it so soon as I had to, so your telegram of last night may I express my sincere thanks!

No 18 d

Winston Suggests Personal Discussion

Mr. Maxwell's letter concerning H. E. Viceroy's message, dated 16th July 1951.

His Excellency the Viceroy has telegraphed to His Excellency the Governor, asking that the following message may be communicated to you.

"Many thanks for your telegram of the 16th. You will understand, that in the absence of specific information regarding the alleged breaches of the Settlement by Government, it is not possible for me to propose particular remedies. I suggest, that as no previous occasion, when difficulties have arisen, the best course is a personal discussion of actual complaints. I should be very glad to see you, if you could visit Delhi, and to arrange for detailed discussions between you and Ernest. In the meantime you will no doubt agree with me, that it is undesirable that anything should be published by either side, which might make it more difficult to discuss a solution for the existing difficulties."

No 18 e

Message accepted

Gandhiji's telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy, dated Bombay, 16th July.

Deeply grateful for what occurred last night. I propose leave for Santa Monica Frontier Hall unless I hear to the contrary. Fearless Day Monday morning.

No 19 a

Formal Invitation

Lord Willingdon's letter to Gandhiji, dated Delhi, 22nd July 1951.

You are aware, that in the circumstances, which has pertained on 16th May, it was announced, that

Mr. Mahajan's Government had decided to invite the Federal Executive Committee of the Indian Round Table Conference to convene in London on September 25th next. I am now requested by the Prime Minister to invite you to attend as a member of this Committee, and also as a member of the full Conference, when it convenes on some date to be fixed. I should be glad to have as much as possible whether you will find it convenient to accept that invitation.

No. 21 a

Private and Personal

I am Willing's letter to Gandhi, dated Simla, 22nd July 1931.

Thank you very much for your letter of July 22nd, and let me say, that while I cannot except to qualified to have the message you give for your personal inability to attend your acceptance of the invitation, I do hope, that when you make the arrangements you now find well advanced, and that you will be able to go to England as a member of the Federal Executive Committee and of the full Conference.

No. 22 a

No Action without Informing You

Gandhi's telegram to Mr. Baerman, dated July 25, 1931.

Thank you please for your letter, 1st Aug. that was not received. May assure Mr. Baerman on previous orders will be taken and none without first informing him. Yesterday's letter to the Collector was written when I was on escape from unbearable situation.

No. 23 b

In Communication with Bombay Government

Mr. Baerman's letter to Gandhi, dated Simla, 22nd July, 1931.

I did not receive your letter of the 22nd of July, containing a telegram from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, with nearly 7 p.m. that evening, when I found it waiting for me at the United Service Club on my return from office. This is why I was unable to let you have a reply before you left Simla.

1. The Government of India are in communication with the Government of Bombay in regard to the contents of the telegram enclosed with your letter and all the other telegrams you have sent over to me while in Simla.

2. The fact, whether it is open to put in public any one of these telegrams and also agreements that have passed between you and me. The Government of India are, of course, taking up objection to the public use of telegrams that have passed between yourself and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. So far as communications between yourself and me are concerned, I presume you take no communications relating to present conditions in Gujarat. So far as I am recalled, there is no written correspondence on the subject, as I have not previously and intend to write to you since. If, if you have any particular correspondence in mind which I have overlooked, will you kindly let me know?

The Last Act

1

'My Position'

Gandhi's telegram to the Viceroy, dated Ahmedabad, 22nd August.

I am on many occasions requested to be authoritative. The last was conveyed to me yesterday. It says, that the publication of the charge-sheet has equal Government, and it is likely to prevent the goal of an inquiry desired to be under contemplation. This development was intervention or disapproval on my part. I have nevertheless completely to avoid both. The charge-sheet was part of the relevant correspondence, and was referred to in your letter of 22nd July and Mr. Baerman's letter of 22nd July published from Simla. Hence I considered it necessary to publish it.

Mr. E. H. Snodgrass, Mr. Baerman and other friends are asking me to state my position. I have done so in detail, but I feel, that to put it in your letter to the cause I represent, I must make my position as clear as I can to you personally. I cannot, that the acceptance of an Imperial Council is implied in the Settlement in the event of differences arising between Government and the Congress regarding the interpretation of the Settlement or the working in practice.

I have been prompt, as I am sure, to make such reports, if by a quiet personal discussion or some such informal means, reasonable satisfaction is given to the Congress. I am most anxious to avoid a breach on the side known as non-cooperation, and am therefore prepared even to proceed to Simla, if you think desirable necessary. Am withholding the publication of this position your reply.

2

Viceroy's Reply

The Viceroy's telegram to Gandhi, dated Simla, 22nd August.

Your telegram of 22nd August. If you consider this further discussion will help to remove your difficulties, I shall be glad to hear from you, informing me what day you will arrive in Simla.

3

'Take Burden on My Shoulders'

Gandhi's telegram to Mr. E. H. the Viceroy dated Ahmedabad, 22nd August.

Thank you very much. As I want to have nothing confused, therefore, though I have no difficulties and know to you, and though we were left with you our doubts regarding the desirability of personal discussion, I gladly take the burden upon my shoulders, and am leaving for Simla to-night (leaving there on Tuesday) I am inviting the President of the Working Committee, Pandit Jivabhai Narain and Shri G. K. K. to go with me during my stay in Simla. As matters develop or other look up, should inevitably be a period here, meeting representatives, it seems to me necessary as the public interest to publish the reply recently exchanged. I am, therefore, sending them to the press.

Young India

Mills and Labour

[By M. K. Gurus]

THE Congress cares for the labourer, and for the capitalist is as far as the latter rubs into the former's person. Therefore the Congress is at odds with the millowners in the matter of boycott of foreign cloth, only because boycott is calculated to benefit the labourer and the real cause of alienation is the very same factor. The alienation is voluntary and capable of being broken up at the option of either party. It can be and will be broken up when the mills find it profitable. It may and must be broken up by the Congress if it wishes Khadi, or if it ignores or exploits the labourer, or if it exploits the consumer. Khadi may suffer temporary shock as perhaps it has. The rate may stop for a year or two but we hope, and it probably may by way of hyperinflation, not for the higher cost of the cloth-makers but for the economic weakness of mills, that the Congress can never allow the labourer to be exploited. In other words, his position must not be worse than before the boycott. On the contrary, the alienation imposes a greater duty upon the Congress of seeing that the labourer's position is all the better for it. The Congress has to override the resistance of the millowners of a particular mill before it enters into any contact with it.

It was because the Working Committee needed this special authority, that it passed the following resolution at its last meeting:-

"The Working Committee desires the attention of workers and managers of mills, especially those recruited by the Congress, to the resolution of the Working Committee dated July 15th 1930, and desires further mention to the fact, that the Working Committee has received complaints about the treatment of jute labourers and the growing discontent amongst them, as also of proposed reduction of wages in some mills."

"The Committee hopes, that the workers and managers will ensure all interest of labourers. The Working Committee believes, that representing as the Congress does predominantly, interests of labourers of agricultural and industrial workers, any recognition by the Congress of the mills will be inconsistent with the claim, wherever there is genuine justification for such complaint."

Among the points resolutions referred to the Committee by the A. I. C. C., as its last session was one referring to mill workers. It was a drastic resolution. I have before me a list of mills that we said in 1929 threatened a cut in the wages. The Working Committee therefore passed the foregoing said resolution. It re-examines the policy and duty in the matter. It contributes an ultimatum to the labourers, that the Congress will never be party to any money to labour, and it is a notice to the millowners of the Congress policy regarding labour. It must not be any account be treated as a threat of any kind whatsoever.

It should be so much the millowners' interest in that of the Congress to guard the well-being of labour. The general rule in theory has always a consideration, not consequence, of all practical effect. And this consideration must either towards one great consideration—Principle of Labour, whether in the field or in the factory.

[Here is the resolution of the Working Committee of 15th July, referred to above]

"The Working Committee is of opinion, that the Textile Mills Management Committee should reconsider, without partiality and animosity, in presence of suitable arrangements for production or well-being of labour in the mills which have signed the Congress declaration, and to help in the bettering of labour conditions in these mills."

[A. I. C. C.]

Notes

The Congress Flag

It was last week, that the All India Congress Committee adopted a flag by the following resolution almost unanimously passed:-

"The National Flag shall be three coloured, horizontally arranged as follows, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green, in the order named from top to bottom, with the spinning wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe; it being understood that the colours have no conventional significance, but that saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white purity and truth, and green shall represent faith and industry, and the spinning wheel the hope of the masses. The proportions of this flag should be by its height as three to two."

It should be remembered, that the white, green, and red another flag was never authoritatively adopted by the Congress. It was proposed by me, and I had actually given it a prominent display. It was intended by popular approval only. The leaders present and decided not to accept. Consequently a Committee was appointed. It collected valuable evidence and made useful recommendations. And now we have a flag, which has been authoritatively adopted of any conventional meaning and has a definite meaning confined to each colour. This too has been adopted by saffron, cotton, and is got first purely from the textile industry. White has been put between saffron and green to give us brightness the effect, and to show off the whole flag to advantage. The wheel is to be there on the white strip in blue black. There can be no dark blue that is no improvement. It is a matter of great joy that the wheel has been retained as 'the hope of the masses'. It has proved itself at last. Whichever it has green, it has brought happiness, and finished punishment. It is our duty as Congress members to explain the meaning of the adopted flag and let us hope, that we shall translate the full meaning into our own lives. No doubt it will be debated with us often, but the new debate will result in understanding the qualities represented by the colour and giving the spinning wheel a place in every home. Then we shall end up spinning of foreign cloth. It will be the first time we have been in the field.

To the Poets

Dear Mr. M., being on such an equally loose footing, and easily killed by even stronger influence by some reference to my advanced position, which they may I do not know. This happened, with Davis has now being published, and Mr. M. is now trying to dispose of a great deal of literature. My appeal then is to the interested Poets and to the great Poets philanthropists and reformers. To the interested Poets and to their friends I am, my specialty is with you to with through their hands. My specialty demands to be given both spirit and your work. But the hands must go for the sake of the poet. And you cannot keep by either by indulgence. Poets are rarely shared enough to recognize their fate, and are unwilling to feel the same after calling. To the philanthropists I say. You have a brilliant record of philanthropy before you. Will you not add to your record by making at least the Poet's hands as strong and put them on to their inevitable occupation? No philanthropy can possibly be compared to the one I am suggesting. There can be nothing else that your riches are utilized for aiding the cause of the real developing work of India!

Talks by Jey

A correspondent writes me, that the A. I. C. C. has settled their or created of fundamental rights that of India by law. I do not know the value of the other members. Personally I would have valued the Indian. I am convinced of the advantages of my study over those by judges. In coming to a correct decision, we must not be obscured by our unbroken experience of the judiciary now, which is political trials has been found to be substantially just in the Government. At the right moment India have been found to find even in England. When questions are raised, justice are affected by them and give serious questions. We must be aware that they are always on the side of justice. I have known some feeling present only in the face of evidence and even judge's reasoning up to the ordinary. We must not directly copy all that is English. In cases where evidence is impartial, evidence and ability to self evidence and understood human nature are required, we may not require trained judges to be trained and brought together by choice. What we must use it is an incorruptible, impartial and able judiciary right from the bottom. I repeat advice purchased to an evidence by itself. But thanks to the degradation of the caste system and the evil influence of the present system of Government and the growing filthiness of the masses, this method and white institution has fallen into disrepute, and where it has not, it has lost its former purity and truth. It must, however, be tried at any cost, if the village are not to be ruined.

Begin Provident Companies

Complains that these companies will continue, which shows, that the working hour by the National Provident Fund has not had its full effect upon these companies. And some of them have even the tendency to decrease proceedings against the officials of the Vigilance Society established in Ahmedabad. Some of them offer most extravagant and tempting terms, that would never be fulfilled, and yet these who are in a hurry to be rich do not mind running into

these traps. Unfortunately these companies make upon the gallies of past proceeds, where they are only now, namely at the time of collecting the list. A corresponding note here is to be distinguish between a good company from a bogus one. I would say "More than all. Do not run after these tempting offers. But if you really help contributing to one of these companies, refer to the Vigilance Society and state by its officers." The Indian has only honorary members. It has some few being purely from philanthropic motives and for the purpose of making good people from available terms.

A Swadeshi Philanthropic Company

The Swadeshi Swadeshi Clock Watchmaking Company has its workshop in Swadeshi Hall, Grant Road. Some days ago I had the pleasure of visiting the workshop in Swadeshi's company. Swadeshi Babu of Kutchi Postulation was also with me at the time. But as he is an expert in these matters, I asked him to visit the work again, and give me his own impressions, which he has done. He speaks highly of the possibilities of this enterprise. It seems to begin in the educational services of the Tish Swadeshi Postulation of Nipura, a national school in Kutchi. The school was established during the non-cooperation days of 1921. Industrial education was part of its syllabus, to Mr. B. D. Jena, a life member, the school had a practical aspect of great ability. The management therefore started him in this special building, and he took the necessary course and read him in the last examination. Then he moved to an apprentice in the B. B. S. C. I. Railway Road workshop, and then in the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard. During all this time he devoted his spare time to experiment in the manufacture of electric clocks. The spirit of all these letters was the present course which became possible through the voluntary support of Swadeshi Babu Swadeshi Postulation of Nipura. He has Rs. 25,000 as capital in the company without any salary, and without even requiring any salary. In district are Pandey Laxmi of the Tish. Mahaveyappa, Pandey, Mr. B. D. Jena, Mr. Jodi and Mr. Newman. These devotees get no remuneration. The whole concern is based on the principle of self-reliance. It gives technical education to students from national schools. If there are any profits, they are to be devoted to the advancement of education. The company will divide for nearly Rs. 12,000 this year, and they are said to have given partial dividend. The mechanics of these clocks is designed and patented. "Every part of the machine is manufactured and other processes completed in the workshop." These clocks are designed not for the use of individuals but for offices, factories and public institutions, which require a number of clocks fixed in the same building. They require no winding, and all the clock is set direct above exactly the same time. There are no clocks already working in the workshop from the Nipuri school. But I must be given the more space to a description of this enterprise. I write those who are interested in popular Swadeshi enterprises to visit the institution, and study its working.

Hindustani Seva Dal Rules

(as passed by the Working Committee)

Whereas the Working Committee has resolved, that the Hindustani Seva Dal shall be the central volunteer organisation of the Congress, and has defined its functions, and laid down the conditions under which volunteer corps may be organised, the following Indian rules are framed and sanctioned by the Committee for the control of the Seva Dal, and the proper organisation of Congress volunteers:

1. The work of the Hindustani Seva Dal shall be done by a Central Board consisting of the Member in charge, the Organising Secretary and three others to be nominated by the Working Committee. The Member-in-charge shall be the Chairman, and the Organising Secretary the secretary of this Board.

2. The Working Committee shall nominate, on the recommendation of the Central Voluntary Board, a Training and Examining Board of five persons. This Board shall oversee the training and certification of volunteers and officers, and lay the basis of certificates.

3. There shall be four grades of certification:

- (a) For volunteers,
- (b) For Initiators,
- (c) For junior officers, and
- (d) For senior officers.

4. The Central Board shall arrange for the certification of, and the issue of certificates to all persons qualified to receive them. The certification may take place at the headquarters of the Provincial Congress Committee or at the volunteer unit in the province, the expenses in either case being borne by the Provincial Congress Committee. For certification at the headquarters of the Dal, there shall be paid a fee of Rs 1/2 for each officer or trainee to be certified.

5. No one can be appointed officer, who cannot produce a certificate of service for at least one year as a volunteer or worker in some province and in some Congress organisation, and has not gained the endorsement provided by the Central Board.

6. A "volunteer" or "initiator" shall mean any male, male or female, of the age of 15 and over but not older than 45, who has signed the pledge given in rule 7 below, and is a member of a primary Congress organisation, and is capable of performing the following services:

- (a) To work for the Congress programme,
- (b) To keep order at meetings,
- (c) To receive prisoners,
- (d) To render first aid,
- (e) To serve Congress delegates, guests etc.,
- (f) To keep watch by day or night,

and such other work as may be ordered by the officer-in-charge.

7. The following shall be the pledge to be signed by every volunteer:

"I, . . . a Congress volunteer, solemnly pledge myself to strive for the attainment of Poorna Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.

"I shall obey the orders of my superior officers faithfully and to the best of my ability

"I shall maintain to the best of my ability to promote peace and good will among all classes and communities of India.

"I shall not expect any payment or compensation for my services or for the compensation of such services.

"I shall undergo such training as may be given to me by the Congress authorities."

8. Any volunteer or officer, not conforming to the discipline of his or her organisation, or not carrying out the policy and programme of the Congress, shall be liable to dismissal by the organisation to which he or she belongs.

9. No officer or member of a Congress volunteer organisation on the active list shall so work take part in the party politics of Congress organisations.

10. No volunteer shall belong to any communal organisation or to any other political organisation.

11. The Central Board shall have the power to issue bye-laws not inconsistent with the foregoing, and for matters not covered hereby, provided that these bye-laws shall be submitted to the Working Committee at its first meeting after the passing of the bye-laws, and be liable to be altered, amended or repealed.

[11 b] **Transitory Provision.** Till such time as the Working Committee appoints the additional members of the Central Board and the Training and Examining Board, the Member-in-charge and the Organising Secretary shall exercise the Central Board, and shall arrange for the training and certification of volunteers, trainees and officers and lay the basis of certificates.]

12. Provincial Congress Committees shall exercise control over their volunteer corps, subject to the general supervision of the Central Board as regards training and discipline of organisations.

13. Provincial Congress Committees may make, whenever possible, boys and girls below 15 and organise them to perform as helpers.

Between ages 7 to 12 Indian Indian

" " 12 to 15 Kauras Kauras

14. The above rules shall not prevent Congress Committees from organising women, especially for the purpose of picketing or other Congress activities. Such women shall sign the pledge given above, and shall be given such training as is necessary for the performance of their duties.

15. Nothing in the foregoing rules shall affect the general powers of supervision and control of the Working Committee.

The Working Committee also passed the following resolution: "Provincial Congress Committees shall have women's volunteer corps, subject to these rules, in so far as they may be applicable, and in so far as a woman's membership is concerned, the Member-in-charge and the Organising Secretary are called upon to prepare a scheme of the work among of the Working Committee."

To Correspondents

All letters meant for Young India, Hindustani or the Narayana Press should be addressed to Post Box No. 13, Calcutta, which they are likely to receive.

Advocate, Young India

Cattle in Ancient India

(By Mrs. Gervill Dore)

In McCrindle's last collection of classical texts relating to India, there are some interesting references to the worship of cattle in ancient India. One of these occurs in the *Historical History of Ptolemy the Elder*, first translated into English, who lived in Rome at least about the time that we know that he was at work on his *Geographia*. He writes (Book VIII, c. 36):

"It is stated that the gods of India are the images of animals, and that their houses are 4 feet from each other (in the sky)."

Meaning more than a common allowance for the gods of all with which we have to take traveller's tales, we are probably inclined to infer from this that our people look upon animals with some years ago. And certainly they were very proud of them. I am not aware if the *Archæological Cattle* for instance have any place in the games procedure taken and taken, days in Mysore State on the *Hydrabad* day. But we are told in *Strabo's Geography* (V, c. 52) that calves of some were taken to processions in ancient times as well as elephants and four-legged chariots.

Alexander the Great would seem to have been impressed with the quality of his cattle, and if we can be believed the *Antiquities of Alexander* II, and to have been struck by Julius Valerius for the goddess of *Carthago* was in the war against *Statius of Fencia*, he captured 250,000 cows, and treated to send them over Macedonia to estimate his own cattle (Olympus 102).

Lastly, in these days the Indian prince as well as peasant, were so deeply interested in his religion as to believe in the *Antiquities of Alexander* II, and to have been struck by Julius Valerius for the goddess of *Carthago* was in the war against *Statius of Fencia*, he captured 250,000 cows, and treated to send them over Macedonia to estimate his own cattle (Olympus 102).

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"The *Olympic stadium* was equal to 1844 fathoms, and thirty stadia therefore amount to less than 54 miles."

There is strong feeling in the country against Indian games, for that sort of amusement and amusement, but it would not be bad as strong if they did something, as we have hope high, to justify these great bits of *Archæological Geography* in having some and maintaining learning and social service.

[The reader must not run away with the idea that here there is a reference to the alleged ancient and modern of ancient. And these that article is intended to apply to all games, the most 'p' must think all could write, and therefore must make the words of true knowledge.]

R. G. G.]

A National Celebration

The National Ocean Shipping Association of China celebrated a unique occasion in the nation's history on the 2nd of June, viz., the 51st anniversary of the construction and destination of the historic steam of opium imported in 1850 upon China by British merchants in Canton. The Chinese Nation has been receiving a happy aspect of the celebration, and has a happy lot and nation, which has yet 20 clearly millions of people of foreign ships and millions of millions of people. For before I reproduce the account, I shall give to have a history of the steam trade in China.

"Opium," says the writer of the article on opium in the *Sinophonic Dictionary*, "was originally used" in China, "as a medicine, the introduction of opium smoking being assigned to the 17th century."

The first effecting opium-smoking was caused by the emperor Kang Hsi in 1680. Up to that date the ancient imported did not exceed 200 chests, and was usually brought from India by route as a tribute stage. In the year 1702 the quantity of opium imported in India passed into the hands of the East India Company through the victory of China at Peking. Up to 1774 the trade with China had been in the hands of the Portuguese, but in that year the East India Company took the trade under their own charge, and in 1776 the annual import reached 1200 chests, and 1400 chests in 1790. Opium smoking had been made and opium prohibited by law, but in 1793 the import of foreign opium was declared illegal. But the measures had no effect as the greedy folk of India and India natives who did not mind getting rich at the cost of denigrating a nation. "Although the prohibition was forbidden by the Chinese Imperial edicts in 1796, and opium smoking associated with contemporary religiously increased in popularity and wealth," says the writer of the article in the *Sinophonic Dictionary*, "the trade continued and had increased during 1808-1850 to 15,000 chests per annum. The trade was prohibited, and the opium was brought by the Chinese from other parts of the coast. Up to 1810 an effort was made to stop the trade, but in that year the emperor Tao Kung and a Conservative Lin Tzu-shan in Canton to get down the trade. Lin issued a proclamation forbidding opium consumption, if the British opium ships carrying no opium were not sent away. The demand for opium and being complied with, 25,000 chests of opium (of 1850) the total value of £1,000,000, was destroyed by the Chinese Commissioner Lin but still the British sought to smuggle opium on ships, and opium smoking

continued on both sides led to an open war, which was ended by the treaty of Shuanglu in 1192. The importation of opium continued, and was legalized in 1152. From that time, in spite of the prohibition of the Chinese Government, the exportation of opium from India to China continued increasing from 45,000 pounds (of 112 1/2 lbs) in 1192 to 90,000 pounds in 1250. The prohibition was complete, so much so that opium cultivation in China itself increased rapidly, and the amount produced in China in 1299 was estimated at 120,000 pounds. The evil grew so fast and widespread, that it represented to the country an annual loss of 100,000,000 taels (a tael equals 1 shilling), and the Chinese Government decided in 1300 to put an end to the use of the drug within one year, and based on what on the 20th of September 1925, forbidding the consumption of opium and the cultivation of poppy. As no collection of their statements of purpose, the Government allowed actually a period of six months in which to break off the use of opium under heavy penalties if they failed to do so. This was met with a response from the British Government who "made an offer in 1927 to reduce the export of Indian opium to quantities beyond the use of 5,000 chests, i.e., 11,120 lbs of the amount annually taken by China, each year until the year 1932, and that if during those three years the Chinese Government had started out the arrangements for progressively diminishing the production and consumption of opium in China, the British Government were prepared to continue the same rate of reduction, so that the export of Indian opium to China would cease in ten years."

That is told in the history of the opium trade in China. It does not mean that opium cultivation is stopped in one instant. "In spite of the stifling effect of the National Government, withdrawal of the evil has been for him incomplete," said Dr. Li Sheng Lin, who presided over the meeting held to celebrate the third anniversary of Li's heroic action. "Failure is ascribed to three causes, numerous drugs, corrupt theories, and corrupt executives. The first prevents the law from reaching remote localities, the second confuses the struggling by lawless means, and the third inhibits, while the corrupt executives these inhibitors. In order to complete this task, Dr. Lin concluded, these three obstacles must be removed through the cooperation of the entire people."

It is to illustrate this cooperation, that Commissioner Li's birthday of 1916 is being celebrated everywhere and for the last 15 years. Commissioner Lee had succeeded in a thorough manner. "His career," says the historian Moyn, "was clear as crystal. His one motive was to suppress the importation and consumption of opium. . . His first step was to invade the entire foreign community, public and domestic together, and told us did to get into his possession the opium which was then in Chinese waters but not yet sold, and to obtain permission that no more should ever be introduced to replace it. . . To the Chinese opium was the true reason for the war, and with a just cause, they expected fully the support of the Western world. In the famous letter written by Commissioner Li to Queen Victoria, he betrayed no weaknesses, that there had ever been

any other cause of dispute, or that the Queen's subjects had any grievances requiring to be redressed, except the one which he had stated, and the obligation imposed on the Queen's Government to see to it, that some cause be to protect the people of the lower land."

But to come to the report of the celebration in the "Chinese Nation." "In the afternoon of the day," goes on the report, "the Standing District Court held a session at a vast quantity of opium seized recently. Over 7,000 pounds of opium and over 2,000 units of opium-smoking paraphernalia were publicly burnt in the court precincts in the presence of the National Opium-Suppression Commission and other party and Government agents. Reports received from other cities throughout the country state, that similar sessions were held by the respective judicial organs. At Taiyuan over 7,000 pounds of opium were burnt, while at Peking an even greater quantity—17,000 pounds—was destroyed. More than 250,000 dollars worth of drugs went up in flames at Tientsin, and almost as much was destroyed at Shanghai. Meetings commemorating the anniversary were held at Tientsin, Taiyuan and other places with equal fervor. In celebration celebration was inaugurated on the same day at Hankow, and will continue for two weeks. It is sponsored by the National Opium-Suppression Commission. Movies, pictures, and other instructive materials were displayed to the thousands who visited the exhibition. Here it was also commemorated in Hankow by the opening of a branch hospital for opium addicts near the District Court. There are over sixty wards for patients under the care of six experienced physicians."

We have no medicinal foreign drugs and opium in China and India, but as long as we have as much of such drugs as our government and a bottle of the holy myth, we have enough material for leading celebration of the holy day here in China. Our houses were made not out of drugs called but value fully given and it is for the education propaganda described at the end of the quotation what above, that our produce that drugs which automatically shade modern China to be occupied to the future. Let us also have, that in India come to be seen, we may not have to celebrate 12 anniversaries but instead of the great, —not that big foreign drugs have been in 1916, —before we are entirely rid of the evil.

N. D.

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Weekly Letter Sailing at Last

I reflected in my last letter the misdeeds of the British rule. In a sense the mission has been fulfilled, and Gandhi has decided to go. It has been fulfilled in the sense that the obstacle in the way of his going to England, viz., the refusal of Government to grant an inquiry on one of the issues arising out of the Settlement, has been removed. And as he had made it the end test, he was bound to choose to decide to go.

But as it began with the mission to be fulfilled. He is not invited behind him a concerted Englishman or Englishmen and a concerted Indian leadership to guide and help. For what has been revealed in India is not the first of a movement, or even of a deep conviction. It has been revealed one of an unwilling heart and its willing hands.

The meeting at what I am tempted to be eleven days a period of the Government's responsibility with its responsibility. What has been revealed might well have been given on the 15th of August. It might have been given after Dr. Jeyaraj and Dr. Jeyaraj cleared the immediate issue before calling for London. It might have been given on the day that Gandhi reached India as "mission to success," and explained the position to Mr. Curzon. It might have been given on the day Gandhi visited on the 15th on the 15th, so as to enable him to reach Bombay twenty-four hours before actually making for England, the 15th. His message was yet to be told and heard, and not only the 15th to permit without that Gandhi would not have written the word was fulfilled, did the man receive the demand. The conviction that India the spirit of responsibility is in the responsibility rather than the responsibility Englishman's mentality that has been revealed in the last Settlement.

The responsibility to the responsibility raised a side that I may not reveal today, but as we can see, the meaning underlying them. In it was a call that a demand of peace should have no responsibility demands continuous responsibility to go! But the refusal of Government to grant an inquiry on other responsibility issues could have no other result. The Congress was faced with a moral problem. If it moved to obviously lateral duty in the interests of peace it would not be understood as more that it did so with a moral reservation. The Congress' responsibility of moral responsibility. In having signed another demand of peace, the Congress found itself less as bound with its responsibility duty to adopt the responsible path of refusing, when either to supply not

responsibility could be obtained, would it not be changed with respect to India? It is to avoid that change in the case of an independent responsibility, that Gandhi felt compelled to make the Congress position clear.

An Obligation Fulfilled

But the latest Settlement makes one thing clear. It will be remembered, that H. E. the Viceroy in his letter to reply to Gandhi's last letter in June had reminded him, that the refusal of the Congress to be represented at the Round Table Conference "involved the failure of one of the main objects which the Settlement was intended to secure." Gandhi was certainly aware of this, but the object could not be fulfilled until the conditions prescribed were fulfilled. The last clause of the recent Settlement provides an admission on behalf of Government, that it is now the duty of the Congress to fulfil one of the main objects of the Settlement, as far as was in the days of Government. One may be startled even for this fairly admission, and even shocked for the manner of its admission in the case of the Congress. Once upon the case of such and such has happened, and the Congress should fulfil the moral duty fulfilled and as the moral responsibility of the people.

The obstacle being removed, Gandhi hastened to fulfil his obligation, and the way in which it was done well, I think, be measured for all time. It was clear to every Indian mind when that the Government was agreed and asked. There was no more article available for the papers down to India, and even discrediting that was impossible, Gandhi would have hardly done better in Bombay before reaching London. Gandhi had pointed this, that even if the India mission was successful, he should take the boat on the 15th September. A week in India would have been beyond even to make to have succeeded in making success. A week in India would have left him and his supporters too busy to make preparations for a voyage and a stay abroad, for he had to make up other considerations, and made a "last for London" with the will and determination with which he made the attack on Gandhi.

For I must stress myself. The words to Gandhi and to the very Indian, interpreted as well as he described as a "last." And the attack on London was a further gesture which the Indian even with all its responsibility of history and with India. The attack had a character of all its own. Without passing the comparison and interest, I shall say that the attack on London was the result of an overwhelming desire to fulfil an obligation as quickly as possible, but India should stand in the way.

"For some time I have thought, that the British ruling class was the long and cruel and stiff of walking very slowly. Political discipline tells about the class being wanted because he is a useful symbol of the unity of the empire. I think he is content to be the most effective instrument of social change, by which the old and rigid class were the rulers but strong social symbols of leaders, ministers, lawyers, scientists, and others who are all used and their service, in the West success of wealth are very much in social change. An American banker and his wife would be deeply shocked to be asked to dine with a British Lord or the Marquis here. Indeed, they would be apt to do what the British suggest, whether it be social influence to get something accomplished or to forestall money in a certain way.

That is where the political aspect of Hinduism fits in. Social justice has in all countries been closely associated with certain kinds of behaviour, for duty was as well as a conception. With us in America, the absence of a strong ruler and justice, according to the idea, immediately makes a man or being a natural labourer, for example. With you, the length of the stick has a similar meaning, I believe. In India who wants real work of his country is crying for his aim, that the Hindu class made by these various spiritual processes is superior to Hindu. He is saying that, at least certain aspects of western civilisation appeal to him. He admires them and wishes to copy them and adopt them. On the other hand, an educated Indian who wants Hindu is crying for his aim, that he prefer Indian culture, or prefer to help the state rather than be comfortable and comfortable himself. He is showing that his progress is very hard and humble. He is telling Europeans, that he is not going to follow him from, that he does not care for social justice, that he does not believe in having social order by killing some King, or Lord or Queen, etc., that the British scheme of social discipline cannot touch him or divide him from his fellow countrymen, that he does not consider himself superior to the pressure.

"Money is fairly fully explained in my own scheme of Economy of Abundance. It is common to people, because it is used for so many different functions. It is useful because it is used as a medium of exchange, these would make relatively little difficulty. But it is also a symbol of wealth, that is to say, of human work. Properly speaking, when I work, I am really making the best of my capacities as regard to my strength, skill, perseverance, care, honesty, and moral character. The money symbol of this work is the money payment which is given me. Of course there is value represented by money when that money has certain uses, status, some kind of use in return, an opportunity to do or receive something. Sometimes the good does not find expression for days, months or even years. But if the time is more utilised, money is later in fact an expression. If people will only try to take that by the quality of their services, they are making the reality, and the other sign of that reality will naturally find expression and people then think much. If this idea is kept in view, there will not be the mistake so commonly made of accepting the symbol in place of the reality, of trying to get

and store up money instead of human work and love. If this idea comes to expression then clearly, there will not be capable of political subversion by means of money and money values.

"The value class was related to the external forces of violence (robbery and theft), but the money was born through technology to control and absorb these violence (money, bank and interest). Then the money was stuck the money class apart. This symbol of life, and was religious concepts social disciplines and they made. The use of Chinese controls the production of man of the major occupations of life and its distribution, which was organized and makes possible the control of complexity. Hindu is a celebration of independence, progress, political and social. Class money in that much time is studied of psychology and more attitude than it is of social organization. Politics in the West controls men by playing to their desires and fears. Good, money, profit, and loss are all drivers. The value class of India of very other money concepts that rule by their character, or building up order and system of values, through this new way in which they want, — and by manipulating the symbols of these values. From one class to manipulating religious symbols, having the class of manipulating financial symbols (money), politicians are class to manipulating social symbols and symbols of violence (war, robbery, piracy, military power, controlled of law courts).

"I think that young men ought to be taught to understand, that all these value psychological terms — which we must be regard the reality and existence of people, including themselves, and they might have some old concepts can be changed. Wealth and complexity of living can change social reality and morality. Technology can change violence, financial service can control money. Technology can change laws and symbols of all kinds. Hindu can do much to improve economic dependence and subservience. So it is that despite whole progress in the names of social, political, economic, and eventually technological freedom of India. Your work in the Vedic is human being man to the understanding and practice of these things is of great value."

M. K. G.

Foundation of Splashing

Dr. Suresh Chandra Raycha, member from Allahabad.

"On 29th June last, the first following members of the Allahabad group contributed for 24 hours, and the amount of pure spin and the pure are given below:

	Amount	Cost
1. Nilayam Chandra De Sarkar	5,000 yds.	14.5
2. Mahasweta Hazare	7,700	11
3. Sushila Das	5,500	15.5
4. Jagdish Acharya	5,000	11

"On 30th July last, Nilayam Chandra Ghosh, member of the Allahabad group, on a total of 24 hours' work on the wheel, spun 11,000 yards of 24 counts. In the whole month of July, the amount of pure spin by him was over 1400 and nearly 2000 yards. This he did along with his own Allahabad duties."

M. K. G.

Young India

Alone, yet not Alone

[By M. N. Ghosh]

Repealed as well as other friends have wanted me to take (Jawahar) with me to London at least. He is, however, not really being a stranger to visitant and wandering difficulties. He is, however, as a first, having no difficulty about him, being dependent on my help and having been going straight to the point. And as I consider myself to be an advocate of him as a student, he returns the compliment by detaching my heart. I know him, and therefore share his work completely supported by my many friends, the (Jawahar) should be with me, to keep me on the right path and to serve as my dictionary of reference in case of doubt. Other friends have wanted others to be by my side, while through they may not be delegates. They are in Gandhi, and Mahatma, and Bhagat Singh will be with me as previous members of Congress by reason of their distinguished status apart from their later members of the Congress and their later post-graduate. There is weight to every one of the suggestions made by these friends. All the considerations were with the Working Committee, when after a full and prolonged debate it came to the resolution that there should be nine delegates on behalf of the Congress. I fully share the consensus thus expressed by the members of the Working Committee. But just before the day because when we are to go to London, and when when the way was opened at 7 P.M. on the 17th, my suitcase had been open as an open office, and I have not yet seen it even as I dance there how to the last thing as to Bombay.

Something which was told me, that I must not lose the touch of the India which comprehended, but that as the Congress President and the United Provinces were then given and in Gujarat was the capital one of Sardar Vallabhbhai, in India, which India Congress King and Gandhi (Jawahar) there should be by my side, and that I should take on duties without their full consent and approval, and as to my intention to the Viceroy, I told him that there there would accompany me to India. As I had to pass through Delhi, I telegraphed to Dr. Ambedkar, so that I could have had on him with him. The way was to Delhi but a Mahatma standing in the point. My wife was expected to the train, and he was down just before in Delhi to see me, and he could not catch me at Delhi, and so he too came along to Delhi. And I am absolutely certain, that the presence of each one of these men would be valuable to me, and I can give you the names, that for the first person and especially of (Jawahar) I think that (Jawahar) will be, the second (Jawahar), though whether I know him, would be, and I am very different from that in which I fully accepted, and I must say, that the same is which is less conveyed to my capacity to the one to which I alone, as my contribution, even as a whole nation, would have understood. With that very useful experience in front of me, the train would be satisfied in my, that I must take to the second as

two still in the air, I must take them to my colleagues with me in London even though they may not be with me as colleagues.

But I am, and some of my friends in the air of special duties that would prevent the coming from me. These colleagues too must be, that the delegates of the Congress, and that there were given to me in London alone as delegates as an individual, but at the same time as delegates as a body as a whole. These colleagues in India would be a much greater help than what is to be given by them being available for discussion in London.

I must go to London taking my suitcase to its fullest. I must go to London with Gandhi as my guide. He is a patient, kind. He will show me how to share the authority. One has therefore to appear before him as all one's weakness, empty-handed and in a state of full surrender, and then He would give to me what I need, and then He would give me all that I need. When I think of the progress in London, when I know that all is not well in India, that the second Parliament is full of all good and a changed work as plans are necessary, then I would be waiting to tell me what are things. The future is in India as it possibly would be. There is every chance of my returning empty-handed. This is, and for this which is the only of weakness (Jawahar) is in, that following as I do, that I will have the way to London alone for me through the second Parliament, I approach the visit with hope, and that that my words that come out of it would be good for the nation, if I do not prove useless to the nation given to me by the Congress.

The Charge Sheet and the Reply

I am sorry that the Government have published the report of the Prerogative Government in the manner mentioned against them to be strong (Jawahar) in my opinion the Prerogative Government, if they prove anything, prove the government for an inquiry. An honest person does not care a complaint by a denial of the charge against him, however important the denial may be. He has to prove his conduct before a judge. So far as Congressmen are concerned, the denial from the Prerogative Government, simply makes them as their suspicion. The public thought will have more of the charge sheet. Mahatma Gandhi has given his strong impression. He is a leader of a nation of people, and I am no doubt, that when it is published, it will be found that the Congress has a good case. If the Prerogative Government are as honest as they claim to be, why should they seek managerial investigation? That is the only reason in the second Parliament they refuse to have an inquiry. The Congress has submitted to the refusal. But it is also made it clear, that submission to the refusal was not made submission to the inquiry itself, and if there is a wrong to which, in the opinion of the Congress, it would be against the interest of the nation to submit, the Congress has reserved the right to call of the Government which is a complete suspension of all discharge, to take it up as a matter of all India. It is the only alternative to an inquiry into themselves, suspension and pardon. But, let me hope however that the discharge will be found to be necessary. I know that Sardar Vallabhbhai and the Working Committee

will say lightly speak any such assumption. So far as it is humanly possible, making the result of the London vote and of subsequent events be avoided. But it cannot be laid down not be avoided at the cost of mutual self-respect, as well-being. Let Congress Committees and individuals hope, that it is not open to them to take up such double-dealings in their own responsibility. Refutation of the Morning Chronicle on the President is absolutely necessary.

M. K. G.

A Damaging Document

[By Mahadevi Datta]

The Home Department of the Government of India have published a statement containing list of committees of branches of Trade given by Gandhi to the Home Secretary on the 10th of July last, and the replies returned from the Local Governments as all the matters of complaint. They believe, says the Home Secretary, "that the contents will enable the public to form a correct estimate of the positions for the committee."

The Government were most anxious to furnish Gandhi with a detailed report of the work of the Gandhi movement, the statement, and these have been sent to all Congress Committees for criticism and report and publication of the proposed changes therein.

The statement seems to make out that the list was exhaustive. It was by no means so, and Gandhi made it clear when he returned the document that that it was only illustrative. There he contains there are hundreds of prisoners still to be released, the last item of which must reach 150 in many parts of the Gazette in the present change sheet. But only two names were given. The result of course to the B. T. C. was less than a breath of whisper had come to his notice, that Gandhi forwarded to the Home Secretary what he sent him in July. As regards Bombay, I am afraid some fault Gandhi, when he sent the Government of Bombay on the 4th August, that a much larger change sheet to permit him to register in the pages of the Gazette.

One of the main replies to the change is, that they are too vague and general in terms and accompanied by specific instances. Two objections is stated, namely on the specific instances had been discussed with the Home Secretary on Gandhi's correspondence with him, and a crystal of those instances would have made the change sheet less than an act. It merely represents a summary of some of the complaints received, I hope Government do not seriously consider, that the change were not justified in cases where failure to permit relief has been given. Can it be remembered that the relief was due to the fact the Trade was declared, and I have a major no other but for the hearing in the House of the Congress Session and in the Government at the B. T. C., so relief would have been given at all.

Having made these preliminary remarks, I may say that the replies provide highly convincing, of doubtless, examples of extreme, unjustified delay and suppression even, and in some cases Government have overestimated themselves as I am definitely say from the correspondence in my possession. Without waiting for reports from various provinces, I shall make a few

remarks, giving the Government case, and set out the correct position in such cases.

It is nearly all cases of breach of the partition clause in Bombay, the change is rather detailed or explained away. Look at the language used.

"The main reference to the matter in the same papers and in a representative letter by Mr. C. Chatterjee, the Indian Government continued the opinion and desired the Committees to supply the relief."

Again "The petition have been standing at a distance of about 25 to 40 yards from the shop, and since things became quiet in that locality, although it is true that previously they were kept further off."

The reply is what as to when and in what shape these were let from prison, and does not indicate when what part of them "previously" refers to, to what distance "further off" means.

Again "As regards physical violence by private persons, little have been instances of assault upon and following of women or children, usually by members. And the police looked strictly on, I suppose."

In these replies it is said to have become "aggravated", but it is not mentioned here, whereas, it is admitted "violence was not to take 'children' on which violence was simply handled by 'chaperons'." What that the change why "any person accused of violence would be regarded as definitely dangerous, or undesirable?"

Again "When petitioning needed to be more appropriate" in Government. It is intended to discuss how it would be become so.

One I shall leave this part to its effectively dealt with by Mr. Chatterjee, who by the way is Gandhi's attorney, will be in the proposed change of these facts.

To come to some instances in Bombay. The change was that general petitioning was to be delayed by persons outside of limits of unfettered places and relations of home in Ahmedabad, Baruch and Rajapur District.

The early when, that "violence in the house and places of sale of country liquor is now allowed only in Ahmedabad City, and the reply also contains the threat, that matters will not stand," so long as local persons, mainly include measures to secure dismissal of individuals who are detained in the act of petitioning State."

It is, difficult to find an instance, outside this change sheet, of a more characteristic undelivered. And the reply is directly about about, Bombay and Rajapur District. Can it be remembered that a change proposed of "restriction in the case of the State" is being held out, only as a result of a hard pressed correspondence extending over two months, in which the Bombay Government justified the reference to partially laid.

Another instance. A letter at Rajapur was sent by the local authorities a year ago, was strongly said by them after the Trade, and there was a correspondence extending over three months for forwarding of the letter.

How is the Government reply?

"This matter had in fact been settled on terms so far, between Mr. Gandhi and the Congress." Can anything be further away from truth? The complaint was made to the only authorities, so I have said, long months ago. It was made to the Home Secretary on the 15th July, and the Sub Collector's reply informed Gandhi that the book would be returned after Government was reached on the 5th of August! Let it be remembered that the book is still in the hands of the Government. And one does not know, why the post office at the time is to send such documents and why the stamp be demanded at the outburst. We would have made us the best, had it been returned to him at the time.

Another instance. The National press had not been returned when the change sheet was turned. The reply says, that the change was not about the obligation of Government to return the press, but as to whether it should be returned in Bombay or Ahmedabad. Government was asked, that the terms of the Nationalist would be fulfilled if it were returned at Bombay. It was in fact returned at Ahmedabad!

The change I may give out was not about the plot but about the editors, consisting of the word "return", which means "going back and not taking back". There were heaps of correspondence about this, Government taking the wildest opinion of the Legislative Department, Gandhi's policy again is the opinion of three Departments as Advocates General of Bombay. It was difficult for Government to take against the authoritative opinion, and difficult to give an indication as to the upping of the word "return". That is why the press was in fact returned at Ahmedabad!

But let us complete the business of the whole after the Government's own language. The press was returned on the 15th August, the day on which Gandhi saw the Governor, and the latter told him that copies had been issued to return the press at Ahmedabad. But the following letter dated 21st July and addressed to Gandhi was delivered personally to the Member, Young India, on 7th August. Whether they were aware that Gandhi would not accept the press under the conditions mentioned in the letter and refuse the same, we do not know. But the Government is responsible. Here is the letter:

'No. 3 D, 1931

Home Department (Political)

Pune, 22nd July 1931

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

"I am directed to invite your attention to the Private Secretary to His Excellency's letter of the 15th July on the subject of the return of the Nationalist press, in which you were informed that the Government of Bombay proposed to return the whole case to the Government of India, and would willingly abide by their decision as the question of re-transmission is to Ahmedabad.

"In the meantime, the Government of Bombay have seen the opinion of the Legislative Department of the

Government of India, a copy of which was sent to you with Mr. Keshavn's letter of the 16th July. The opinion, as you are aware, was to the effect that you could not claim delivery of the Press at a particular place.

"While the Government of Bombay have their own contention in their opinion, that their offer to give possession of the Press at the place where it now is fully complies with the terms of the Nationalist, and that in consequence it would not be proper to change the subject of the Press to the Magistrate, they are now in a position to show the necessity in a manner requiring no contradiction of principle on either side, sufficient private funds having been placed at their disposal for the express purpose of paying all the charges which will be incurred in delivering the Press and in maintaining it at the office of Nationalist Newspaper. They are therefore making arrangements accordingly, and they expect that their letter will be treated as part of your representation at the date of the delivery of the Press.

Yours sincerely,
M. V. K. Chatterjee

Another instance. The change about sub-editorial Press and Printing, only two special instances having been cited. The principal explanation says that "the case of the Nationalist of India is still under consideration, though the case is an exception! About the other case an elaborate complaint was sent to Mr. Gandhi on the 15th of April, but the inquiry was being conducted by one person or another until the beginning of this month! The reply is about about numerous instances of numerous Presses and Printing in Gujarat. One or a hundred specific instances have not been cited! I may inform the reader that the names are in possession of Government.

Yet another instance. There was a definite understanding between Lord Irwin and Gandhi, that the two Deputy Collectors who had suggested should be recommended for penalty or removal. The reply says, the "understanding was that the Government of India should advise the Local Government on final terms, and that was done." The Local Government, then said, were unable to do anything "as they had not received a positive order from the Home." One does not know what this means, and if they "had not received a positive", why did the Government of India make the promise to Gandhi and address the Local Government?

But I am writing against them on a reading note which leaves me hardly three hours in Bombay to write the book. Let me add, that the Police change sheet is a dangerous one, and that it is no better to the several allegations as raised by the Magistrate in the U. P. and the N. W. P. provinces that they are subordinated to India or Gujarat. The allegations are so grave that if they are false, they constitute an offence of gross dishonesty. Let the individuals against whom the allegations have been made sue for damages, or Government make a clear cover.

There is another of the work to expect from an expedient Government. But there is nothing that I beyond the work of suffering and self-protection. Let us wait and pray.

The Second Settlement Government Commissioner

The following is published for the information of the public:

Suda, August 24.

1. As a result of the conversation between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, the Congress will now be commenced by Mr. Gandhi at the Round Table Conference.

2. The settlement of March 5, 1931 remained operative. The Government of India and local Governments will ensure the observance of the specific provisions of the Settlement in those cases, if any, in which a breach is established, and will give their careful consideration to any representation that may be made in this regard. The Congress will fulfil their obligations under the Settlement.

Inquiry into Bandit Affairs

3. In regard to collection of land revenue in the Saura district, the point is now in issue in those villages of Bandit infamy and Voted Mandal which have yielded no revenue officials accompanied by a party of police during the month of July 1931, when revenue demands, having regard to their material circumstances, were made from revenue papers and returned by receipts issued through the police who were made from and met by revenue papers of other villages of the Bandit infamy. The Government of India in consultation and left agreement with the Government of Bombay have decided, that an enquiry shall be held into this case in accordance with the following lines of reference: "To review and the allegations that Kheddas in the villages in question were occupied by means of forcible evictions through the police to pay revenue in return of what would have been destroyed if the peaceful had been applied which was adopted in other villages of the Bandit infamy where collections were effected after March 5, 1931 without the assistance of the police, and to ascertain what, if any, was in fact." Within the terms of reference, evidence may be produced as any matter in dispute. The Government of Bombay have appointed Mr. B. G. Gordon, A. C. S. Collector of Suda, to hold the enquiry.

Other Complaints

4. It is agreed to allow further petitions raised by the Congress the Government of India and the local Governments concerned are not prepared to order any enquiry.

5. It is agreed to any further matter of complaint by the Congress are coming within the specific provision of the Settlement, such complaints will be dealt with in accordance with the ordinary administrative procedure and practice, and if any question of an enquiry arises, the decision as to whether to enquiry shall be held and if so the form it shall take will be made by the Local Government concerned in accordance with such procedure and practice.

There are two enclosures which are the correspondence that passed previously between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Emerson.

Gandhi's Letter

Suda, August 24, 1931

Dear Mr. Emerson,

I write in acknowledgement with thanks your letter of even date enclosing the same draft. Mr. Gandhi has kindly also communicated to me the conclusions suggested by you. My colleagues and I have very carefully considered the suggested draft which we are prepared to accept subject to the following remarks. In paragraph 4 it is not possible for me on behalf of the Congress to subscribe to the position taken up by the Government. For we feel, that when in the opinion of the Congress a grievance arises out of the working of the Settlement it is an indictment, an assault on a sovereignty of the land, because of the fact that it is a disturbance cannot unless suspension during the pendency of the Trial Jury.

But if the Government of India and Local Governments are not prepared to grant an enquiry, an enquiry and I have no objection to the House remaining. The result will be, that unless the Congress will not pass the an enquiry as agreed to 'the other matter being raised' on my behalf, I unfortunately, one statement is so widely felt that it becomes a continuous duty of the Congress to seek some method of relief, in the absence of an enquiry, in the days of defenceless distress across, the Congress should be held free to adopt such remedy notwithstanding the suspension of civil disturbance.

I need hardly stress the Government, that it would be the constant endeavour of the Congress to avoid direct action and to gain relief by discussion, persuasion and the like. The statement of Congress would give them but become necessary in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding by the future in a change of breach of faith on the part of the Government.

In the event of a successful issue to the present discussions, I assume that the correspondence, this letter and your reply would be simultaneously published.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. Emerson's Reply

The Government of India, Home Department.

Suda, August 25, 1931.

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I write to thank you for your letter of today's date in which you accept the draft communication raised by the Government contained in your letter. The Government of India has noted that it is not the intention of the Congress to press for an enquiry into those matters hitherto raised by them, but that which now give an impression that it will be the constant endeavour of the Congress to avoid direct action and to gain relief by discussion, persuasion and the like, you wish to make clear the position of the Congress is noted to my future action that they may decide to take it into act, that the Government of India or Government of Bombay should be asked to direct action will be taken. In regard to the present position of the Government I wish to refer you to the letter of Mr. Khodasamy the Viceroy dated the 17th of August to your address. I am to say, that the correspondence, your letter of today's date and the reply will be published simultaneously by the Government.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. Emerson.



Young India

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A Danger to Peace

(By G. B. Ramdas)

All over India, and for a considerable time past, the national flag has been treated without any reverence on the part of Government. The recent change in the design of the flag was, it is now well known, intended to remove the ceremonial significance that was used to be attached to it. It was not intended to denote any change in the creed, or the policy, or regard to the legitimate and peaceful means to be adopted for the attainment of the Congress objective. The new flag, therefore, might not be so treated differently from the old flag by officials responsible for peace and order. Last week's newspapers showed, that in accordance with the instructions of the Congress Working Committee, the new flag was hoisted at almost every place in the country without any ceremonial or reverence on the part of Government. In Madras, in the District of Chittoor, however, several precautionary steps were taken by local magistrates, all intended to avert trouble as follows:

"Whereas it has been reported to me by the Police, that the Congress party intends to hold meetings all over the country and in particular in the District of Chittoor for hoisting and exhibiting a new Congress Flag on the evening of Sunday August 30th, and whereas it has been published in reputable newspapers on or about August 28th, 1931 that a fundamental principle of the Congress creed is that the Congress must be recognised as intermediary between the people and the Government, and whereas the display of an alleged non-'National' Flag by the Congress party in their demonstrations is likely to give colour to false tales, and to disturb the public mind, I hereby direct that the Congress party shall be prohibited from hoisting the flag, and that the public may express their views only through the Congress, and I hereby direct the Magistrate to the Congress party within the District of Chittoor and elsewhere, as given in the following a description is likely to excite prejudice in the public mind, disturbance of public authority, and to a grave peril to the peace of the State, I, K. N. Dhanoo, District Magistrate, Chittoor, hereby direct you and all other magistrates and officers of the Congress party and all volunteers and paid employees of the State to abstain from hoisting, displaying, or allowing any such hostile attitude any demonstration, from displaying any public place any or under alleged Flag in violation except

the flag for a period of 15 days from this date.

"The order is passed on plain in view of the report of the district which does not admit of serious action."

It will be noticed, that apart from the usual general prohibition, an specific allegations are made, and an special instructions referred to, in order to justify an suppression of a branch of the press. The whole order rests on the ground, that the display of the national flag is likely to give colour to the "false tales" of the Congress to be recognised as intermediary between the people and the Government, and will disturb the public mind. It is, therefore, that the Congress national Government authority. Such an suppression, if admitted, would bar the flag all over India, and for all time, and not only in Chittoor District for 15 days, a complete prohibition.

The orders were issued about the time of the Hindu talks between Gandhi and the Government of India. This may explain, but cannot justify the unreasonable grounds for the prohibition. As usual a wrong step under colour law leads to a wide and sweeping interference helps to its scope than the interference with which magistrates must. Chittoor magistrates have promulgated additional orders so as to prohibit not only the hoisting of the flag, but also holding of an assembly any meeting in support of the Congress party to read.

It is hardly necessary to say, that these orders are a clear breach of the Delhi Settlement, under which it was expressly conceded, that the Congress should not be put under any law, and clearly, though indirectly, against, that it is shall be no interference with its normal work.

Objections and considerations arise out of all the allegations of the people to Congress, indirectly represented by the flag, and the threats in the sovereignty of the British India Government thereby involved were wholly irrelevant ground for the suppression, where emergency powers under the Government are limited to preventing the press freedom to prevent the sovereignty. As for questions connected with the sovereignty of the Government of India as at present constituted, consisting as it is of a military post, and the magistrates cannot deal with them in the ordinary method, leaving the cause of peace between Gandhi's demands. A primary on the part of district officers, such as has been followed in the Chittoor District is certain to lead to a most difficult situation which, no amount like to believe, is not the sense of provincial Government to justify.

Great Possessions

(By J. C. KENNEDY)

In our issue of the 15th August were published the conclusions printed by the A. T. C. E., at its session at Washington. In the preamble to the statement of Fundamental Rights, the following sentence occurs: "In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include full economic freedom of the working masses. In a leading article headed "The Misuse of Money" in the *Times of India* of the 15th August the following two sentences appear: "One of the greatest problems of the day is how to dispose of the enormous superfluity of money, which is haunting the producers of the world and becoming the bane of all nations in India, and 'There is a definite danger of action, which, upon such false premises as leading men find of the hour our needs are adopted, will bring even the world to ruin.'"

The Congress resolution talks of the working masses, while the writing of the article in the *Times of India* has in mind the "workers" of plants. The sentence quoted above lives into participation the questions raised by the above economic exploitation of the world today. On the one hand we find what and how, and on the other, problems of working first product and consumption. The fundamental conditions of the day are so filled by their knowledge and theories which are their own creation, that they fail to see the absurdity of the position which before this date was in the world, who recognized that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark," although he may not be able to state exactly what that something is. In the article of the *Times of India*, in issue of July of 1930, the first sentence, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

What is it, that makes the demand of what a problem when there are starving millions? And what is it, that makes the burning of corpses such a heinous deed, when there are people as "starved gamblers and"? We can well sympathize with them, "What a tragedy when anything means nothing!" We can feel a satisfactory answer only in the wrong conception of the right and wrong, attending to private property.

The capitalist must have as his private ownership of anything, and they recognize no right to property, and hence logically they should expect no duties. They would feel all concerned. Even the Soviet Union attempted, in the beginning, an absolute equality for all. This was later abandoned to be an responsibility with income came as we had a table. Is private property an evil? Should we make a clean sweep of it or an unregulated evil?

One says there have been their hand at communism, and have grappled with evils engendered by private ownership. This resulted even against family relationship. We are concerned the property of the husband, and as he needed a community of values as his "capitalist" then seeking to develop the property in the wife. The *Times of India* was very logical in its logic, and recognized the extreme ownership of the wife, but it all other matters in advanced getting of relations. When he participated a substantial share in all, he was faced with the problem of finding someone to perform all these labors. This is solved by introducing share in his blood wife, but is not all the

work as such a share, he made during a period condition, as not only economic were made share.

In the words of these thinkers have killed a line of differing and conflicting schools of thought, ranging from socialism to state socialism. But none of them have found the real remedy, because they have all sought to cure the symptoms rather than the disease. In all these there has been an element of cynicism or realism or fear to enter the end. They recognize the evil, but they often too readily suggested a correction the wrong of evils is accepted. The early Christian took a formal economic individualism was voluntary and was limited to the Church. Even in this day, there is a way in the organization of the House Church, communism and the like.

Most of the founders of the great religions have not disapproved private property as an evil in itself. Although Buddha explained the source for the human evil, the great thought Austria lived in transforming in following him while winning the crown. Jesus pointed out how hard it is for those that trust in riches to enter into the Kingdom of God, and that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. He taught, that a "man's life consists not in the abundance of the things which he possesses," and warned us against covetousness. When he lived, that rich man turned a standing block in certain churches, he advised young men to go on the way of the rich young ruler. But he never condemned rich ownership. It would be no wonder to find, there is no need to sweep it away altogether, or suggested by communism. A few centuries like the latter has, the end, the human and the spiritual state with most his tendency to put away everything out of his possession against a rainy day. This is a natural instinct, and any attempt to remove it will not work with much success. Unchecked man, man differs from man in individualism, some are talented, some are dull, some are strong, some are ill. Therefore, necessarily there will be differences in their output and production, and we can not decide on an absolute equality in quantity of wealth. Some of that were private, persons differ from each other in the contribution they get out of a given quantity of natural wealth. So that their people state is quite difficult to maintain. Hence it is inevitable, that we should be tempted to legalism in production, consumption and distribution. This brings us, what is the source of the evils which arise from the institution of private property, and what is the remedy?

Wealth is only a means, and not an end in itself. Wealth is the result of the use of our capacity to produce. We cannot accumulate wealth any more than we can accumulate physical mental and spiritual equipment. This is an unregulated world. We have to deal, not the source of the evils we suffer in the manner in which private property is used. The acquisition of private property is not an evil, as it is inherent in the nature of man. Hence it is, that the great men and prophets have not condemned it, unless in general terms.

In the same that, all great teachers have taught, that life is a great given to us by God. Our bodies have been described as God's temple, and so what is produced by the talents entrusted to us is also a trust in our hands to be used, not by our selfish ends, but for the benefit of those with whom we deal and in whom

whereby we should recognise God and man as His end which is His vision. But the end does, the love, degradation or broken, and yet the ends we find to be. When a wife is locked up in a room all satisfying the husband's lust, the home becomes a hospital. The sexual current is not a better agent by creating a "renewance of youth." When man luxuriates with which man is endowed is bound in his selfish gratification, he becomes a man, an unendowed in commercial language. Even if a husband prevents his wife from doing just to others and thereby rendering her selfish and materialistic being wrong to give it itself, and desires her to surrender to himself alone, such selfish relationship becomes a sin. This is the attitude Christ held up to us, when He said, "Overcome that lust, carnal love, lusts of the eyes, of the flesh or mother or wife or children or high for my name's sake shall receive a hundredfold, and shall obtain everlasting life." A husband, a wife, children and home could be shared with the rest of the world so that this wealth, as these relationships are only with property but we cannot share them physically so that those find by 'the law' and something different. Christ has depicted the dream but it is really a wrong. Sharing a wife does not mean possession, use life. But may be the *Shamshad*, feature in the hands of Hindu monks, but in a manner we look for certain greater qualities of love, brotherhood, wisdom and a willingness to surrender to the needs of others. It is these qualities that we have to share, not our physical body. Unless we have spiritual and moral as well, even the sexual love life may be shared into a use of selfishness.

And as we are told to give up wealth, it is really in the way of the eternal values, we may have to give up home life, if such home life threatens to be an obstacle in building our higher ideal. This again was taught by Jesus, when he said, "There is treasure which lays ready themselves ready for the kingdom of heaven's sake." These teachings do not mean, that home or family relationships are bad in themselves, but when there is a danger of worldly values shading the vision of life, we have fearlessly to break such shackles. "If thy right hand offend thee, cut it off."

In the same way, material wealth has to be used as a tool, and not mainly for selfish enjoyment. We are reminded of the parable of the sower, who built good houses and destroyed his good houses, and said to his son, "Seed, thou hast much good laid up thy many years, take thou care, and drink and be merry." But God said unto him, "Take heed: the night thy seed shall be required of thee, then whose shall thou sleep be, which thou hast provided?" The world today follows the philosophy implied in the life of this man—especially the capitalist system as worked out in the West. The modern materialism encourages us but warms against this individual vision of things. In these moments, they try to relieve man of his responsibility so that he will be no more thinking of responsibility for man to man or man to man. He may have his own well-meaning in it, and his appreciation, to go to the dogs should not be taken away from him.

In the capitalist system all that is thought of is profit to the owner, and that profit is to be spent on the power of the business. To enable him to do so the standard of living is always kept going up. When

we begin to live beyond power of money, and consequently the shop owner has nothing to obtain, it is nothing but death of work people. It is not the acquisition of property that is wrong, but the status and the use of it is put to that constitutes a criminal offence against God and man. If the entrepreneurs or business men do all our welfare reference to service to humanity, that simple approach to have the kind of the entire product to keep with profit out of high price. It was this demand that drove out thousands of men of intellect and the Hindu law doing was done to create chaos. Thus in a form of development affecting the higher nature of man. The only remedy is building up of character, building a spirit of service and leading our society as what is required by modern efficiency.

The teachings of Christ have fallen on empty soil in the West. There is crying everywhere but there are things with violence. But India, any manifestation in order to the solution of the problem? Before thought we, always hold their conscience against material wealth. There is no crime in immediate wealth, any more than in anything wealth. It becomes necessary, only when it is an obstacle of the desire to serve our fellow beings. When the staff is broken for the house, and the result is ridiculous. Again, we have in our social order the just family system, which is established in this selfish system of acquiring wealth. The state system presented the image of competence. The rich have a comparatively simple life and ought to use more by holding hands, giving wealth, supporting people and other public buildings. A man expresses his character not in work in the way he acquires wealth, but in the way he spends that wealth. It requires greater ability to lay out your money properly than to keep it, as Britain was not concerned for their own sake. A Hinduism would never be happy. Learning and play concerned the respect of laws. The whole and the good lived as also. They look as though it is what they should do, at what they should do, as when they should be shared, but they made were the care of the people to whom they belonged.

We have to create an order because these kinds in India. It is not to escape the shackles of materialism. Wealth is a great responsibility, but in the same time it is a great opportunity. Many a rich man has squandered his wealth the night of irresponsibility, moved the opportunity and then converted a blessing into a curse. It is a double edged sword, and therefore a dangerous weapon to wield outside the circle of service. Those who have chosen the career of service, would be well to wear that of all temptations, so as to have their conscience unimpeded all the time to serve humanity. And those who have obtained as a wealthy man should wear the robe of the god before them and fall down before mankind. Wealthy men should be the gateway to relieve the needy and distressed. Wealth obtained in any other fashion is bound to lead to ruin in the end. Wealth as a servant is an instrument, a blessing, but as a master it is a variable curse. The remedy for the evil of capitalism is not in impoverishing people of their wealth but rather in bringing about or restoring an attitude of mind which will control selfish expression and harness our surplus production to serve where it is

Young India

Magna Charta

(By G. KATKUN NAGAR)

"I shall strive for a constitution, which will release India from all disabilities and pastures, and give her, if need be, the right to war. I shall work for an India, in which the peasant shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no dark class and low class of people as India in which all inequalities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room to retain India for the cause of untouchability, in the case of untouching dealers and druggs. Women will enjoy the same rights as men. Hence we shall live at peace with all the rest of the world, neither exploiting, nor being exploited, we should have the smallest army imaginable. All Indians will be equal with the exception of the dark villages will be completely neglected, whether foreign or indigenous. Personally, I have distinctions between foreign and indigenous. That is the India of my dream, for which I shall struggle at the next Round Table Conference. I may fail, but if I am to deserve the confidence of the Congress, my principle, I shall be satisfied with nothing less."

There has Gandhiji is a few simple ringing words and the world when the Indian National Congress meets. All men find his repeated man, his doctrine, freedom to us. Law cannot be created by any action to another. This is Gandhiji's simple concept clear to power and then clear, his statement, which is the strength of India. Britain made us slaves. The peasant shall feel that it is their country. This is the charter for which struggle and equality of law and removal of all disabilities for causes of our age come. Gandhiji has returned the promise of the Congress to be away with the dark rule, leaving for India means and creates the end of dark. The Indian National Congress is under pressure by the women and the children of India, that the day we get our government, problems will be solved. There is only one aspect except my dream from the British Government that do not permit us to discuss with the dark nations. We cannot maintain the present army, we can we decide to Britain the control over our military expenditure, thinking we have done away with the dark and drug income. Our international policy is peace, and the withdrawal of defence is all we need to keep. I have distinguished between foreign and indigenous: that is the most characteristic article of Gandhiji's charter, and only this can be in accordance with the thinking and genius of India. The only safeguard is that the members of the dark villages should be represented otherwise India shall belong to the world, and does not want to live for herself. Hence has Gandhiji explained the progress, the law, as well as the thinking of this Gandhi.

Section 144 in Mysore

(By C. RAMESHCHANDRA)

Gandhiji has inspired indignation in the Mysore Government on many an occasion, among other things, for the authority support it is giving to the land apportionment. It has set a notable example to other administrations in the acceptance of the scheme suggested by the Mysore's Government, and by Government and managing through its own Department of Industries the village land apportionment of land apportionment in certain areas in Mysore. As he has heard across the parties, this has gradually progressed in the first instance a small work of Mysore. It is unfortunate, however, to report to the dark rule, that there is nothing certainly in any measure of Mysore as compared with the British provinces. Even though the right of peaceful picketing is now recognised as legitimate under the Criminal Law Amendment, it has been prohibited where it was made to be executed in various places in the state of Mysore.

The order of picketing across one of the ordinary law which is the state in Mysore is so British India. It is a right that could not be denied in British India, it follows that it must be really conceded in Mysore state. But we find, that the following prohibition order has been passed by the District Magistrate of Mysore, and several are prominent incidents and publicly promulgated in several places in his district. The prohibition order is issued in consequence that not only picketing but any kind of picketing in the township is effectively barred.

"Whereas from the reports laid before me by the police inspector of . . . Taluk, it appears to me necessary to prohibit the public entrance of cities, the meeting of mobs, the playing of music, the delivery of harangues and the use of processions or movable representations and the possession for exhibition or the dissemination of pictures, symbols and placards connected with the picketing of houses and drug shops, as they will, in my opinion, probably result in the maintenance of no offence or lead to a disturbance of public peace, in the municipal limits of . . . and its neighbourhood, I, A. V. Rameshchandra, District Magistrate, Mysore District, do hereby, prohibit the public assembly, and the demonstration processions in picketing, from the public entrance of cities, the meeting of mobs, the playing of music, the delivery of harangues and the use of processions, or movable representations, and holding processions for exhibition, or the dissemination of pictures, symbols, placards connected with the picketing of houses and drug shops within the municipal limits of the town and a distance of one mile all round such towns, for a period of six months from the date . . ."

The prohibition, it said hardly be pointed out, is now picking but the work of picketing which may use any means whatever in a way, thing is about to be done by a British officer. It is a fundamental right, which, like all other liberties, is limited only by other similar liberty. It is not a question of the Government of India, or a democratic scheme, which the Mysore Government took, it must not come from the Indian. Both in British India and in Mysore it is their action taken away by law.

The matter is so clear, that the British Government of India, maintained prohibition in legitimate and

India, even when it directly and aggressively attacks the most important trading industry of India in India, viz., the cloth trade. It must, therefore, be doubly important and vitalised by the law in Mysore. In the marketing of liquor shops, the only measure effect of the Government of the British Government in India, but the Government policy of licensing and raising of liquor is at least indirectly concerned not to keep up the consumption. The revenue is supposed to be derived substantially from the inevitable failure of attempts to put down the use of liquor. All efforts at reduction of consumption are admitted to be not only ineffectual, but positively and decidedly of little support. The Mysore Government cannot, therefore, justify the prohibition of such prohibitory action as its regulations have issued in certain places. There is no question of the breach of the past law, but even the law, it is a past provision.

The want of popular feeling for keeping about this great industry for the good of the country in the land is not confined to the limits of any political border, but a law spread as wide as India itself. It cannot, legitimately or successfully, be kept out of the Indian mind. The industry carried by drink and drugs is as old as the Indian civilisation or the British presence, and the desire of the people to rid themselves of this evil is as strong as the desire as the same industry is as the way.

The state of Mysore consists of about ten lakhs of families. Most of these families do not drink liquor, yet the drink, still, if considered as a concern, the estimate of between two and three times the Government revenue, would be two times of revenue every year. If only we could do away with this waste, then of the cumulative wealth the state would be among the productive powers. The cumulative loss of drink could all be cleared, and a better life built for them very soon.

Appendix section of the annual Mysore Report deals with Mysore officers reported during the year. It is approximately about 1,500 per year, but the biggest Mysore officers of all is the licensed selling of liquor to people, who must adjust either the cost of it is money, or the cost is waste on their body and mind. The whole of the Government report is a public annually reported confession of the Mysore officers controlled by the state.

Over 1,500 gallons of A-tailed spirits every day, over 10,000 gallons of India every day, and besides, a good quantity of grapes and one a negligible amount of opium is in the daily consumption of licensed people in Mysore selling to the people Rs. 10,000 per day, which is no more than away from women and children. The Government gets out of this a share, a good share, but no more than Rs. 77 lakhs per year, and then, makes the whole officers difficulty. Is the money worth the cost of it? Let the Government take that Rs. 77 lakhs per year by direct increase from the people. That would be better than taking a cut of 10 per cent from the people, health and morality.

"D. S. should notice that it is reprehensible. There would be immediate opposition to it? We cannot do that I agree. What does the plan mean in plain language? You do not dare to take the money from the people, but you would rather

drain them, waste their lives, cause a craving for bad things, put an artificial price on it, and thereby prevent this revenue. Is that just?

Direct taxation was made up first among the poor people, but confined but inside the revenue, it is not, especially when reported as a dishonesty within, that causes a craving and progressively degrades and wastes.

"But what are you talking! If we abolished this licensed trade, there would be drink all the more; why cannot we prohibit and put a tax on it? Out of the taxable waste, why should we not make some revenue for good purposes?

I would believe that, if Government took a small share out of the total cost of the drink, as they tax entertainment, or the revenue and make some money. But when it comes to the case of alcohol and grapes or the consumption there, put an artificial price on them out of all proportion to the cost of production, get a virtual monopoly in the end and through the state licence is an inextricable partnership with degradation and etc. We can still nothing in what Lord Charnock said on the subject in the House of Lords in 1870, when first a measure was introduced in England to license and make revenue on the sale of liquor. "Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but not should be prohibited, for the diffusion of spreading the law for what they will. Yes, my lords, is not properly to be taxed, but regulated. There was heard in my rather of a law upon drink is justice."

"Let us now put a standing block on an enormous or fall in the liquor's use," said Lord. The state of Mysore has, in the administrative report conference, for 1,500 standing blocks and continues to sell in the way of the present and the most miserable among its subjects. It amounts into the right to place these standing blocks, to dig these profits, to the highest bidder in one year, the license were sold by the highest bidder for Rs. 11 lakhs. This is a great thing for duty on spirit and tax on them marked for maintenance of licensed liquor. "While as much as you can, give us Rs. 11 lakhs, it would be offered as much as we would have licensed it to last."

"Ah but we are decreasing the number of shops. Yes, there were in India 10,000 shops twenty years ago. Now, there are 45,000, just half that having shops and half-way consumption. Consumption, we are believe, is now half of what it was in fifteen years. We know, that the revenue is less than what it was in 1904. The conclusion is so perfect, that the revenue simply get graduated towards us going to shops, and get gradually an improved share.

From the Mysore chapter two, section twelve, comes it. "Oh, you who believe, unscrupulous and games of chance and reactions to them, not an only drinking by women are only an expenditure and the deadly work. There is, therefore, that you may be successful." Verses of "The devil only desires to make money and he will be going in your midst, by means of unscrupulous games of chance etc., and to keep you all time consciousness of this and how proper. Will you then drink?"

There comes from the Mysore chapter provided all unscrupulous and games of chance. The severity of the prohibition is more from their being cleared with

sacrifice to obtain. It is said, that when this verse was revealed, a sister practitioner at the temple at Madras that when was prohibited, and in response to this, every jar of water in a Madras house was emptied, so that when flowed in the street. There is the history of the world was such a desecrated and in spirit, so suddenly, yet so completely understood (From Mahomed like come, in his vision of the future) But, today, in a land where the evil is not yet so desecrated, where it is still considered a crime, everything is done to spread it, to let its roots sink deep and to remove the cause of shame about it.

Notes

Change in the British Government

Many people are asking what is the effect of the change of Government in England, as regards the Indian question. It matters very little to India, whether it is a Labour Government, or a Coalition Government, or a Conservative Government that it is now. Coalitions and Imperialism have not a conflict of British political theories or interests of any particular class of British people. It is British interests as against Indian interests that British subjects are paid to as had as any other India was taken and retained by one party or another, but by all. So also must the British subject, and India must be treated back as a result of the war, out of new parts. But of the British people as a whole. There is one element, however, that must be recognized as something that stands as a general factor. It must be admitted that the Labour Government showed itself led out the heart as its more than peaceful solution of the Indian question. But this affects only the propaganda. Once the stage is reached, when the fundamental conflicts have to be faced, whether Labour is on the Treasury bench or in opposition makes no difference. The parties would be just the same, whether the domestic policies of the Treasury bench might be. Mr. Lloyd would not have altered proposals of any kind even if he wished, without first securing the active consent of the other party leaders. Indeed, the present change of Government might serve to emphasize one warning. There will be no withdrawal or phrase (Bhagat) accepted, but a straight forward yes or no to the demands we make.

C. R.

Passport Action

The Commissioner asked how public attention directed day to the registration laws Kanak had been of large quantities of natural salt from the neighbouring salt areas for sale to local dealers. It was even alleged that in some cases the salt was brought to local ports. The facts appeared to indicate, that those who were then preparing only into the same were not observing the Salt Settlement. In all probability they had an opportunity to substantiate the falseness of the salt certificates. We had no reason of the fact from the people only. But the purchase of the Congress was the first time passport action was taken in the Provincial Executive Committee of health, that of that fact, published were subsequently true, immediate steps should be taken effectively to stop such importation. Should the same vigilance Congress workers. We have no doubt, that they will better than

others to educate the ignorant villages with regard to the implications of the Salt Settlement and see that none shares a right was with the ancient blood of his constituents and ancestors. The game of truth must be followed by truth. The situation at Kanak, if it has been correctly represented, should be a warning to Congressmen elsewhere. We must be alert on all fronts. Things should never be allowed to reach the stage they appear to have done at Kanak. May we also say a word to the Government. We do not know, if they had in action the corporations of local Congresses in the interests of the advantages of the Settlement before issuing the warning they have done to the villages. But in any case, we trust that the use of a law well and lead to the punishment of all. The spirit of the Settlement arrived at between the Government and the Congress would seem to demand, that where the offences are only a few, temporary legal action against those really guilty would meet the ends of justice. That the innocent many should be permanently deprived of local natural salt makes but an evil.

Educative Figures

Dr H. B. Ghafar of the Graduate Institute of Politics and Economics has brought out a brochure on "The Salaries of Public Officials in India." The publication is timely. It shows, that the Congress proposal of drastic reduction in salaries of public servants is nothing unrealistic. The uncorrupted will lead to St. George's principles upon local for salaries. It is now widely known, that Indian salaries exceed those of any other nation in the world. We country in the matters of the salaries themselves says Rs. 11,000 a month to any of its public servants or public dignitaries. But the salaries become more staggering, when the salaries are compared with the average unskilled labour in India and elsewhere. And it is here, that the figures clearly stand out as of social wastage and excessive values. The highest administrative salary in India is stated to be Rs. 6,100 per annum, or Rs. 510, in Canada Rs. 37,000, in the U. S. A. Rs. 37,000, in the United Kingdom Rs. 40,000, and in our unfortunate India, Rs. 40,000 (!) But the salaries of public servants might be taken much higher in the savings of the average officers. Two facts have been applied, the wages of unskilled labour and the salary of the lowest class, and this is the result, in the U. S. A. (including administrative salary) is 8 times the lowest and also 13 times the lowest in Canada it is 10 times and 17 times respectively, in Germany it is 11 times, in each case, in Japan it is 12 times, and 14 times respectively, in the United Kingdom it is 10 and 12 times, and in India it is no more as 200 and 210 times respectively! It is now to adopt the standard followed in the U. S. A., the highest administrative salary in our country would range between Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 2,200 per annum, or Rs. 180 to Rs. 190 per month. In doing Rs. 100 as the maximum, exclusively, for the middle salaries of public servants, leaving private and the like, the Congress has not been so exceptional as some people would love to believe.

J. B.

From America

An American friend writes:

"It is a great relief to the comparatively few of us that understand who grasp the meaning of what you are

doing, to know you will not stay here. Great minds, minds of men, do not need physical contact, even when something physical has to be done. There is nothing one can do here. America has to save itself, and by itself. Its trouble among coloured people is a hundred years less than that of Europe and Asia. America has her own thing to offer my race, money, and this yet can secure a plenty of without being capitalised by the Western world's hopelessly ignorant and therefore arrogant, power, the intellectual poverty of which is of more evidence, when cultural and political policy is contrasted with the most successful international work outside their class.

"America, that, of course, after other things, has demonstrated 'civilisation' and its physical, moral and mental splendours. Also she offers a lesson to the world, to those who think, of what Westerners bring to humanity. This includes me to say this, 'Do not place overmuch reliance on the emotional, popular and political nature of this country.' Let children, they are the playthings of their own wants, and would look me and also deny the substance of those wants when they realise the high political action. There are many Powers in the flesh of 'civilisation' in America.

"As regards The Eternal is with you. Father not too much, though, is the foreplay of Western forms of government. They are all about at the point of extinction, and are exhibiting tendencies to avoid a physical one in too great a direct manner. There is no end in this Western heritage with intellect and strength enough to save its extinction. He will not, I fear, be permitted to rise, until the mass are so fully lower-brother. Mindes do not happen until the people are in such a state, and here they are up. All present all that is here in Power. They will have help in their struggle." H. K. G.

Wanted Reduced Freight on Cotton

It is a notorious fact, that the Indian agricultural has been very hard hit, by the catastrophe fall in the level of world prices. Government have already reduced the freight rate on wheat in order to offset some relief to the wheat growers, but the cotton growers also is badly in need of assistance on the same basis. Dr. R. G. Gadgil has shown, that there is substantial scope for reduction in the railway freight on cotton, which will enhance an 11% above the present level. Again there is no excessive cost cotton on the shape of a Mitragan rate for Kanara compared the present and the present weakness of freight, i. e., the rate of the railway freight to the value of cotton in the primary market, and finds that from the present standpoint the railway freight has gone up by nearly 250 per cent. The main feature of the cotton is the fact, that the G. I. F. Railway, which handles about one third of the Indian cotton crop, charges a 60 per cent. higher rate on cotton than the other railways. Dr Gadgil therefore suggests, that freight should be reduced at the rate of Rs 2-5-0 per cwt. transportable on the G. I. F. Railway, and at Rs. 0-4-0 on all other railways. We trust, that the public bodies interested in the cotton trade will take up the question in right earnest, and see to it that the cotton growers are that relief to which he is clearly entitled.

V. G. D.

A New Scale of Values

[The following extracts are from a letter of Mr. Manoj D. Gung to a friend in India who has sent it to me on a matter which may interest a wider circle.]

[C. K.]

"For a long time I have wanted to express to you my profound admiration for the superb way that India has kept her heritages, and her own own courage, patience, determination, and energy. The struggle has made me so much, that I would do nothing all the past year, but try to understand Indian events from afar, and try to help Americans to understand and appreciate the real situation. It is not easy, for as every here are filled with admirers of Britain and are so much swayed by British propaganda. Nevertheless, India's religion, self-control, and disciplined non-violence take all the wind out of the British sails and only of here. Your own strength is your best propaganda. Without that we who are your friends can do little.

In the same way progress may seem slow, but when we consider what strides have been accomplished in a year, the hope for the future in the East seems bright. The hard work, self-control and discipline that the people have shown since the Delhi Trials are magnificent, despite the few lapses. It is a period of what will happen when the struggle begins again. I have not the slightest doubt that you will see full freedom for India. Be of good cheer.

Social Rank

The larger I ponder your Gandhi's full programme, the more profound is its significance to me. It seems to me to be the beginning of an entirely new order of society, for the whole world as well as for India. In all ages the real values of society have been those who developed sciences or arrangements of values and a set of symbols to go with them. Thus they have controlled one's mind, and by such control they have also controlled resources and political and moral power. Symbols are essential means and organs of emotion and energy. In other days priests ruled through a set of religious values and symbols which they put over to control and believe in. Symbols make and distinguish and make of symbols are the amazingly subtle and effect on nature of society, as the Hindu ruling class so well realise and so definitely see. But in the modern world the values of values and symbols that is essential in the money system. It has brought into its service all the other forms and symbols of control, political, religious, moral and military.

As understanding of the inner reality of money makes it more, I think, to understand the full scope of Gandhi's programme. Money falls a number of functions besides being a common medium of exchange. The most important of these is that it is a symbol of wealth. The business system and western world by money, credit is really trust or confidence or faith. Money has become a very ambiguous and partial way of expressing trust. Trust is so sensitive and delicate a matter, that it cannot be measured or confined to only one method of expression. So when people try to apply money valuation to everything, they kill and cripple trust. And now the system has gone so far, that most people have forgotten the importance of willing to share the reality (trust), and instead

try to secure only money, the symbol, and gets it up thinking that it is worth.

Trust and Confidence

It seems to me, that Gandhi's full programme can get no end to the money power. When men work under his programme, they try to win and money takes but the trust and confidence of those for whom they work, trust in their ability, strength, determination, skill, endurance, and power in action, and courage and truth. If the worker gets only cash, he may be sure that the trust will find some expression sooner or later. It may be partly in the form of money payment, or payment in kind, or food, or status or gift of some opportunity, or kindness of some sort.

By the Khadi movement, by Satyagraha, and by all other forms of service Gandhi has created enormous funds of trust, far more potent than any banker's financial credit. The confidence Gandhi has created has been partly a confidence of the masses in him and his power, but also a confidence of the masses in themselves and their own power through Khadi and Satyagraha. The symbols of banker's credit are metal tokens and bank notes and similar pieces of paper. The symbols of Gandhi's credit are working Khadi and sincere simplicity of living. By these symbols he creates credit, a new and true and more powerful kind of bank note. His movement, created a not more national or popular. It is a useful and ready of human unity and of the dignity of the poorest man.

Defects of Capitalism

Though I may be wrong, modern seems to me inadequate for several reasons. It is not natural enough, or psychologically profound enough. It causes too many of the serious social, governmental, and economic ills and evils. It causes violence on the issue of the class, large-scale exploitation, deeply entrenched, and the money system profoundly unsatisfactory. The psychological aspects are substantially the same as those of the capitalist society. There are more powerful than natural exploitation or force. Changes in the law of property are not enough, I feel.

In Gandhi's complete programme I see a new form and basis for society, for law, more profound and powerful than anything devised by the English or anybody else.

Payment in Kind and not in Money

Please imagine me if I say sometimes, — but rarely, half capitalist. It occurred to me, that after India gets her political freedom, perhaps one of the most effective ways of removing the pressure from the shoulders of capitalism would be to revert to the old system, by which taxes were collected not in money, but in kind,—a percentage of the yield or other crops. By so doing, much of the present misery by on the peasants to borrow money would be removed. It would become the job of the government to collect and market the produce. The risk of losses because of price fluctuations in world capitalist markets would fall not on the man who has the condition facilities for debasing himself, but on the most powerful government. This occurred to me, when I read about the British plantation managers in Kenya, who wanted negro workers, but the system was content with their own means of living, without money, and advised in some to reward workers for the European.

In the British proposal by legislation a money tax upon the negroes, and the only way the negroes could pay it was in some way by working on the plantations for the British. Thus the British used the state to compel the negroes to enter the capitalist system via the wage system. Therefore if India wants to escape the yoke of capitalism, I am inclined to think that the change in the form of taxation would be very effective. In the majority of the population. Perhaps some modification of the present form would do for city trades and manufacturers. I feel sure that the money system in the heart of capitalism, and that in any event the money system must be profoundly modified if it is to really serve mankind.

Gandhi's full programme seems to me humanly power, full and hopeful, because it not only would get rid of violence as the basis of the state and thereby offer for the better every government in the world, but it would create a new mode and arrangement of social values and symbols, which would greatly modify the present money system and do away with many of its evils. Full understanding and deepened practice of Satyagraha by the masses would give them a weapon of defence against any sort of political, economic or social, pressure and oppression now met on the home. The full legislation of Khadi and a new economic order in which machinery would be controlled by the hands of the workers, a social balance created between industry and agriculture, with agriculture as the more powerful partner, would create highly autonomous, self-sufficient, and self-sufficient, also an end of the present division of society into classes and castes, partly by the strong step with the machinery symbols of such production. The philosophical centre, by which the capitalist ruling class of the West rule and control their own people as well as those of the rest of the world, would be so weakened that a new and new civilization can be everywhere.

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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

Vol. XIII

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No. 38

Gandhi Week

On the 1st of October the whole country will be celebrating Mahatma Gandhi's 51st Birthday. The forthcoming celebration is a happy & joyful occasion. Last year the same celebration fell long ago, while he was a prisoner of war. On the 1st that occasion he will be almost 60. Indeed he has a few indications of it of just now. It therefore has this one special significance in a career which has been full of courage.

There can be no more apparent signs of celebration the young India. This is due to celebration in the country which is a new finding & happy—the cause of the phenomenon resulting of her conscience. There has no money, no time, and should have been for us, a full celebration of the bumper of those who still are laid out and so all as well as to be the most and special efforts of her birthday celebration.

It will, probably be a surprise to many, that while the average demand last year had no multiplied the stock of khadi is to increase that meeting is to be our heavy stocks have accumulated this year a full part of the country's supply is wanted at the unprecedented massive depression. The increased demand made us arrange thousands of new spindles and weavers, which we then enabled to replenish their empty looms to make both ends meet. But with all the available supply of the A. I. S. A. now locked up in khadi stocks, nothing but a failure in employment and consumption have these salt-strewn people. I have no doubt, that in India, Gandhi had been here in our midst, he would have used every ounce of his energy to secure a rapid disposal of the stocks. That is as easy as a sacred shrine of the nation, to suppose in an honest self, under the responsibility of those of us who are here all the greater.

I therefore advise, that the work, commencing from the 1st October,—his birthday according to the Western calendar,—to the 15th October,—his birthday according to the Yuktan era,—should be observed as the Gandhi Week. There were then must be devoted to extensive purchasing in every kind and name of India,—as every tree, fruit and seed,—to achieve the most extensive of all the highest price available in the forthcoming khadi. Whatever might otherwise have been the usual programme for such a week, I appeal to all Congress Committees and Congressmen to devote their whole, undivided attention to the purchasing of khadi only. I want

every single Congress worker to do his best each day of the week, and carry, by personal action, the message of khadi to all those he can reach.

I mentioned from the Journal King, the President of the A. I. S. A. that a sum of about Rs. 15 lakhs has been locked up in stocks of khadi, and almost an equal amount in cotton, yarn, and other equipment of production centres. The A. I. S. A., therefore, fails in producing advances considerably increased for most of liquid capital. We must therefore let open a plan of releasing all the capital locked up in the khadi stocks, and this can be promptly done, if we get from this vast treasury only 1,000 persons with capital for Mahatma Gandhi and his cause, each of whom is prepared either to produce or undertake to sell khadi worth Rs. 1,000. For the thousands had the same of which I have been speaking, this is not at all a difficult programme. We can start back upon khadi as a political symbol. It has in two concrete significances, one of it is appearing in the only self-sufficiency image, as for the past agricultural season. I therefore expect, that even those who, in politics, may differ from the Congress,—but who subscribe to progress, justice, non-violence, saving Government officers and servants,—will do their part in the disposal of the khadi stocks. I appeal to all,—particularly to Congress workers,—to cooperate with me in securing these 1,000 persons, who would produce khadi worth Rs. 1,000, or pledge themselves to sell khadi of that value in their own responsibility. The A. I. S. A. has agreed in advance to give delivery of pounds of khadi of that value to producers at their place through nearest branches scattered all over the country. The work should commence at once, that is, from today. The workers must begin to canvass locally for these orders. All orders should be immediately registered with the office of the A. I. S. A. at Ahmedabad, with the full record paid in advance. Let us the smaller parties are firm, that they are full out of this scheme. They should combine among themselves, so as to make up an order for Rs. 1,000 which should then be registered in the name of one of them. The A. I. S. A. has undertaken to deliver pounds of khadi to the producers as fast as possible during the Gandhi Week. I wish to see a part of these orders at the three office before every day has passed. While our leader labours for the country on the other side, let us do our bit on this.

Ahmedabad

14th Sept. 1931.

Vallabhbhai J. Patel

President, Indian National Congress

The Frontier Situation

[The following is a further highlight from the report submitted to the Working Committee on the situation in the N. W. F. Province by Gordon Gaudin, M. K. G.]

Prejudicing Causes

Of the two districts comprising the N. W. F. Province I was able to visit only these. My short tour of six days covered practically the whole of Peshawar District and parts of Kohat and Bannu. I was able to see a great deal in these districts, and personally accept in your case a fairly full view of the state of affairs in the province. The popular movement is very strong in the Peshawar District, and only a little less strong in Kohat and Bannu. The extraordinarily harsh measures, adopted by Government to suppress the movement last year in the Chitral District, in particular and the whole province in general, account largely for the present state of popular unrest. Indeed the immediate tendency to be witnessed in that province today might well have been what it is, but for the conflict and barbarism that is now being perpetrated by the authorities last year.

An Infelicitous Example

Today the whole of the Peshawar province is eager for freedom like the rest of India. Large numbers of people, who have selected to Khudai Khidmatgar, have come directly under the influence of the leaders of the movement and particularly of Khwaja Abdul Ghaffar Khan. His persuasive tongue is not like magic coming down the chimney of his character and the deep sympathy to workers for the poor and the oppressed instrumental for him in stirring place in the hearts of the people, the girls himself as well. He moves about from place to place and moves freely among the villages, being equally at home. As a rule he uses the lang which is the best expressive means of transport. He does a great deal of travelling as fast as well as on horseback. His experience of his continuous touring throughout the province is very little. His example is infectious. He works hard and spends money as lavishly as himself. The workers among in that district, and whatever region is entered, comes from the points of workers themselves. Khwaja Sahib as well as other workers spend large portions of their personal incomes on the movement. He was good enough to accompany me practically throughout the tour. I must say, that the sympathy commonly accorded to be me in regard to workers and Governmental policy is stronger rather than a hindrance. We had small disciplined squads operating on everywhere, and I was able to get through work which might have been impossible if large meetings had been arranged. The District Collector of Chitral had sent a notice, partly worded, to responsible workers, strongly warning them against any demonstration or interference with tax collection. There was a notice under served upon workers in Bannu, the tone of which, however, was comparatively courteous. Nevertheless, little spontaneous demonstrations did occur. At many places volunteers in red uniforms lined both sides of the road here or there miles, along which one car was to pass. There was certainly no interference by the police. It was then possible for me to see large numbers of "voluntary" volunteers here to there and to take to them in most places little signs of suffering of workers

had been arranged. Informal talks at these gatherings helped to reveal that in general was with the situation. It would had been that several individuals who had specific grievances against the authorities turned up at almost all places, and repeated their experiences in Khwaja Sahib and myself.

Cases of Official Tyranny

I came across some cases of cruelty and action in connection with the collection of land revenue. The reference on this account seemed to me to be directed to the Chitral District and Bannu District. In other parts the situation seemed to be much less acute. It was not however possible for me to come to any definite conclusion in so short a time. But there is no doubt that the direct and high-handed policy pursued by the revenue collection in some areas should cease at once if the intention there is not to go very much less land to water. I saw peshawari women, who for the first time in their lives had been surrounded by revenue officials in the presence of a large number of men, and subjected to indignities, because they were not able to pay the land revenue due from them. I saw about money much more have occurred. I came across one or two myself. One peshawari lady was told Khwaja Sahib how the land had been made to stand in the last year. Some money in coming with her little daughter for one or three days, without being allowed even a drink of water. This seems to be a horrible form of torture applied by revenue agents in the case of women delinquents. It is nothing short of organized torture to make women stand or sit for hours on end under the Peshawar sun in the part of the year.

The statements of women, who came in my path with such complaints have been recorded. Khwaja Sahib, Bannuwalah, has personally investigated many of these cases, and satisfied himself as to their genuineness. His persistent statements of women.

Even though the number of women referred in such instances is comparatively very small, the indignities have caused great popular indignation, and the police Khwaja Sahib Ghaffar Khan himself is very much appalled over these events. There are considerable cases of men delinquents who have been subjected to similar and indignities in order to collect land revenue from them, which they are unable to pay owing to the general economic distress which the N. W. F. Province appears to show.

In one case a man had been flogged up in a dark cell which had a lawyer's name. A few men in under the coat, and the man was left in the night under of the torments thus deliberately inflicted. He was strong all over the body, and suffered the days. His statements were recorded. Many cases of a similar nature seem to have occurred of which a record is kept by Khwaja Sahib. I have seen and talked to some of the witnesses myself.

I know, that the local authorities have feared the work of these statements. I have however no reason to doubt the evidence of those who give their evidence in a natural manner. The local authorities cannot be checked by merely planning and paying. If they are constant, the Government should provide an independent watchdog, before which they can establish their innocence, or in other words, the proceedings are given their proceedings.

Khindal Khindolpuri are putted into his special treatment. In village after village proceeds and small as well as big landowners complained, that whereas Khindal Khindolpuri were admitted in connection with the collection of land revenue, other debtors, who were either pro-Government, or agreed to have no dealings with the Khindal Khindolpuri, were not even approached for land revenue. I got searching questions as to many people who brought these complaints. Some of them came and Khindal Khindolpuri themselves, and yet every one without exception supported the change of restrictive treatment. Khindal Sahab and others have forced single evidence of the same nature as the source of their own independent investigations.

In Chaudhali we visited some people who had been put to the lockup as debtors. Some of them were well-to-do, respectable people, others poor hard-working peasants. The tale is which they had been locked up was very varied, such for women indebtedness. There was poverty as justification. The cells stood over their heads. During the day today in the house from they became veritable caves, and even at night they could hardly be known. The prisoners were kept confined in these cells for all the twenty four hours.

Mahabhat Khan

In village Chaurah in Marhwa Taluk I met Mr. Mahabhat Khan, an influential and educated landlord. He had himself once served as prisoner in the lockup at Marhwa. One such prisoner had been wrong for a conspiracy in the cell, but did not receive proper attention. He was shocked to see their condition, which was the same as that of the Chaudhali prisoners described above. He told me that he had written a strong letter of protest to the authorities, but had received no reply. This type of cruel punishment, which Khindal Khindolpuri, as has been stated above, were especially to be coming in for, is another matter which adds to the miserable situation. Among the various instances of harassment to contractors such the collection of land revenue, the case of Mahabhat Khan is well known. This is a young man of driving energy large projects. He is one of the big landlords of the province. He is also a leading Khindal Khindolpuri. He met me in his uniform as an ordinary volunteer. He was put in the lockup ostensibly as a debtor, but at really because as an important worker he had become an enemy to the police. While in the lockup he wrote to the magistrate to say that he had no intention of making payment of his dues and that he would try to pay up his full share as soon as possible. The request of standing in his name was a little over two thousand Rupees, which he was in the lockup, a mule cart, a horse, a bullock, and three bullocks belonging to him were attached. After his release his goods were attached. Finally his land worth over a lakh and a half acres also been attached. Thus this big landlord has now been reduced to a pauper. The property attached has not yet been auctioned. The case has drawn public attention, and a nod to be made the Commissioner of the Local Government. In a written statement Mahabhat Khan emphasises the charge, that the object of such harsh methods is the harassment of persons who take part in the movement.

Removal of Revenue

I came across cases of suspected march on Khindal Khindolpuri by following. This appears to be part of a general policy to remove all those, who show any sympathy for Khindal Khindolpuri and his movement. Individuals, who denounce themselves to the Government, are not even mentioned as being present or absent. Persons, who had been thus arrested, told us, that their arrest was not in so many words that they were better because they would not desert from their activities.

Notes

Removal of Feet

The Working Committee of the Congress has adopted the following resolution on the 11th September:

"In case of breaches of the Saltlaw on the part of Government officials or other matters of complaint, the President or the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee should endeavour to obtain advice from the representatives of the Local Government, to see what is not forthcoming. The matter should be referred to the President of the A. I. C. C."

"Information is required in all important matters should however be sent promptly to the P. C. C. or the A. I. C. C. office at Allahabad."

The General Secretary has already indicated Congress Committees and Congressmen, that there should be in mind, that the Delhi Agreement contained and that there should be no breach of it on their part without making reference to the President.

Infectious Doubt

Recent news, that Gandhi's last appearance at Marhwa has disappointed many people against him. His infectious doubt has captured all, and he exhibited himself in villages of swarms from United provinces, Bihar etc. Gandhi's statement that he has agreed on approaching England after an absence of several years. But nevertheless does not appear to have interested with his ability to make plans. When asked if he would traverse the streets of London he has said, Gandhi answered a French journalist, 'You, in your country, wear plus four, I prefer more frays.'

Mr. J. B. Gandhi's intervention presented has been making a disinterested dedication to the Congress office, 'I am a poor man. My worldly possessions consist of one spinning wheel, some dhotis, a set of goat's milk, six bananas, two chicks and turkeys, and my reputation which cannot be worth much.'

Of course the Congress Imperial passed him

Gandhi's Forecast

Earlier when Mr. Mahabhat was interviewed, he the source of which Gandhi said:

"The British Government is faced with such staggering economic problems, that it is very likely to take the responsibility for reducing India's demands, with the consequent removal of civil disobedience and boycott. But shall I estimate the responsibility for a renewal of the struggle, will every possibility of peace be exhausted?"

Gandhi thinks, that if the Round Table Conference survives the first foreigner's defection to the Indian side, it might go on till the 15th November.

C. R.

Young India

A Fickle Friend

(By M. K. Das)

THIS writer is English friend who has known me for years.

"We can live for some time told you quite frankly, and in good English that you are making an unmitigated fool of yourself, but out of personal vanity and the desire to not the thinking, are dominating the line and advantages which were not very new, when lay no claim to special status, do not make it."

"You know full well, that the whole reason for your not attending the Round Table Conference is due to your inability to solve the Hindu-Muslim question, and that you have read, page numbers as an excuse. Your Congress Committee and at Allahabad, Mr. Gandhi has publicly made the statement, and you know full well the fact of your motion, moved at the Working Committee meeting, when you were turned down by your Committee. You admitted in that resolution the failure of Hindu-Muslim negotiations and your inability to get beyond any political proposals at the Round Table Conference, and that you would continue yourself ready to work for the achievement of the objectives of the motion."

"Yes, who suggested withdrawing at the start of work, the same after that I withdrew at, was by Lord Dufferin, coming words and delivering a dramatic speech to face the issue of your deliberate prearranged determination not to go to the Round Table Conference as the Government."

"Where, as you were fully, declare, withdrew to the credit of Congress and the leadership of this Government in objective, are you not with calculated deliberation, forcing the Government to take action? You may know that immediately in the after of your followers, but at least you do know that you cannot deceive the eye. Go not however! Call us that your case honestly, not as Gandhi the politician, who, without the political guidance of Pandit Motilal Nehru, is making a fool of himself, and leaving serious trouble in spiritual world will benefit nobody but ourselves, but in the other Gandhi, whose motives, and I include myself in that too, regard for his aim at least and the spiritual work he is doing for the distressed classes. That Gandhi is unimpaired. Your personal pride and conceit have not compromised the other Gandhi."

"I want, many thousands words, to get better acquainted too, and the Round Table Conference is the prearranged means for that purpose. You, however, deliberately seek for freedom through Word, because your pride received no economic shock when you found that the Conference would go the without you, though you will call it "passive resistance" and other names. You cannot evade these facts."

"Oh, I beg of you, and withdrawn, and after yesterday come to the state of health."

In order that I may not miss his words through any gliding, he requested for letter. The letter could be

needed to answer his friend. The last answer to the letter is, that I am writing this on the station that is taking me to London. Indeed I might have suggested the letter. But I did not do so it appeared as if more I have professed in the course of the life. When I do something that pleases them, my English friends were unhesitatingly enthusiastic. And when I do something that displeases them regardless of what they said in the past, they turn at me. They will not stop to inquire of me why they are so unresponsive between my past conduct and the present. They will not have the patience to discuss the political boundary between two seemingly unrelated acts. When I had such friends, I shared their praise and in domestic criticism, and hence became motivated by these motives. Take the words of the foregoing object statement. Only a few months ago, I was a good man. Then suddenly I have become all that is bad, even a law, because he suggests that I would not do London because of my Indian friends about Hindu-Muslim unity. He will not even profess to ask me for an explanation, and because a guided report of my speech at the last A. I. C. G. meeting. Let him and the public know, that I hold in my bag a note from Pandit Bhabhai, saying that he never made the statement attributed to him. But I suggest that even if Pandit Bhabhai did make the remark attributed to him, that would be no harm for a friend to stand in opposition against me. A friendship, that cannot bear the slightest stress and would betray any person at report, cannot be a friend, or not worth much, if anything. Let those English friends who have told me what an honour of confidence, be warned against making to report judgments, the moment they hear reports about my doing which may distress them. The reports need not always be false, as was the case in the present instance. If the course propose is well understood, friendships formed to advance that purpose should weather all storms of misunderstanding, misapprehension and the like.

I will therefore state the purpose. It is simple a freedom from the alien rule in every sense of the term, and that for the sake of the death millions. Every nation on earth, that is hostile to their interest, must be removed, or at least at least if it is so, capable of removal. Two freedom does not, and will not include partnership with the English on terms of absolute equality and equality in the will of every party. Three English men, who formerly share the confidence circumstances as at such an event, will never need to repeat of their having turned to me a card of no more. The above will not require but will be my strict confidential note.

Udita 'Manorama'

Dr. Vallabhbhai has, been, under our responsibility, issuing in Delhi a weekly Urdu edition of *Manorama* (now may be obtained from both *Manorama* and *Young India*). He assures me, that the Urdu edition will be conducted exactly along the lines of *Young India* and *Manorama*. It will accordingly take no advertisements, and will publish only such material as appears in the two weeklies. The annual subscription is only three rupees. I am glad of this enterprise. I have always felt that Urdu speaking people should know the message of free India. I congratulate Dr. Vallabhbhai on his patriotic effort. I hope it will be encouraged by the Urdu speaking public. The address is Urdu through me, Ghanshi Chakri, Delhi. M. K. G.

The Frontier Province and the Charge Sheet

The busy work, done by Government in the Congress charge sheet makes very amusing reading. If they had taken the trouble to investigate all the serious complaints made fully then they still, some at least of the categorical details and glaring contradictions would have been differently worked. Two glaring inconsistencies relate to the North West Frontier Province. The reader probably remembers the complaint, that a woman called "Fakhtee" which is devoted mainly to sexual problems was being held up as the good citizen, although a man, not permitted. The Government reply says that after an examination of the charges in the magazine, it was allowed to continue. I had, however, been definitely satisfied, that there is a serious law against the charges on which still need men to operate. A creditor had his house destroyed, which adds every guarantee not to deliver the "Fakhtee" to his address, because it is prohibited. They are further told not to let any one know that the magazine is suspended.

Another charge which is of a much more serious nature is called "poor education" in the Government reply. Thereafter we, from the Khilafat Agency, certain Makhls had been told to show the Khudai Khidmatgar. During my recent visit to the Frontier province, I happened to visit Dera Is in the Khilafat Agency. There I met the Makhls who were told to have been asked to show the Khudai Khidmatgar. Here is what I was able to gather from them.

Twenty four Makhls had been put in jail, or perhaps in the prison looking, without any trial for the offence of organising a meeting to be addressed by Khwāhid Chaudhri Khan. They were kept under guard even for one hour. Before they were released the Tahsildar or stayed to have asked them to show the Khudai Khidmatgar and Khwāhid Chaudhri Khan. They were told, that they would receive freedom, or reward if they served not too late. The story may seem unbelievable. Yet it was impossible for me to read records in the files of these poor uneducated Makhls, who related the tale to me. It has got to be realised, the Makhls are heads of groups of villages, and consequently they possess influence, and enjoy a certain amount of Government favour and patronage. By virtue of their position, they could with impunity, take the action, so officially suggested to them. If I am asked to prove the charge, wherever I am through the mouth of the Makhls, I must confess my inability to do so. But I would never by saying, that there can be no better proof than the statement of these Makhls themselves. One may say honest is he, but there can be no reason to disbelieve the testimony of many Makhls, and indeed be remembered that Makhls are not men of straw. They are the leaders of their own villages. All of them possess personal freedom. If their evidence is disbelieved because an uneducated Tahsildar denies it, there never can be any charge proved against a Tahsildar which is based on oral testimony. I deal with the other charges in the report submitted to the Working Committee.

Devdas Gandhi

From a Rajputana The Last Cup

It was purely a question of time and age, and as one would have believed that Gandhiji was coming and he had actually collected. The Hindu newspapers of Anglo-Indian newspapers heard a cry of grief,—'the destroyer of power,' the "Inevitable man," the "revolutionary prince" had left,—and they were also mourning the feelings of the official world. Special tributes in a thing that to me is great and noble, whereas for Gandhiji eternal vigilance is the very breath of life. And let us now believe, that because Gandhiji will be absent for a few weeks, the tributes in a way may come to be relaxed. The letter addressed to the Home Secretary on the 27th August, which forms part of the Second Parliament, is nothing but a protest of vigilance on the part of the Congress, calling for a public expression, on the part of Gandhiji, of the feeling, that if he is going, he is going in love and devotion.

There were sometimes tributes handed in to Gandhiji, as the members "Rajputana" told the Stanley barbers. Many were from friends and co-workers, wishing him a happy voyage and happy return home, and promising that the day would be laid flying down the channel. There was a particularly affectionate one from H. E. the Viceroy. There were two which struck the right note. One said "May God bless you, my dear." The other said, "The will win at last, my dear. May God bless you in time." But the man, that, according to Gandhiji himself, correctly and vividly described the situation he was in, was a poem of farewell in English by one young man, Stephen. I will not try to put it into English. Even if I succeeded in giving a gist, it would be impossible to render into English its music and its perfect structure. The language was, with the thought, it is as though the spirit of the poet had been intimate witness of the emotional thoughts and feelings of Gandhiji during the past three days, since the foundation of the new nation on the 15th of August. "You have drunk many a bitter draught," says the poet, "Go forth now to drink the last cup of poison. You have pulled forth against Islamism, but against him, straight, drinking against death. You have refused to drink, even your bitterest enemy. Go forth then to drink the bitterest draught that may yet be in store for you. Let not the thought of our misery and our exultations make you pause. [The Chittagong were at Chittagong, drinking strength] You have fought us to suffer cheerfully. You have suffered our tender hearts are dead. What if you were martyred? You are going as martyr. Go and produce or establish your message of love and brotherhood—Muslims living with the world in peace for the brotherhood that, it knows, you will carry with you."

Souraseng

I have talked of eternal vigilance on the death of man or power. But it is the quality of faith was for the man, as in "the Great Testament's eye." When a time comes after waiting from Bombay we found him weakly looking, we were in that quality. After the

We have had a change now, and though a few of us feel as though we were called to sleep by the beams of the modern Karkis, the wonderful blazes of our morning papers, many are not yet ready for anything like a serious talk or discussion with Gandhi. There seems perhaps there is no better talker on board than A. L. Bagdasarian. He has adopted for himself a theme as the second class talk which he speaks most of this day and the whole of the night. 'You seem to have deliberately chosen this spot to come to sleep,' said Gandhi the other day. 'It is no wonder for we have nothing here even for the big restaurant where we have our papers.'

Quite a large majority of the Indian passengers have however begun to get over their bewilderment with the result that the dinner tables are now full, and there was an attendance of 22 at our evening prayer yesterday. Gandhi has not allowed his routine to be disturbed in any way. He rises and gets up at his usual hour of 5-30 p.m. and 8 a.m. comparatively, and then put in gradually the same amount of work as usual each day.

However much Lord Irwin may insist at this 'evacuated condition meeting', I must say that the behaviour of all the officers on board not only irritate Gandhi but irritate us, who tramp about the whole boat as Indian ladies and clerks and stewardesses, has been not only unbecomingly, but extra courteous. The colour prejudice and various racial distinctions, that you often hear the P. and O. Indian passengers complaining about, seem to be absent on this boat, during this voyage at any rate. Let this be not a happy exception, but a general rule on all the P. and O. boats.

H. D.

A Maharashtra Circular

[The situation in Calcutta District is getting rapidly worse, as can be seen from the following circular, about which Rajaji has written to the Government of Madras.

Ann. Ed. K. I.]

(Illustration)

*Chandragiri Tahsil Office,

Dated 24th August, 1931.

Urgent Order to all Village Magistrates and Karamtis.

It is published in the newspapers, that the Pact between Gandhi and the Government has been broken. You must therefore consider that the Congressmen are the enemies of the Government. The District Collector has ordered that all their activities, namely, meetings, processions, propaganda, etc., must be put down without any procrastination. Whether any Congressmen or any one connected with the Congress organises any meeting, or procession, or propaganda in your village, you must immediately send report through the village headman to the nearest Police Sub-Division and Sub-Magistrate with full details, and report the fact in an ordinary paper. Serious action will be taken against village officers negligent in this matter. Very urgent.

Working Committee Resolutions

The following are some of the most important resolutions passed by the Working Committee, which met at Shimla from 26th to 27th September, 1931.

Sanctioning of President's Action in an Emergency

The Working Committee, having considered the facts and circumstances that have arisen, since its resolution on August 22nd, 1931 at Bombay, declaring that the Congress should not participate in the Round Table Conference, and in particular, the agreement dated 27th August, entered into by Mahatma Gandhi on behalf of the Congress and representatives of the Government of India in Simla, as contained in the communication issued by the Government and the letters attached thereto, and having heard the President's Report, confirms the said agreement, and further ratifies the action of the President on behalf of the Committee as an emergency, which did not preclude the calling of a meeting of the Committee in time to deal with the new situation that had arisen.

Press Bill

While the Working Committee has all along opposed and condemned violence, it considers the Press Bill now before the Assembly to be a drastic and wholly unparliamentary measure, in that it constitutes an extension of the present law and an attack upon property and the liberty of the press.

The Committee declares, that the provisions of the Bill are so wide and vague, that "violence" may be made to comprise any act or activity on the part of the public, and has good reasons for its apprehensions as to the effect of the Bill upon the press as used by the Government in the matter of the Thane process still in jail.

Further the Working Committee looks upon the proposed measure as a renegeature of the Press Ordinance of last year as a result most repugnant to law, and therefore considers it a real measure ought to be introduced during this time, and accordingly to a select branch of the Public Settlement.

Tribute Mills Exemption Committee

Resolved that the Tribute Mills Exemption Committee be reconstituted, and should consist of the following:-

Shri Jankaral Bajaj (Bombay)
Shri Mahadevi Tolnay (Bombay)
Shri Jankaral Nair
Shri. Harshadani Anandlal (Rajmehad)
Shri Chanchal Dasgupta (Kharakshah)

Shri Kharakshah Dasgupta is appointed Secretary of the Committee.

Indian Coal

Whereas coal mining is of great importance as a basic industry, essential for the development of the industrial life of the country in all directions, the Committee is of opinion, that all possible encouragement should be extended to Indian enterprise in this field. The Committee, therefore, recommends in all industrial concerns, particularly the Tribute Mills, to enable their purchase of coal as far as possible to be the produce of the Indian coal and managed industries.

Resolved further, that an exhaustive list of Indian owned and managed industries, conforming to the Congress conditions, be prepared.

July. The resolution relating to franchise of party by the Government will be found on page 262.

A new Press Act

[By C. Rajagopalachari]

While steps are suggested to be taken elsewhere for transferring all responsibility on the people, in India the old regime is busy finding weapons of offence, as if it were ever conscious, and press and people meet in its permanent opposition to Government. A new Press Bill has been drafted in long correspondence and printed in India as a state of the independence to the Executive Government. Sir James Craik withdrew a bill, that had been introduced in the Assembly on the 15th January for this purpose, and has introduced a fresh Bill extensively with a more extended effect, namely, to prevent management of offices of Government. Experience shows that however extended and profitable the uses and objects of such legislation might be, the provisions should go much further, and reach to suppressing the independence and freedom of newspaper.

No one, except the revolutionary, would object to punishing or suppressing propaganda for violence. Such propaganda must consist of clear and specific acts causing violence the violence criminal law. They could be proved, and the offences involved after ordinary judicial law. There has been no difficulty but where to secure evidence, or to have a full and unobstructed trial, or to secure convictions in such cases, requiring special provisions necessary, in making it important to strengthen executive will for judicial authority.

The new Press Act will now agree place the press as well as the printing industry in the hands of the executive authority. Beginning with the carrying of wild and innocent object of preventing violent crime, the measure seems practicable, under which no new printing press may register itself except with the sanction of the Presidency or District magistrate, and ultimately after deposit of no more such of certificates as he may choose to demand. After the act is passed, no newspaper or other printed may be started without officially furnishing security, unless the magistrates exempt. Any old press or old newspaper can also be brought under the same provisions as even all the local Government decides it. There is no legal trial or other political question preliminary to the deposit of the security, either as now stated by the Magistrate himself or in all cases by a list of the Local Government. There is no appeal from these executive acts to the High Court, or to any other judicial authority. Thus the normal atmosphere which the press of the last few has breathed in the breath of law and independence to the executive. It is not open to a publisher or editor to say, "I have committed an offence, I have committed an offence. Let a judge decide my case before I am, be called upon to give cash or securities for good conduct."

If a man is up to these difficulties and operations chooses to start a newspaper or the a press, fails the money, and places of an security for good conduct with the magistrate, or any time later, when it appears to the Local Government that he has done anything wrong within the non-observance of the spirit of the Act, his money is forfeited. After such forfeiture he has the privilege of spending money and while the case is in the High Court, but in the High Court also, if he wishes to have the order of forfeiture set aside, he must secure the value of a distinct receipt

of the Court for a finding, that what he published did not contain anything described in the Act. The burden of proof of the offence is on him, it is not a case when a specific charge is to be made and proved against and met by him.

Thus, again, we have with the executive not in fact. Whenever it appears to the Local Government, that any printing press or newspaper has been used for publishing or printing "any words, signs or visible representations, which are likely, or may have a tendency directly or indirectly whether by tolerance, suggestion, advice, instigation, implication or otherwise, to incite or encourage the commission of violence, or any offence involving violence, or to represent approval or abetment of any such offence, or of any person and or persons who has committed or is alleged or supposed to have committed any such offence," the Local Government may forfeit the security deposited.

Any words which, in the opinion of the Local Government, "may have a tendency," indirectly, by tolerance or suggestion, to encourage an offence involving violence will do. Any words which the Government must choose to forfeit, "may have a tendency" by suggestion to represent approval or abetment of any person, and or persons, who is supposed to have committed an offence involving violence will do. And there is no trial or continuation of the sentence of the Local Government before the forfeiture is decreed.

It may be said, that however comprehensive the provisions of a legislative enactment may be, it may not be used except when the purpose declared in the object and reasons demands the application. That experience shows, that acted with such limitation, what were the understanding, might be, the executive authority under no form of money is as freely as it desires.

It is stated, that it is desired to be introduced such a bill when the atmosphere is being forged in London. Violent crime should be put down, but this is not done by destroying the freedom of the press, and making a violent offence enhance the normal conditions of newspaper life.

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power, in exchange holders in his knowledge to the justice rules, or by punishing village leaders as' in the latter period too, the ruling people not to share. If rich Mingqiao villages, we may now have village schools openly discussing village affairs and policies for reporting cases of illegal practices as the goal of village leaders.

An aspect of the right of social boycott, it is an issue of great importance affecting the foundations of Indian state autonomy. It is the only situation that a state or community can have to enforce its regulations on members. Thus certain forms of social boycott are legitimate and therefore not punishable for violation by Mahatmas in a protest against laws for the benefit of the boycott. Gandhi has always based upon the existence of extreme or inhuman forms of boycott, but he has equally clearly supported peaceful and effective forms of social boycott for the purpose of reform. But apart from creating inhumanity, the right of any state or community to regulate its own affairs cannot be denied. The law has recognized the autonomy of these institutions. They can fix their own code rules of diet, drink and personal cleanliness, and also the property and personal advantages and can enforce their rules. A village headman does not lose his share of this right by his acceptance of the village headman's post. Even a village Council must official one create and participate in such cases mentioned.

To send his sons to classes and stores, who have happily persuaded their mothers to use interesting figures, to raise themselves by adopting the practice of other mothers in regard to total abstinence. Every week is sufficed to make new ones for half for the social and economic improvement. To declare such before by the means of distribution to Royal is something to overcome would be a denial of the inherent right of communities to improve their status. Dependence upon applied village headmen is an inherent struggle to overcome people to give on the right

A man's "fine" is not a sentence, and the answer returned by a paid jailkeeper of Chicago is a "fine" for breach of pay regulations, is not a declaration of a plea of satisfaction or satisfaction. The "fine" is the offender's compensation for his failure to remain within the path of the case despite his offense. He has the alternative either to pay the "fine" or to forgo the privilege of communication with his wife. It is open to him not to pay the "fine" but to leave the case. Being in a group he must either submit to the conditions, or leave it.

Lastly there is the 'Government Party'. If the village headman is not a left-hand pocket official, much less is the Party. He is a servant of the community as much as of the Government. He is a professional 'crony'. A well-defined duty of his is the work of promulgation of the orders and resolutions of the village community, and his attitude to Government does not therefore limit his status as professional crony in the village organisation. Thus the village headman used the services of the Party and not otherwise as a source of power to which the Government was about

Measurement and Construction

There is no greater energy than orthograde, etc., and even a further development.

Voluntary politeness, however! You have done splendid work, and there is before you glorious work and success. But there is a serpent waiting to kill you if you are careless. That serpent is covetousness.

You are haunted at all times by difficulties and dangers, and the greatest danger of these is, the corrupt advances of communism and worldy creeds. You have no believed, that all the talk about high schools being necessary for beauty in the public service has been belated. I have publicly acknowledged this with pride. You may now proceed on to more your school, however small.

The natural expenses have resulted in greatly reduced profits. This is good, for it enables the Government to meet in the civil traffic, and will speed up Production. But for the immediate present, you necessarily had thought that visitors have got very good bargains. First gathering with alcohol therefore be done with increased vigour in order to protect the victims who can be more easily drawn into the fire area. Lowered prices and increased cash flows can be offered to attract visitors from the East to Barcelona, and elsewhere will find it hard to keep off. Your weighted and loving service therefore has become doubly necessary in the next months.

The law prohibits laws not only made it easy for the doctors to corrupt the individuals, but they will offer big temptations to you also. In a long and continuous programme, the danger of corruption should very be watched against. Because of the Negro, Agents of the Mexican Council, your policy must be such as to ensure cooperation of the vast community.

Things consumers also should know. You have historic done extensive work in keeping off badness from the surface, in making the floor from below covered in the end badness, and in expanding around capabilities against the use of synthetic layers. You have to be more careful and make beautiful, but the money has several large reasons in the shape of a few cents. He will work to arrange you and make all your past work. He will offer to pay you large amounts in keeping large sums for or called public purposes, may be to repair a temple of a church or a library building. They are all the deceptions of Satan. Do not be deceived. God does not want those people or materials if you cannot do them with good money. He is ready to have your property even be destroyed temple or body materials, or in the same manner, He does not want you to risk money to make to build a house for Him.

The owner will say, "I will give you the 1,000. Take it as you wish and do not be foolish." You think you will have done a clever stroke of business. You may imagine you have produced the result by a good idea. But that, and you have also received money for a good cause. But think about it. Do you think he pays his money? He pays and will receive a double yield from where! From the poor people of your town, village, town, plantation? And you all along imagined that he paid. He was hoaxed. You will pay twice and receive back all that you have given. Mrs. Fiske

all such information without a thought and stand by Mahatma Gandhi.

I have thought it necessary to give this warning now, because I am not sure what is going on. May God help you with strength and wisdom. C. R.

Frontier Province

[The following is a copy of a letter of Devdas Chaudhary typed on the Frontier Province. M. K. G.]

Salt

I would thank the Salt Area Agent, Bahawal Kotah and Deesa. It extends over several villages. The salt has within the reach of anybody who would like to help himself to it. A great wealth ignorance is kept all over the area. The people I talked to complained bitterly that the Government there had been withdrawn without sufficient warning. When the public first commenced to avail themselves of the concession after the Delhi Settlement, very few had any clear idea of the terms of the concession. There were few salt works actually worked. Large quantities of salt were probably carried over the roads to make. The salt authorities, however, came down heavily upon people who exceeded their rates. The workers of Bahawal Kotah wanted us, that the Government would have been satisfied after some time. But as time went on, wherever was given before the concession was already withdrawn. The story of the working of the salt concessions in this area is not happy. I could not resist the feeling, that the local authorities were hostile to the concession, and made an effort to work it in the spirit in which it was made. It was declared by the salt authorities, that the Government did not intend anybody to dig into the rocks in order to obtain salt. Such digging was considered from the very beginning. This probably takes a question of interpretation. It seemed to be agreed to declare a person to dig a few inches into the ground to obtain salt which the Government allowed. But the almost restriction operated in all the rocks, for I was shown heaps of salt removed up by methods forbidden by the Government in order to reach the villages of the salted salt lying on the surface, where they were not allowed to dig into the earth or rocks for salt, and to remove such salt was to be regarded as illegal, and therefore a culpable offence. An interesting phenomenon involving this point is proceeding at Bahawal. The workers are of course poor villagers. The Government which are paying up a serious balance. There is great poverty in this area, and it seems a financial gain, that the Government should have failed to give the much needed relief in this area which it was intended to bring in this year.

On the contrary Government have been harassed on the smallest points, and none of those that came to my notice seemed to be withdrawn. In Bahawal Kotah, where the concession has been withdrawn, to send against Mahatma Gandhi of V. G. G. was arrested for picking up salt in handful of salt, and sentenced on a day's imprisonment plus a fine of four rupees. To have had a peasant woman, or an man, whose poverty is so acute, four rupees for a technical offence, and this on the top of the heavy withdrawal of the Government, was terrible. In smaller place villages, caught carrying salt on their backs were sent to jail for three months and then fined Rs. 10 each, again a

sentence far out of proportion to the offence committed and the insignificance of the offence. I was told that there were many such instances of arbitrary punishment. In several places, crowds of villagers, with pathetic looks, appeared to me to be desponding to get back the concession. Most of them hardly understood why a bad law withdrawn. In their conversation I have noticed that Mr. Kishor Chandra, an influential worker and leader of the Khilafat Movement, had given the Salt Commission about the matter. At the end of a long discussion, I was told, the Commission said, "The last of the matter is, that we do not want you to have the salt concession."

I wish I had been able to get some of the officials' report, if only to check some of the information in my possession, but on such opportunity occurred.

Fire-Arms

The configuration of firearms has been as general in the Frontier, that it seemed useless to give one of individual cases. In very few cases have the arms been returned and become common. But in the vast majority of cases applications for a return of firearms and removal of license have been consistently refused. No person who has the faintest semblance of sympathy for or connection with the popular movement is considered fit to have his weapons back. Even weapons which do not require a license are not returned. This is regarded as a distinct breach of the Settlement, however in all movable property, which was not an intended concession and which was stricken off during the Civil Disobedience movement, but got to be returned to its owner according to the Settlement.

In the special constitution of the Frontier province some sort of firearms are regarded as absolutely essential for defence purposes. Thus in reality the reason why people do commonly possess them in the towns and also in the villages where the need for them is all the greater, I was told, that many persons, having been rendered permanently defenceless on account of the suspension of their concealed arms, are exposed, at present, to grave danger of burglary, which brings private anxiety and the loss.

Police-men

There are still a few persons in jail who ought long ago to have been released under the Delhi Settlement. In fact, as in other matters, the standards set by local officials are different from those stipulated in other parts of the country. The Agencies are placed in the hands of the Government. The Government therefore do not consider Government bound in this matter, in the Agencies, under the Settlement. Consequently in the Malakand Agency there are held a dozen security prisoners who are not yet released. They have been told by the authorities to furnish the necessary security if they desire to be released. This is looked upon as a breach of the Settlement, and it was not Kishor Chandra, but Bahawal Kotah, who might be expected to have nothing about the Settlement to do, who presented several thousands of evidence. The Agencies are a few hundred miles administered by Government under the control of the Chief Commissioner of the N. W. F. Province. There seems to be no reason why they should be excluded from the benefits of the Settlement.

Young India

"The Other Side"

[By M. K. Gurus]

Under the above mentioned heading a correspondent has written a long letter, pointing out my explanation of the attempt made by a student of the Fergusson College at the life of the Acting Governor of Bombay. I give below a very much condensed summary of the letter.

"I was extremely pained to read your note by the last issue of *Menorah* under the heading 'anarchy' (Gandhiji). I think of the very moment it came, that I have been a victim rather sympathiser since 1927, and accept the Congress creed of non-violence by faith as farthest as possible, and as a policy in exceptional circumstances alone, such as the mobilisation of the images of women on the National Flag. True non-violence is possible even in the most provoking circumstances so long as there too are not in actual danger. But whenever women are mobbed on the National Flag is displayed, I fear my non-violence will melt away, and if it does not, it would be so set out of my mind as to me, but the most serious danger to the weakness of the faith, and to accepted principle, on account of women's self-interest. I was, if I can say so with confidence, the first to start the idea of offering civil disobedience to the British Law at Bombay and suffer imprisonment after actual disobedience. This much by way of personal explanation.

It is, once again, an one dominating one who is almost in the jaws of death. His desperate plea of anything. Violence or not, it is a matter of death, which no other principle by mere public opinion however good, as it is a question of life and death, one can do to ward off by disorganised public demonstration by Government repression, or by force, as it is the essence of rebellion itself. Those who fear not the officers will not be dominated by public opinion. Violence is right, it is exceptional, bearing not only after previous repression or mobbing of women, it can be urged on personally, only if the women stand their ways or not themselves.

"We may really wish to create safe and without all disturbance, only if we are violent and disorganised, but what right have we, after witnessing the mass burning of men, to tell just the weakness pointed out to us? And especially when we have looked all round, heard, seen, and experienced ways of revenge? The play of a country however great, the case of India, the severely suffering subjects, and the beauty atrocious." "Nothing is more or less and war," it is a general maxim, and it is the truth, in the case of unequal parties, for the weak.

"How the philosophy of force and peace, which was Mr. Motilal? Of the Fergusson College? Surely of the Principal, and professors too, but none of the suffering students. When the

students insisted before leaving with a worthy guest? Was not the Prince of Wales too a guest of the Indian Government and consequently, by the same argument, of India? But here was he welcomed? In Delhi on the same grounds is the law to be observed for not having extraordinary influence, the not responsibility or responsibility of the Acting Governor, and the real offender as such the real instigator of the offence in the Acting Governor, who ought to be advised to believe better.

"I appreciate the newspaper promise of moral show by the Acting Governor, as well as the extraordinary sentence, which not only the successful outcome to tell Mr. Gopinath, 'That was a foolish thing to do, my boy' and another 'What made you do a thing like that?' But the previous and necessary attendance of the Acting Governor was very short-lived, that it has consequently prevented by him a large body, leaving Mr. Gopinath to himself as if nothing would have happened, when a dramatic effect would it have produced on the revolutionary mind in the country? The Acting Governor, always under the protection of Mr. J. D. C. and the military guards, could not fear British force from Mr. Gopinath. The time it was yet great. That Gopinath that Congress men believe, surely that the indignities must be of the strong, some of the weak. The Acting Governor is the right one to make a beginning in the direction. But the signs of the times clearly show there is very little chance that good men will prevail."

As this note is being written we heard the A. S. Kapadia, a well known to great many who are in writing. The subject matter being unfortunately to everyone, the note need not be considered state. It is very much to be feared, that the correct position represents a carefully guarding against using violence. But the attitude is all the more passionate and beautiful, because it is honestly held. It is contrary to experience to say, as the correspondent says, that emotional youth will not on the spot of the moment overcome of the newspaper surrounding them. There is no doubt about that Indian feeling, but I prefer to believe, that they are so devoid of sense as to be wholly indifferent to pain or harm. I am quite certain, that if they knew that their acts would be necessarily condemned, they would spare their way from prison first. I have no doubt therefore in my mind, that it is the duty of every one who realises the enormous wrong done to the cause by such lack to combine their non-violence. It is altogether misleading to hold the Acting Governor responsible when the Britisher Martial Law is the one does under it. It is the system that is at fault. The Congress should be using instead the central law is trying to overcome the system, and not the Indian administrators. Even if we might not be admitting the system based upon the exploitation of a vast country like India by a powerful corporation, that might would place helplessness, and on the common to exactly what the Acting Governor did. The impudent Barons was no longer thought, but it was the system protected in Bombay, who had now been putting up as much as the old law was not off.

It was only when Kaula's attention was drawn to the mail from which the loads spring up, that he was able effectively to deal with Kaula.

We have told many resolutions, and on the place of such official constitutional action has been passed, and the system has gone on as merely as ever. But if we were success in dealing with the rest of the subject, we shall have no more supporters of Bhaugur and the defeated Congress. For the freedom to the conference of the many women which include in the peaceful branch is concerned, I would be just as strong as they are in condemning them. Let them have all spoken concerning, and you finally with the Congress in destroying the nation. The way of emancipation of persons given it a new lease of life. The way of non-violence character in life, and if it can be completely understood, it means complete abolition of the system. Let those who agree like the corresponding remaining, that the only of non-violence, if it is not checked in its progress, will result in our own death, and that last this way to work than the first. Let us not run the race given thought of meeting the system under a new guise. The same system substituted by known men instead of wide one will work the same harm as now, it will definitely greater.

From a Rajputana

II Aha

The first part of cell, where money voyage of 1,000 miles in practically a straight line to the west of Bombay, in Aha. The city is a sort of volcanic rocks,—the heart of the city was once known the name of "Great",—and the passengers can see from the local large masses of black, broken, crater-like rocks which surround the city proper. It is said to have been built by some other for centuries, and is yet described as a small fishing village with scarcely 600 souls in 1870 when it was captured. The story of the capture would be of considerable interest, if genuine details could be available, and would perhaps add to the current nineteenth century aspects of the imperial dominion. The British authorities is of course taught, that the Sultan of Aha, who had agreed to pay Aha for an annual payment, never back on his agreement, and attacked and plundered a British ship, with the result that the fortification had to be attacked, and they were stopped in January 1870. The fact of the matter is however this, that the intensity of the first day,—one of the greatest highways of the world,—had to be maintained, and it could not be done otherwise than by maintaining a strong force at Aha and at Poon, on which a British ruler further said from Aha, which is so strongly guarded that no one may enter there without the permission of the British at Aha.

The city has a population of 10,000, out of which 11,000 are Aha, 5,000 are Somalis, and in less than 1,000 Indians of whom the majority are Gujarati and Cutchi from Bombay. It has long made Bombay Government all these 10 years, but there is now a proposal for its transfer to the Government of India. This transfer is resisted by the Aha Indians for obvious reasons, the most serious one being, that

as most of the military are from Bombay and both business connections to Bombay, it would be most convenient to them to be under the Bombay Government, and the most copied being that of Bombay business management,—as it is bound to be now,—Aha should not be deprived of the advantage. There is another reason too, viz., that if Aha is transferred to the Central Government, it will very likely be a sort of legislative device to a semi-military area, and all public life would be extinct.

Message of the Congress

For public life would seem to be nearly extinct now, and it was very quiet from one or two days. The letters seemed to welcome Congress and the other decision to the N. C. C., but the Bombay would not allow it if they refused to having the national flag there. They could not avoid themselves with Gandhi himself on the problem last by replying to Mr. Prasad Chandra Doshi, the President of the Reception Committee, that he should please to the British, tell him that he could not think of meeting in Aha until these conditions, that there was a grace between the Government of India and the Congress, and the Government must not want the flag of only under the law. The agreement was hope, and the British must be only situation by submitting to the Indian National Flag flying at the place where Gandhi received the national address.

Another fact which I wanted was, that while the question of transfer has been on the topic for some time, there was no reference to it at all in the address of welcome presented to Gandhi. I can suppose it is nothing but fact of the subordination. There are however some people who have been in Aha some years of the Congress for at Bombay, and thanks to the Congress who are actively helping themselves to work with the movement, there was quite a lot of Hindi to be seen,—whether it was all genuine Hindi, I can not say.

The situation gave Gandhi the opportunity of delivering the message of the Congress, and the fact that the Aha had taken part in surrounding the reception,—the address of welcome was read both in Gujarati and Aha,—afforded him an occasion to give a message to the Aha also.

Referring to the address, and thanking them for the gift of 500 gulans that was presented to him, Gandhi said—

"I thank you for the basket you have done me, I thank, that the basket is not metal, but one personally or for my friends. It is no longer done to the Congress where I hope to be able to represent at the Round Table Conference. I came to know, that there was a high to next proceedings as witness of the national flag. Give it. It is inevitable for me to find a meeting of Indians, especially where national leaders are invited, without the national flag flying there. You know that many people mistake India. We are and some have lost their lives in defending the honour of the flag, and you cannot however as before leader without hoisting the Indian National Flag. Again there is a confusion between the Government and the Congress, which is no longer a British party but a British party, it is not enough. Gandhi is to inform or permit the Congress flag, but it must be given the place of hoisting where Congress representatives are invited.

"On behalf of the Congress I give you the assurance that the Congress does not stand ready to isolate independence, which may easily become a mere tag to the wind. But the Congress with its creed of truth and non-violence cannot possibly be a menace to the world. It is my conviction, that India, as a member of the human race, becoming free through co-operation and truth, can be a great force of service to the whole of mankind. On the contrary India having no voice in that sphere is today a menace. It is a hapless India, seeking the pathway and good of other nations which must live by seeking her. But when India refuses to be exploited and is well able to take care of herself, and achieves that freedom through non-violence and truth, she will be a force for peace and unity for peaceful atmosphere in this troubled globe of ours.

"It was therefore agreed, that the Amis and others joined the Indians in regarding the function. All who desired peace must join together in permanent peace. The great problems, the birth place of Mahomed and of Islam, can help to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. It is a matter of shame to us in England, that we are a house divided against itself. We do at each other's doors in connection and time. The Hindu distrust the Moslems through centuries and fear, and the Moslems distrust the Hindu through ages of suspicion and imaginary fears. Islam throughout history has stood for civilization, liberty and peace. It was therefore to us matter for pride to the Moslems, that they should free the Hindu. Similarly it can be no matter for pride to the Hindu that they should free Moslems, even if they are aided by the Moslems of the world. As we are told, that we should be afraid of our own shadow? You will be surprised to hear that the Indians are strong in peace with us. They stand side by side with us in the last struggle, and throughout their young men on the side of liberty. I want you, who belong to the country of the Prophet's birth, to make your contribution to the restoration of peace between Hindus and Moslems in India. I cannot tell you how you are to do it, but I may remind you that where there is a will, there is a way. I want the State of Arabia to stand in two masses and help, in being about a coalition of steps when the Moslems will consider it a point of honour to help the Hindu and vice versa.

"For the rest I would also give you the message of sympathy and warning to your leaders, from the Caliph (ed) from which were words of sympathy, and if you help yourself by making your own clock, there is to it nothing dangerous to Islam. There is also the promise of death which for you should be never earned. There should be not a day here, but as there are other communities too, I think the Amis will have to persuade them to make Islamity. I do hope our relations with our neighbour will ever grow calmer and closer."

Friends at Sea

Thanks to Marston, even though you may be on your ocean, you do not lose contact with the outside world. You not only have messages from shore to ship, but from ship to ship and within these days of sailing boats. Gauding has had an apparently response to the shape of numerous congratulations of greetings from

friends. — Thanks to our part of the world, I should say. For these were greetings from the Indian sea captain who landed the ship the 'City of Marston' and several messages from the ship 'Greyhound', such as they passed us as we sailed here. There were also messages from Karachi, and some came from Bombay, which I do not count as from "our" friends, but a particularly welcome message was one from the Indians of Marston. For a while we wondered if Marston was not another ship like the others that had landed greetings to us. But I found at last, that Marston is the private home of British General on the north shore of the Gulf of Aden, which has been a port since 1874. And now as we are sailing the Sea, we have messages every few hours from Indian and Egyptian in India, the most interesting being from Marston England. "The happy welcome from Egyptian where I was great leader of great India my brother's compliments and best wishes cannot Indian more." I may also say here a message from of Gauding, the Indian Emperor's friend, "At Gauding messages came from India to your person, which full answer for Indian more in London."

Among the friends on board the ship, the Indians were the nearest the common little boat and girls of the homely English passengers. Your ship has said that you have no son. Perhaps it is correct to say that children have rather no son, which and the youngest photographs on our ship is of Gauding when getting the children by the ear, getting down on the back, and the last getting on their little heads into Gauding's arms. Like the little Indian women, are their heads in the common boat, where Gauding is down to London in their "Gauding at sea!" In the usual question put to them, and gladly they have given the place of grapes even to return it empty. I have seen them watching the revolution of the spinning wheel, the machine on and to pleasant music. But I hope to see some of these things on another occasion.

Business on board Ship

The members of the spinning wheel, which are in taken the order that Gauding's wheel has been a universal order of business. It is amazing how little men and women know of spinning or spinning at sea, though they were dressed all their lives, and spinning questions are asked, as Gauding and Marston are playing their wheels on deck. But it is not only curiosity, which that the wheel has several Moslems, questions relating to the appearance of spinning and the place of the wheel in the industrial world of our are asked by the Indian youths on board, particularly to England by higher circles. For even their questions is negligible, looking to the fact that the spinning wheel has become a universal business all over the world years ago. I am sorry, I have with me no presentation copies of Mr. Gauding's book on the Looms of Khadija, otherwise I should have given a copy to each of these youths on condition that they finished it as they go. There was a further of surprise last evening, when Gauding answered to these friends, that he had said that wonderful pictures about (worth Rs. 700) to a friend on board for Rs. 1000, which was the exact price that he had set on it.

Personal Testimony for our Prayer

Let perhaps even a greater number of attention than the opening which has been the prayer that we have every evening. The millions of prayers are not only to attract these friends, but possibly all Indians, (who number over 400), — Hindu, Mohammedan, Parsee, Native, — and a sprinkling of Europeans attend the evening prayers. At the request of some of these friends a fifteen minutes' talk after prayer and before dinner has become a daily feature, and I propose to share the first two talks with the readers of *Young India*. A question is asked each evening, and Gandhi replies to it in the text. One of the Indian passages — a Mohammedan youth — asked Gandhi to give his personal testimony on prayer, and a Mohammedan Christian had a question of what he had felt and experienced as a result of prayer. Gandhi read the question thoroughly, and poured out his personal message from a hot heart. "Prayer," said he, "has been the saving of my life. Without it I should have been a suicide long ago. My autobiography will tell you, that I have had my low stages of the bitterest griefs and painful experiences. Then there was this temporary despair, but if I was able to get out of it, it was because of prayer. Now I may tell you, that prayer has not been part of my life in the sense that death has been. It came out of these moments, so I found myself in a plight where I could not possibly be happy without it. And the more my faith in God increased, the more appreciable became the meaning for prayer. Life seemed to be full and calm without it, I had attended the Christian service in South Africa, but it had failed to grip me. I could not join them in prayer. They supplicated God, but I could not do so, I failed miserably. I started with distrust in God and prayer, and ended at a low stage in life. I did not feel anything like a soul in life. But at that stage I felt that as God was indispensable for the body, so was prayer indispensable for the soul. In fact God for the body is not so necessary as prayer for the soul. For starvation is often necessary in order to keep the body in health, but there is no such thing as prayer-starvation. You cannot possibly have a deficit of prayer. There is the greatest lack of the world — Truth, Love, Mahatma, — have left correspondence testimony, that they found starvation through prayer and could not possibly live without it. But in some sense there millions of Hindus and Mohammedans and Christians feel their only refuge in life is prayer. Either you can throw down as there is self-hatred people. Well, then, I will say, that this being has a chance for me, a non-sectarian, if it is 'being' that has given me that solace as well as life, without which I could not bear to live for a moment. In spite of deeper staring me as the face on the political horizon, I have never lost my faith. In fact I have found people who save my peace. That peace, I tell you, comes from prayer. I see not a man of learning but I hardly claim to be a man of prayer. I am confident as to the fact. Every man is a law unto himself in that respect. But there are some well-matched minds, and it is safe to walk along the leading tracks, laid by the wisest teachers. Well, I have given my practical testimony. Let every one try and find, that it is a result of daily prayer for noble something

new to his life, something with which nothing can be compared."

"That," said another youth the next evening, "is what you start with belief in God, we start with disbelief. How are we to pray?"

"Well," said Gandhi, "it is beyond my power to induce in you a belief in God. There are certain things which are self-perceived, and certain which are not perceived at all. The existence of God is like a geometrical axiom. It may be beyond our comprehension. I shall not talk of an intellectual grasp. Intellectual attempts are more or less failures, as a rational explanation cannot give you the faith in a Great God. For it is a thing beyond the grasp of reason. It transcends reason. There are numerous phenomena from which you can reason out the existence of God, but I shall not credit your intelligence by offering you a rational explanation of that type. I would have you learn directly of rational explanations and begin with a simple children's faith in God. If I could, God exists. With me it is a necessity of my being as it is with millions. They may not be able to talk about it, but from their life you can see that it is part of their life. I can only asking you to realize the belief that has been understood. In order to do so, you have to undergo a lot of literature first. Develop your intelligence and mature you off your head. Start with the faith which is also a faith of humility and an admission that we know nothing, that we are lost in this universe. We are lost like sheep, I say, because the steps along the line of its being, whereas we in the darkness of our ignorance deny the law of nature. But I have no argument to address to those who have no faith."

"Once you accept the existence of God, the necessity for prayer is inescapable. Let us not make the misunderstanding that our whole life is a prayer, and therefore we need not sit down at a particular time to pray. There were who were all their time in tune with the infinite did not make such a claim. Their lives were a continuous prayer, and yet for our sake, let us say, they offered prayer at set hours, and moved each day the scale of loyalty to God. God of course never looks on the scale, but we must regulate our steps every day, and I assure you we shall then be in tune every hour of every day."

As I have stated that we have some 1,200 men under march through the Red Sea, and are sending the Sun. Out of that is the next.

M. G.

Provincial. Since the above was written and read, the following warm message of greetings was received from Mahatma Gandhi, President of the World party — the party also in connection and fighting for Egyptian independence for whom Mahatma Gandhi fought and died.

"The great Leader of Mahatma Gandhi"

"Egyptians"

"In the name of Egypt who is now fighting for its freedom and its independence, I welcome to you the foremost leader of that India, who is also struggling to attain the same end, and I convey to you my hearty wishes for a safe journey and a happy return. I also ask God to grant to you wisdom in your quest — a wisdom equal to the greatness of your determination. I hope to have the pleasure of meeting you on your homeward journey, and hope that the best of the Egyptians

The Congress Rejoinder

The charge-sheet submitted to Government by Mahatma Gandhi on 21st July 1931, relating to breaches of the Poona Settlement, being absolutely dispositive, did not include many complaints received by him till that date. Since the submission of the charge-sheet and publication of Government replies, numerous other complaints about breaches of the Settlement have been received by the Congress. But in the rejoinder to the Government reply, reference is being confined only to items contained in the original charge-sheet. The first instalment of the Congress rejoinder is being released for publication today. It deals only with the United Provinces and the Punjab. The rejoinders relating to the remaining provinces will be issued, as soon as detailed information called for is received. In view of the nature of most of the replies of Government, the rejoinder has had to be detailed, and therefore rather lengthy. It is, however, hoped that the material placed before the public will enable it to judge how far the replies given by Government are corroborating and satisfactory.

Vallabhbhai Patel

President, Indian National Congress

United Provinces

SCHEDULE A

Complaints of Mahatma Gandhi

1. Subhaschandra Tatyel (I.N.A., B.N.S.), student, Government A.V. School, Meerut, complained from various for political propaganda supplied by Government. His mother's account, as there happened to be a permanent appointment that the permanent appointment refused to take charge for 26th April 1931, and a fresh temporary one was made permanent on 26th May 1931. The Tatyel ought to have been appointed, as soon as the permanent was refused to take charge.

Reply of Local Government

1. The following is the text of a letter to Mr. Gandhi from the Secretary of the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 12th July 1931, concerning this matter:-

That you kindly refer to your letter of 26th March with which you enclosed a statement of the case relating to the dismissal of Mr. Subhaschandra Tatyel, a teacher in the Government High School, Meerut. I have gone carefully into the case, not on the facts as given in the statement, there would not warrant to be maintained by any person in the Home Department, and they should take up the case with the Government Board who dismissed him. Cases of dismissal were all cleared, and certain do not come within the scope of the terms of the Settlement. In this case the teacher was dismissed by the Government Board nearly a year before the Settlement was made. His appeal was dismissed by the General

Rejoinder of Congress

1. Para 3. Questions of re-appointments of dismissed Government servants within the framework of understandings from students, working students, where facts are not as stated, depend upon the interpretation of the terms of the Poona Settlement. Every effort should have been made by the Government to reinstate persons who were dismissed or who resigned for political reasons, and further that no understandings of any kind should have been required from students working students or understandings.

Even when a particular post involved vacant by the removal of the person has been filled up, it is not difficult to find a suitable post within a short period or a large department or office. Besides the two understandings given in the above statement of persons not reinstated, there have been other cases in the United Provinces. There have been many cases of students who were not reinstated.

In the case of Mr. B.N.S. Prasad Prasad there was nothing of official standing in his post being filled and another post becoming vacant. It would appear that a special effort was made to fill his post permanently in long time out of it.

Parliamentary Affairs

Policy of Local Government

Expenditure of Budget

Chief, Customs-Inspector-General, Customs Commission, and the Customs Board rejected a proposal, that in case the permanent frontier fund did not continue in the appointment, the application from Mr. Turrel should be considered. In these circumstances it would appear to be unreasonable to ask the Customs Board to reconsider a case, which would not be covered by the Settlement, if the matter related to a Government contract, on which the Board had already laid stamp taxes and in which the reimbursement of the original income fund would involve the dismissal of a man who has now been made permanent.

1. *Sgt. Khalid Prasad Dinkar* (Chark, Gawan near Feroz, Allahabad), who applied for remission when his father, an Indian Army man, had expired of his application.

2. Undertakings not to take part in any future campaign are being demanded from students pursuing education.

3. When *Sgt. Khalid Prasad Dinkar* applied for remission, the post had already been filled permanently, and his request was respectfully refused in accordance with the provisions of the Settlement.

4. No boards of the Settlement is involved, since it remained no provision relating to the education of students. The only matter being required of expelled students as condition was, that they would abide by the disciplinary rules of the institution.

SCHEDULE B

The Local Government has denied many of the charges made on behalf of the Congress. Where facts are denied, a long statement is necessary to explain and substantiate them. It has been said, that if such long statements were given here, that readers would be disproportionately better than an attempt has been made to compare them. Further details however can be made available to Government, should they so desire. In the Government reply it is sometimes stated, that complaints were not filed. It was my experience, that the police station returned in complaints coming from Congressmen, specially in deep areas related to the police themselves. After numerous unsuccessful attempts, people in most places did not think it worth while to make complaints.

Chief Justice: Their court judgments of the Bombay High Court of Justice in what are known as the *Byram*, *Muzil* and *Chandran* cases, show clearly that the Government's rights regarding States are wrong. They further show, that where a refusal, provided over by an independent officer, has confirmed the charges, the official case has been disclosed.

Propaganda Methods Used

1. *Prison (Magazine)*—On May 30th, 1911, three large loads of prisoners loaded the boxes of practically all Congress members, loaded the wagons and loaded every national flag, two stars and three stars. Children were prohibited from riding near a Political Prison. 14 persons from the village distributed copies (Magazine 107, 4 other not clear under the deputy writer) (Magazine 107, without the distribution people being told, the deputy writer was being looked up against them.

Propaganda Method Used

1. The police were sent to the village previously to arrest under Section 107 Co. P. C. 14 men suspected of being. They also searched every man, woman or child with the Mohl Lal Kunda (or Gang) men. No complaint against the conduct of the police was made at the time, but 2 days afterwards a youth of 21 filed a complaint in the court of the Sub-Divisional Magistrate, which was found to be founded, and was directed to the District Sessions Court. Secretary of the District Sessions Court, also made these allegations against the police in a letter within 2 days after the event, but he refused to substantiate his complaint on such failure to the Sub-Divisional Magistrate.

Propaganda Method Used

1. The Government reply does not deny specifically the charges that women were searched, searched flags loaded every, two and three stars. It is found on the fact, that the Secretary of the District Congress Committee refused to substantiate his complaint on such. The Secretary was not an eye witness, but had conducted an enquiry, the result of which he communicated to the Magistrate. He had filed a complaint. No question could arise of his substantiating from on such.

The statement in the reply, that the police were sent to arrest men for being in wrong, as the warrants mentioned the following persons:

- (1) That they obstructed the Agent in the performance of his duty.
- (2) That they harbored persons who had appeared as prosecution witnesses in a case under Sec. 115 Co. P. C.

(3) That they were aiding persons not to pay a tax. There was no mention of being, but was impounded of Deputy Magistrate to be proceeded against under Section 107 Co. P. C.

No search on such was made at Dabul on the 30th May, and it was only to search their warehouses and shops every one the houses and building, look, that subsequently the police advanced the plea of house searches. The clerk of the police station objected to the course of his conduct, that there is no entry in the police diary about house searches at Dabul.

It was after the subsequent conduct of the police at Dabul was made public, that a charge of being was leveled against 5 of the accused. But this could not be proved and was withdrawn.

There were delays. Immediately on receipt of news the Congress members went to the village for enquiry. On return to the Government he went to the Magistrate to be interviewed, and the latter appointed the next morning. Next day, however, the Magistrate had to go to his home, because he had a duplicate copy of "Mahatma Gandhi's" (or) charged by somebody. There upon the report was sent up to him after being shown to the Joint Magistrate.

The "youth of 21" referred to filed his complaint after Congress leaders had been released regarding the propriety of being arrested. Hence the last delay.

We maintain, that the complaint as regards it had to be fully true. One charge that "intimidate police witnesses is being worked up" has involved charges from the Sessions Judge who has reviewed the performance of the Magistrate in the Sec. 107 case against the 18 accused. He has held that the Sub-Divisional, the District and the Magistrate (Dabul) had colluded in bringing the false charges against the accused.

2. *Magistrate (Notes)*—A powerful meeting was forcibly dispersed on the 30th June 1914. Those who refused to disperse were physically dragged away by the village head on a mob of twelve men. Many other workers remained.

2. The same day, that Congress volunteers at Dabul to hold a meeting at Dabul on the 30th June, but the village objected and tried to prevent the meeting. There was a night curfew, during which one Ghanshew was slightly arrested on the head.

2. The reply of the Government to a definite charge is correct and adequate. A complaint was made to it in the following manner from the reference of the Sessions Judge at Dabul in the case under Sec. 107.

"At the same time I cannot leave any statement without alluding, that it is so important, that while the complaint and other Congressmen were holding a meeting, upon gathering, two of who were Ghanshew and Yashu Lal, had already assembled and arrested, and probably under the very name of the P. C. Section

Employment of Mahatma Gandhi

Lobby of Local Government.

The Station Officer ordered the villagers to disperse, and prevented further demonstrations. The Deputy Collector stated the place the following day, and no complaint was made to him, but on the fifth June a complaint was filed against the Station Officer, two members, a councillor and two Mahasabhas. The village panch had been awarded in connection with the dispersal of the meeting. The complaint was numbered under Section 304, Cr. P. C. It is definitely false that other Congress workers besides Ghanshank were injured in any way.

1. At Nayab, Sahasrabho, a Congress volunteer, was beaten with sticks by the local police on 10th July 1946, and ordered to leave the village under various threats.

About 50 prosecutions of Congress workers were filed against all villages bordering the District. Many are pending in District Sessions.

2. No complaint of the alleged illegal detention has ever been made to local officials. Was anyone asking about the matter? Only 2 Congress workers appear to have been prosecuted against under the Security Section of the Cr. P. C. The figure 10 apparently includes 15 suspected deserters, and 10 persons concerned in a case which is the province of local law enforcement during the Bhamburda festival.

3. All prominent workers of the District Committee, Sahasrabho, are being prosecuted against under Section 144.

4. The Deputy Commissioner cannot take action under Section 144, only when he was satisfied that employment of non was vigorously pursued, and the workers limited against themselves. One of the persons prosecuted without arrest is far as to collect and from the workers themselves.

Bhamburda Festival

Officer of the police station Nayab, To under further enquiry in this case with respect to the report received by Ghanshank, who is not a party to this complaint, may give me in reply. The names of two of the members out of four were not known, but in these circumstances I think it that Ghanshank was, if he knew, take legal proceedings against his associates."

Thus although the complaint was dismissed, the principle objection of the prosecution was held to be true by the Sessions Judge. It is true that after people besides Ghanshank were also injured during their meeting near Nayab. The Civil Sessions court, it is stated, only examined the persons who brought a letter from the Police at the Court.

5. In view of this exposure on the part of having their complaints ignored, the local Congressmen were denied a right to file another complaint. The figure 10 is submitted by Government. To reports the 10 complaints against it has been shown above under item (1) that they had nothing to do with the case. They were Congress workers prosecuted against under Sec. 107, and the Sessions Judge had held that the police colluded with the revenue men. And with the intention to bring a false case against them. The case of the 10 persons (Congressmen) who had nothing to do with the case, they were actually distributed during night to the Mahasabhas. The police supporting them of being Congressmen prosecuted against them. On appeal they were acquitted.

Besides the District and Chaurasahi, around 8 persons were arrested under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C., 2 were held under Sec. 107A Cr. P. C., and the rest were prosecuted against under Section 107 Cr. P. C. or Sec. 107A Cr. P. C., for disturbing public order. Thus the charge made on behalf of the Congress is partially correct.

6. The Deputy Commissioner does not deny the charge that all prominent Congress workers in the district were prosecuted against under Sec. 144. He claims that this was done only when he was satisfied that employment of non was being provided. This means in without limitation, as there has been no such second example in the district. Two cases under Sec. 107 Cr. P. C. were brought against members of Nayab, by a clerk of the Court of Wards on the ground of non-payment etc. In the Courts of proceedings it is brought that the workers had collected money, and hence treated had received not to pay more, which has not been entered in accounts was received by them and account, and that other grievance were removed. A list of persons from Nayab and Nayab had been arrested.

Description of Magistrate's Court

Reply of Local Government

Rejoinder of Congress

3 In Bandhul, a general order under Section 144 applied to whole area. Blank orders under Section 144 issued by District Magistrate are said to have been given to police inspectors. 200 cases under Section 107 pending in court, and 155 such cases are reported from Bha Bha. This section is specially selected to cope up as many families and corporations and villages. Congress workers as well. In the execution of a systematically maintained that the prosecution is for carrying on various Congress activities, and would be withdrawn, if the demand refused to pay full sum, applied to the prosecution and received the national flag from his house or village and desired to meet Congress volunteers.

4 In Bandhul, the Deputy Commissioner sent to Dabhoi on 7th June 1931, asked people to leave the Congress, get Gandhi maps removed, warned women against meeting Gandhi men in Khudli, and get people to sign a declaration that they had no connection with the Congress.

5 In general, the order under Section 144 is applied to whole area. Blank orders under Section 144 issued by District Magistrate are said to have been given to police inspectors. 200 cases under Section 107 pending in court, and 155 such cases are reported from Bha Bha. This section is specially selected to cope up as many families and corporations and villages. Congress workers as well. In the execution of a systematically maintained that the prosecution is for carrying on various Congress activities, and would be withdrawn, if the demand refused to pay full sum, applied to the prosecution and received the national flag from his house or village and desired to meet Congress volunteers.

6 The Deputy Commissioner named Dabhoi on or about the 7th June 1931 to investigate a complaint by the committee, that there had been a charge, and that life was involved. The committee was found to be correct. The Deputy Commissioner had been appointed under Section 144, and property

with the order applied against them was given to the young Magistrate. The Magistrate told the Secretary of the District Congress Committee that he would require the necessary signatures, also orders had started paying their rent. On the Congress Secretary visited the village, and the men collected and sent them to the Manager of the Court of Bha, but the Manager refused to accept them, and the money was ultimately given back to the tenants. Thus the object of the Congress to help in the collection of money from the tenants have actually been made a reason for the application of Sec. 144 and a false charge of paying rent payment.

7 The Government reply admits the issue of a general order under Sec. 144 prohibiting meetings in several villages. Further the Government admit, that "orders under Sec. 144 having been issued, the issue of the village was closed to the police." An order under the village can only be issued by Magistrate specially authorized by the Local Government to do so, and that only after they have notified them, unless of the necessity of such an order. By issuing blank orders to the police, the Deputy Commissioner misled the Superintendent of police with powers, which even every Magistrate does not possess. How the order procedure was legal has not been mentioned in the Government reply.

Government say that the last number of order under Sec. 107 of Cr. P. C. up to the 7th July was 107-11. It is not true that many persons were involved in these cases. In most of these 3 or 4 persons were involved. In some cases 12 persons were prosecuted against. According to the special correspondence of the "Forward" programme was raised against 107 persons up to the 7th July in Bandhul District. Many cases were concerned after that date. References to the Court records will prove, that most of these cases were instituted against accused because of their association with the Congress. Many of the accused were made to be the applicants demanding protection from the Congress, and whenever such an application was filed, the demand of money was raised, and the accused were left off in no time. Finally,

Some of the orders issued have mentioned the planting of the national flag, the holding of meetings etc. It is true, that the carrying on of Congress activities in such a way mentioned in the summons, but obviously the prosecution was withdrawn, if the accused offered to pay full sum, applied to the committee, received the national flag and otherwise asked from Congress activities.

8 Owing to a complaint the date on the original charge sheet was given as 7th June. The real date of the occurrence was the 17th June. Government have apparently refused to be under that of the Deputy Commissioner, and have not had anything about the date of the real occurrence.

On 17th May some villages of Dabhoi and neighbourhood were accused for alleged disobedience of a police order. The villagers produced a letter, and suggesting the committee to have issued the order, withdrew their names from there. The Congress Secretary at Bandhul visited the village on the 18th May, and advised the villagers to call off the hound and forget. Congressmen also interviewed the Deputy Commissioner and paid further visits to

Gordon and the English Consul

By Henry Offord, the Manchester Daily with possible exception of the *Guardian* (p. 1) neither was detailed for about as much as either.

8 In Gains District when Kenneth Raghavendra Prasad Singh saw the Deputy Commissioner, the latter the returned informant of the Government did not stop Congress work. In this district also earlier under Governor L.H. has been taken against leading Congress workers.

Singh's Arrest, Westcott

On May 1, 1917, that was similar story detailed. He would certainly have had a complaint, but no such complaint was made.

9 Kenneth Raghavendra Prasad Singh was not then treated with leniency, if he did not stop Congress work as such, but he was told, that if his occasional speeches and actions, which were innocent of the Government, were to be taken against him. In one speech he attacked the boycott of British goods in order to cause unemployment in England and to bring the British people to their senses. No general action has been taken against Congress workers, but individuals have been presented against speeches, which referred to the boycott or the unemployment of them, and were *definitely* reprehensible.

10. In District District under the pretext of private discipline of individuals, members and chairmen, Congress workers are arrested and overhauled.

11. This is entirely wrong.

Removal of Congress

12 The charge made is referred to and not the unfairness is stated above, complaints made to the police were action taken to be needed, and for the reason they were given not done, especially when it was well known, that the higher authorities of the district were encouraging the campaign against the Congress.

13 The only order No. 114 issued in leading Congress workers stated the following reasons for taking action:

"(a) That you are at present engaged in leading by question the activities of the district in pay less than they legal does other movements have been detailed.

"(b) That you are aware that previous movements in civil and criminal have already been granted by Government, and that necessary steps have already been detailed.

"(c) That the Government is not prepared to put pressure on the district authorities in order to obtain more further information, and are urging them to effect to be detailed with the present movement.

"(d) That such speeches are in my opinion likely to cause confusion to cause disturbance and to cause to themselves and to their servants employed in the local collection of taxes, and are likely to lead to disturbance of public tranquility.

It will be noted, that in this order there is no mention of the breach of the Settlement or of boycott of British goods. Now in these may mention of a general complaint. All that is said to be objected to is, that statements are made to your loss and to put pressure on the authorities in order to get further information. In the statement and correspondence of Kenneth Raghavendra Prasad Singh with the Deputy Commissioner on question of the boycott was made. The first mention of it has appeared in the Government's reply. It is wholly without foundation. It is clear, that if he had delivered the speech detailed, reference would have been made in the order. It is not alleged, that he defied the order by delivering a speech afterwards.

Kenneth Raghavendra Prasad Singh was further threatened by the Deputy Commissioner, by a second allegation being made, that he was contemplating a secret marriage with a woman, one of the Court of Wards. Kenneth Singh's written report of this conversation shows how he was threatened by the Deputy Commissioner, and this is supported by the correspondence.

The charge made, therefore, is wholly untrue.

14 This charge is referred to in the authority is again of Government's denial. The District District Congress Committee has released a list of 79 Congressmen, who have been arrested and presented on complaints filed either by police or by individuals or other servants of the police. Besides these about 120 other persons have also been arrested as they were supposed to be under the Congress influence. These 244 or more persons have been presented under one or more of the following sections:-

114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, and 127 of the I. P. Co. and 128 of the Co. P. Co.

List of the people arrested and presented against can be supplied. The extent of most of the complaints can also be supplied, which would show how ridiculous, ridiculous and the speech of the movement have had complaints, and reference of this has been taken to arrest and overhauled Congress workers.

Seizure of Mahatma Gandhi

10. The Telegraphic statement of Government suggests that before their old business methods of capturing him, a recent has been admitted to the Civil Hospital, Raj Dandi, who has lost his eyes and broken his nasal bone in the result of an organised attack by the Telegraph's party. A pregnant woman was beaten until she was unconscious.

Reply of Lord Stevenson

11. A dark night took place on this June between a party of men, who had gone to collect rent, and a party of volunteers, belonging to another village, who are alleged to have incited crowds not to pay rent. Both parties are said to have received injuries, but no one lost an eye. This matter is now before the criminal courts.

Seizure of Congress

12. It is third only the Government have made an attempt to suppress the general movement has been confined themselves to giving their own version of the single incident referred to. The Raj Bhado Congress Centre, after has been working in the district with frequent reports of number incidents involved in its efforts from almost every part of the district, but, so far as is known, in no case was any member treated against their opposition measures.

On June 9, at about 4 a.m., Sardar Bopal Singh with about 25 men with their guns, two revolvers, spears and lathis raided Shree Khand. The Amrao were suddenly got assembled and houses and their cattle were seized and searched. The details of the incident were reported to the Deputy Commissioner with def, but not even an ordinary police enquiry was held.

One Bhagwan Lakh of Chikara was arrested and beaten for his efforts of forwarding a report that the money paid on rent. The reports were untrue and he was unable to name about. On July 11, he was sent on a charge to the District Magistrate, but apparently the latter did not think it necessary to have any enquiry made into the conduct of the police.

There are not isolated cases. A large number of such cases have been, as suggested above, reported to the Deputy Commissioner and if the Government so desire a detailed list of the incidents can be sent to them.

It is true that the man referred to in the paragraph did not lose his eye. The eye was badly hurt and swollen and he was treated at the time that the eye would be lost, but subsequently he recovered.

13. The statement in the paragraph, that the police and the members had beaten Congress volunteers and houses in Bhargava village, is correct, and the local Congress Committee is prepared to substantiate it, as impartial enquiry is made. The enquiry committee of the Forward Congress Committee has evidence of this. The account given by the Government only is incorrect although was made to suppress the leading man of the place in a criminal case. On the 11th June the police accompanied by a large number of armed persons, spears and lathis, raided the village Chikara, and arrested 11 Congress workers including the president and the secretary of the Mahal Congress Committee. None of this spreading brought a number of people from the neighbourhood. There was no question of searching arrested persons. This crowd was attacked by the police and the entire men without any provocation with lathis and spears. Among these severely injured from these lathis and spears and houses' roofs were Chikharah, Mahesh, Gadh, Bani, Dabhi, Sahabhi, Yashwant, Baidi, and Maruti. They had to be removed to Bhargava hospital. There was no mention of any kind, nor was any account of the violence attended or injured. It is not clear from the Government statement, why police officers with lathis should go to large numbers to arrest the police.

14. Bhargava. District. In the District of Bhargava, at Bhargava, on several occasions, the police and the members have combined to beat the Congress volunteers and houses, and have arrested civil Congress workers. It has been reported that because of several volunteers have been beaten by the police.

15. The statement, that the police and members combined to beat Congress volunteers and houses, is not true. The only cases where such reports were made in the village were at villages Chikara and Aghada. At both these places, the police and other persons, while the police were making arrests, were attacked with the object of securing the arrested persons, and the arrests, but up to be deposited at Chikara a very large crowd had collected, carrying Congress flags and armed with lathis, spears, and other dangerous weapons, and it was not until some police officers were actually struck, that the crowd was driven back. The arrests at both these places were for making and causing grievous hurt. In any case, where Congress workers have been arrested, it has been for spreading some definite threat of the law. The allegations that the houses of several volunteers were burnt by the police, is totally unfounded. No such instance

Secretary of Madras Congress

Reply of Local Government

Secretary of Congress

10. A report from Ram Narin says, "Since the advent of the new Deputy Commissioner, no real police has been maintaining the villages, and thieves and police officials have been helping the landlords in evicting the tenant and the Congress workers."

11. The report says, "Police were sent in a few cases to protect officials executing sentences of attachment, and the protection was necessary, as there had been cases of officials being attacked when engaged in such duties. Revenue officials have certainly not helped landlords in 'evicting the tenant and the Congress workers.' In fact there have been cases, where they have opposed the allegations without conviction, and reported against them, when they have been found to be at fault."

12. This is not the case. Police were sent in a few cases to protect officials executing sentences of attachment, and the protection was necessary, as there had been cases of officials being attacked when engaged in such duties. Revenue officials have certainly not helped landlords in "evicting the tenant and the Congress workers." In fact there have been cases, where they have opposed the allegations without conviction, and reported against them, when they have been found to be at fault.

13. None of these allegations are true.

14. Ranganatha, village, Gode District, "On the occasion of *Chakrabarti*, the police and the estate people surrounded the village in the first week of May. They asked the village people to pay up the rents before sunset, but they wanted two days' grace. They were beaten, and 15 of them were afterwards detained under Section 105, 104 and 107 I.P.C. On the 14th day there was another raid on the village by the estate authorities who surrounded it with a force of about 150 men. Women were roughly treated, property seized and dispossessed. Cows were taken away and captured by a wire trap. The case is still pending."

15. A man has died as a result of beating when employed by the estate authorities for work. The offender has been arrested.

16. It is a fact, that at Bangalore on the 11th June a *chakrabarti*, who refused to pay his rent, was beaten by 1 estate peon, and subsequently died. The peon was arrested, and a case under Section 104 I.P.C. has been registered against him.

17. The statement made by the Government that police were sent to protect officials executing sentences of attachment, is not correct. Police go to execute officials have visited many villages with intention not to evict any possessor of attachment, but to compel tenants to pay their rent and to make them aware their connection with the Congress. Thus, for instance the visit of the *Chakrabarti* of Bangalore and the *Chakrabarti* on June 10th to Mysore, and of the *Chakrabarti* to Bangalore and Bangalore was made simply for that purpose, and they had no intention for attachment. It is not known, where and when officials have been attacked, as stated in the Government reply.

18. The charge made is supported by statements of the inhabitants of Bangalore and the neighbouring village before the Provincial Enquiry Committee. The names of the 10 persons arrested and prosecuted can be supplied.

Detailed and graphic account of the tragic incidents has been given by the Congress Enquiry Committee. Women who were brutalised were arrested, and their statements taken. These statements were given in the presence of the police and the estate agents. It is stated, that one of the young girls who was brutalised was pregnant, and as a result of the shock of the treatment sustained to her, gave birth to a child the next day. The people of the village and neighbourhood were terrified by these happenings, and some of them went into hiding. During the night of 10th June, no sleep could be taken by those who had visited them in this way. Immediately on June 11th the president of the Gode District Congress Committee, who had made some enquiry into the matter, met the Deputy Commissioner, and demanded an enquiry. But no enquiry open or impartial was conducted. It is understood, that on August 11th, on the eve of the publication of the Government's reply, the Deputy Commissioner visited the place, and the village men and women made statements supporting the charge made.

19. The fact that a tenant was beaten, is denied by the estate peon as stated by Government, and no reply is needed. It is not stated whether the man was in a position to pay any rent.

Part 1b SCHEDULE A

Deployment of Militiamen Guard

1. Positive police power at Chavala (District House) will not amount to Rs. 1,000 local.

Style of Local Government

1. The presence of additional police in this village was decided on in November 1926, because of the very serious state of anarchy which, while during the last 24 months of the year 1926 was little the worst reported in any of the previous three years, a dangerous state of factional feeling, which, the local officers concerned, might at any moment result in serious trouble with heavy loss of life, the smuggling of opium and arms from the Malabar State, and an extremely aggressive form of Congress agitation, which had actually led to lawlessness and the virtual interdiction of legal and peaceful activities. The presence of the post is necessary in the interests of the maintenance of law and order in the neighborhood generally, and in the opinion of the Local Government, does not constitute any breach of the Delhi Mandate.

2. Positive police at Nankheda Parnas (District House) will not amount to Rs. 1,000 local.

2. The presence of additional police in this village and a neighboring village called Chavala was in April 1926 was in no way connected with the post the village played in the Civil Disobedience movement, the first instance of which did not occur in this area, till the latter 1926. The presence for purposes of additional police was made in February 1926, and was based mainly on the threatened outbreak of anarchy, and in a lesser degree on the serious nature of the lawlessness and the threat to the peace of the village. The presence of police in this area was based mainly on the threatened outbreak of anarchy, and in a lesser degree on the serious nature of the lawlessness and the threat to the peace of the village. The presence of police in this area was based mainly on the threatened outbreak of anarchy, and in a lesser degree on the serious nature of the lawlessness and the threat to the peace of the village.

Deployment of Congress

1. The Government have tried to show, that the positive police at Chavala (District House) will not amount to Rs. 1,000 local, but was also due to "the very serious state of anarchy which, while during the last 24 months of the year 1926 was little the worst reported in any of the previous three years, a dangerous state of factional feeling, which, the local officers concerned, might at any moment result in serious trouble with heavy loss of life, the smuggling of opium and arms from the Malabar State." This is in conflict with the statement of their own officer Mr. C. A. H. Thomas, First Joint Commissioner, Parnas, reported in a Letter from Parnas (District House) to the District House, that the positive police was established purely in support of political agitation. Government have mentioned this only in the last of several instances, and made a vague charge of "an extremely aggressive form of Congress agitation of local and peaceful citizens." It is not made clear in what the "aggravation" of the form of Congress agitation consisted. But it is obvious from the nature of the reply that it was absolutely not violent.

2. The Government cannot but apparently consider the case of the village Chavala with that of Nankheda Parnas. The Government complained about the presence of positive police at Nankheda Parnas only, and will recognize that it was done in support of Congress agitation in that village.

It may be true, that proposals to increase positive police in these villages were made in February 1926, but the Government is also told, that though positive police was proposed in Chavala, a neighboring village, in April, no action was taken against Nankheda Parnas, because there was no need to do so. The Government admits that the Civil Disobedience movement started in the area in 1st May 1926. It is apparent, that though proposals to increase positive police were made as far back as February 1926, and though in an adjacent village the positive police was proposed in April, in Nankheda Parnas the police was proposed in 15th May, and that the Civil Disobedience movement had shown two manifestations.

It is stated, that "during the years 1926-27 and 1927-28, the photographs were transmitted for no less than 48 violent cases including lawlessness, theft, kidnapping, rape, shooting, illegal possession of arms, and no less than 7 murders." It is further stated, that "the post has been ordered not to interfere in the political agitation, but entirely in support of the law."

Continued from last issue.

Reply of Lord Dunsany.

process with impartiality. Subsequently, towards the end of 1931 he gave a written assurance of future loyalty and good behavior, and his person was accordingly released. On the 26th of March 1932 he had a passport, which entailed no revolutionary oath through the release, and took an active part in (personal to the last release)

Signature of Dunsany.

regards the administration of the passport facilities in accordance with the spirit of the Doherty Settlement.

(Continued from the last release.)

signing a bond. He also received a written permit. When requested to explain his conduct, he did not appear, and his person was consequently again detained, as he had committed a breach of his written statement of future loyalty and good behavior. The Settlement provided no passport for the restoration of detested persons, and the responsibility of the case lies not with the administrative bodies.

SCHEDULE B

1. Numerous arrests in England, Ireland and provinces held in the Isles.

1. Since the March there have been 7 arrests in this district but officers operated with caution. Four of these were for violations of license, 2 for offences affecting violence, and 1 for carrying arms by lawful authority. Of these cases one ended with £5000, Ireland Penal Code, has recently been before the High Court on appeal, and the sentence of 1 year's rigorous imprisonment passed has been upheld. Clearly, no violation of the Settlement by Government is involved.

2. Insufficient protection at Tara Town, have been charged with violence.

2. The tactics, to which the dispatch is proposed to refer, is one which occurred twice in May 1931. There was a meeting on that day, the outcome of which displayed an entirely unbecoming attitude towards the police officers present, and the position was such to keep order. The *Freemason* is charge of the police station, who was present, headed a band of the press, and issued the gathering to disperse. The order was immediately obeyed, as there was need, and no lethal charge was made.

1. The only problems against the passport system and concerned its police evidence. In none of the other two independent evidence have appeared. This depends the acceptance of facts which are proved that the search was not to take persons. Certified copies of judgments in these cases and other information called for are attached.

2. While the Congress complained that insufficient protection at Tara Town had been charged with violence, the Government refers to an isolated instance in a meeting which occurred on the 26th May 1931 that even about the incident the volume given by the Government is that the outcome displayed an "extremely unbecoming attitude towards the police officers present, and the position was such to keep order." But yet when the *Freemason*, issuing a "band of the press", issued the gathering to disperse, the order was "immediately obeyed"; and the people dispersed without the use of any force. An audience, which has reply as "extremely aggressive" attitude towards the police officers present, and is further provoked by an arbitrary order to disperse, does not "immediately obey," and that without the use of any force. It is obvious, that the facts have been misrepresented to Government.

3. Supports the British Police Station (American District) the Police Department should consider Ireland, and recently had a Congress decision.

1. Reports have shown, that there is no fraudulent advantage for the violence, and no evidence of this sort as reported was to have occurred.

3. The Government deny the charge entirely, and say that its "policy" have shown that there is no fraudulent advantage for the violence. The Congress questions its statement despite the "promise" made by the Government, and are determined to follow any reported statement.

point of Mahatma Gandhi.

Reply of Deputy Commissioner

Reply for Mr. Gurus

1. Several meetings at Tare Talim oriented under Section 123

4. These only appear to have been two such events. One was the meeting at the residence referred to in item (2) above. The other was a person, who was conducting a campaign of agitation against the payment of taxes.

5. Late Deshmukh told by the Deputy Commissioner Amhala, that no political meetings can be held in Amhala Cantonment, as for that matter, any other Cantonment.

6. It is a fact, that at the instance of the General Officer Commanding, Lahore District, orders were issued to Deputy Commissioner Amhala to take charge of all cantonments, that no procession should be allowed within cantonment limits, as at such procession and meetings, revolutionary ideas are usually spread, and such ideas would disturb the public peace in the area and apart principally for soldiers. It has subsequently been represented to Government, that meetings in the Amhala Cantonment, if held at night at a time when soldiers are on duty, would not be likely to result in a breach of the peace, and that matter is under the consideration of Government. It is not however understood here or can be claimed, that this prohibition is a breach of the Settlements. The Settlement is no way less the power of the Magistrate to prohibit meetings or processions likely to result in a breach of the peace or a disturbance of the public tranquillity. A few more of such processions has been in the past in past represented, been and quieted down with discipline such as "Down, down the Union Jack", which made the danger of sedition and violent reprisals by troops and individual soldiers a real one.

7. A fresh detailed report dated for is received. The report made on the occasion of the meeting referred to in item (2) was repeated in view of what has been said in the reply to that item. The other person is reported to have been doing peaceful propaganda work amongst the peasants, and by operations in this not based on any independent evidence.

8. The Congress complaint was, that no meeting would be held in Amhala Cantonment or other Cantonments. The Government admit the prohibition, but justify it on the ground, that the "indefatigable" men, "invariably violent" at such meetings or processions, "would disturb the public peace in the area and apart principally for soldiers." Such a defence means, that Government have no special way to own soldiers, that they are at first to explain and not fight. Their opinion that meetings are revolutionary ideas, and further that the mere holding of a political meeting within cantonment limits, which are places of their soldiers and contain a substantial proportion of civil population, would so subvert the troops, that they would defy all instructions of their officers, take the law into their own hands and start attacking the people gathered in a peaceful meeting. In the specific case of Amhala, the place, where processions, meetings, demonstrations, etc., take place, is still not under threat from where any troops are likely to be. The Government reply goes further, and states, that "the failure of such processions has been in the past to past represented here and quieted down with discipline such as 'Down, down the Union Jack', which made the danger of sedition and violent reprisals by troops and individual soldiers a real one." If the mere threat of an objectionable cry by a passing procession makes the danger of "sedition and violent reprisals" by the troops and individual soldiers a real one, the proper course would seem to be to improve the discipline of the troops and soldiers. At worst, the remedy would be to prohibit a really provocative cry, but allow the procession, and at the same time court martial the soldiers who disobey the officer's instructions not to interfere with the meeting.

The following extract from the judgment delivered in November 1930 by Mr. J. B. Farwell, Sessions Judge, Amhala, in an appeal by S. Ghose Singh and others against the judgment of the lower court, shows, that there could be no prohibition for stopping the public buses complained of during the time.

"The Inspector goes so far as to say, that he does not think that the meeting was causing annoyance to anybody, while the Additional District Magistrate states, that he received no complaint of annoyance. . . . The proceed ground, however, on which trial magistrate has found, that the order was justified, is, that such meetings were liable to cause annoyance to military authorities, who, acting in the Amhala, order which they were making, could not express it except through their officers commanding, and that he has done so in the present case. I find no justification in the ground for this statement. There is not a single word by Mr. Kishore (with propaganda's) statement, that he

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The Congress Claim

[The following is Gandhi's first speech at the Poindri Congress Committee.]

I want to state at the outset that I am not a little embarrassed in having to give before you the position of the Indian National Congress. I would like to say that I have come to London to attend the responsibilities, as also the Round Table Conference when the proper time comes, absolutely in the spirit of cooperation and in view to my effort to find power of agreement. I would like also to give this assurance to His Majesty's Government, that at no stage—now, or will it be, my desire to undermine authority, and I would like to give the same assurance to my colleagues here, that however much we may differ about our view points, I shall not obstruct them in any stage or form. My political demands have deposits entirely upon past practice, as also the goodwill of His Majesty's Government. If at any time I stated that I could not be of any useful service to the Conference I would not hesitate to withdraw myself from it. I can also say to those who are responsible for the management of this Committee and the Conference that they have only to give a sign and I should have no hesitation in withdrawal.

I am obliged to make these remarks because I know that there are fundamental differences of opinion between the Government and the Congress, and it is possible that there are vital differences between my colleagues and myself. There is also a historical order which I shall be working. I am not a poor troublemaker upon acting on behalf of the Indian National Congress, and it might be as well to remind ourselves of what the Congress stands for and what it is. You will have noted your sympathy to me, because I have had the burden that rests upon my shoulders is really very great. The Congress is, if I am not mistaken, the oldest political organisation we have in India. It has had nearly 50 years of life, during which period it has, without any interruption, held its annual sessions. It is what is known—official, it is known to particular community, at particular times, as particular interest in relation to represent all Indian interests and all classes. It is a matter of the greatest pleasure to me to state that it was first conceived in an English house. After Quaker House we have at the birth of the Congress.

It was created by two great Persons, Persons Mohi Mehta and Dadabhai Naoroji, whose all have delighted to cooperate in the Great Old Man. From the very commencement the Congress had Hindustani, Christian Anglo-Indians, I might say of religious, sects, creeds, represented upon it more or less fully. The late Balakrishna Tyagi identified himself with the Congress. We have had Hindustani in plenitude at the Congress, and Persons predominantly. I can recall at least one Indian Christian at the present moment, W. C. Boman—Kathianan Boman, then when I have not had the privilege of knowing a good Indian, was also thoroughly identified with the Congress. I mean, as I have no doubt all of you will, the presence is one matter of Mr. K. T. Paul, although, I do not know, but so far as I know, he never officially belonged to the Congress, he was a volunteer to the fall.

As you know, the late Mahatma Mohandas K. Gandhi presided also on this today, was a president of the Congress, and at present we have here Hindustani as members of the Working Committee, which consists of 15 members. We have had women as our president, Dr. Ambedkar was the first, and Mr. Shreeji Mehta followed. We have had as a member of the Working Committee also, and so far as I know, he never officially joined or read, we have no distinction of class or creed, we have no distinction of any sort.

The Congress has been its very commitment taken up to the cause of the so-called "Untouchables". There was a time when the Congress had at every annual session to do adjust the Round Conference, in which the late Gandhi had dedicated his energies, among his many activities. Healed by two, you will find in the programme of the Round Conference, return in connection with the untouchables taking a prominent place. But in 1931, the Congress took a huge step and brought the question of removal of untouchability as a plank on the political platform, made it an important item of the political programme. Just as the Congress resuscitated Gandhism early, thereby moving unity amongst all the classes, in its independence for the appearance of Boring, it also did the Congress consider the removal of the cause of the untouchability as an indispensable condition for the attainment of full freedom.

The Congress the Congress took up in 1929 another the same today and to you will see that the Congress has attempted from its very beginning to be what it has devoted itself to be, namely, honest in every

case of the lion. If Your Highness will permit me to say so, in the very early stages, the Congress took up your case also. Let me remind the Convention that it was the G. O. M. of India who sponsored the name of Kishore and Myron, and these two great Honors, I venture to all humility to submit, owe a little to the efforts of Dadabhai Naoroji and the Congress.

Then up to now the Congress has endeavored to serve the Princes of India by submitting from my headquarters in their domestic and internal affairs. I hope, therefore, that this local introduction that I thought fit to give will serve to enable the representatives and those who are at all interested in the claims of the Congress, to understand that it has endeavored to discuss the claim that it has made. It has failed, I know, often to live up to the claim, but I venture to submit, that if you were to examine the history of the Congress you would find that it has more often succeeded, and progressively succeeded, than failed. Above all, the Congress represents, to its essence, the deeply constitutional instincts instilled over the heart and breast of the lion in its 7,50,000 villages, no matter whether they come from what is called Great India, or what is called Little India. Every aspect which, in the opinion of the Congress, is worthy of protection, has to rubstone the interests of these double nations, and so you do find now and again sporadically a clash between divided interests, and if there is a genuine real clash I have no hesitation in saying on behalf of the Congress that the Congress will sacrifice every interest for the sake of disunity of these double nations. It is, therefore, essentially a personal organization, and it is beginning to progressively, too, and more the Indian members of the organization, will, perhaps be accustomed to find that being the Congress, despite its aspirations, the All-India Women's Association, is fighting work for nearly 10,000 women in nearly 5,000 villages, and these women are probably 50 per cent. Muslim women. Thousands of them belong to the so-called untouchable class. We have then, in our constructive manner, examined these villages and the extent of being able to sweep every one of the 7,50,000 villages. It is a staggering task, but I know what you do so, you will probably find the Congress sweeping all of these villages and bringing to them the message of the opening word.

That being the representative character of the Congress, you will not be astonished when I said to you the Congress stands. I hope that it may not put upon you. You may consider that the Congress is making a claim which is totally impossible. Such as it is, I am here to put forth that claim on behalf of the Congress in the quietest manner possible, but also in the loudest manner possible. I have come here to present that claim with all the state and energy that I can command. If you can influence me to the contrary and show that the claim is minimal to the interests of these double nations, I shall revise my opinion. I am open to suggestion, but even so, I should have to ask my principals in consent in that position before I could actually act in the spirit of the Congress. At this stage, I propose to read to you the available so that you are understood clearly the position reported upon me.

This was a confusing period of the Congress Congress.

"This Congress, having considered the political conditions, before the Working Committee and the Government of India, submitted a, and desired to make it clear that the Congress goal of Poona Session, meaning complete independence, might shift. In the event of a way something whatever open to the Congress to be represented at any instance with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegates will make that the goal, and in particular so as to give the nation control over the army, external affairs finance, fiscal and economic policy, and so have a member by an impartial official of the financial institutions of the British Government in India and in some cases and accept the obligations to be undertaken by India in England, and the right to other party to end the partnership as well, provided however, that the Congress delegates will be free to accept such adjustments as may be deemed necessary in the interests of India.

There follows the appointment. I have in the light of the results understood as carefully as I was capable of studying the proposed resolutions arrived at by the general sub-Committee appointed by Lord Tulse Conference. I have also carefully studied the Poona Manifesto annexed giving the consistent policy of the Congress's Government. I speak as subject to correction, but so far as I have been able to make what the document tells about of what is meant and claimed by the Congress. Thus I have the liberty to accept such adjustments as may be deemed necessary in the interests of India, but they have all to be consistent with the fundamental stated in the manifesto.

I stated myself at this stage of the terms of what it is now a sacred document, the document arrived at Delhi between the Government of India and the Congress in that conference, the Congress has accepted the principle of federation, the principle that there should be responsibility of the Crown, and has accepted also the principle that there should be integrative so as far as they may be necessary in the interests of India.

There was one phrase used yesterday, I forget by which I believe, but it struck me very harshly. He said, "we do not want a purely political constitution." I do not believe that he gave that expression the same meaning that it completely bore to our lot. I immediately said to myself, this phrase has given me a good expression. It is true the Congress will not be, and probably speaking, I myself would never be, satisfied with a mere political constitution which is read would mean to say India all it can possibly politically desire, but in reality would give her nothing. If we are going upon complete independence it is not from any sense of recognition or it is not because we want to provide before the nation that we have since entered all experience with the British people. Nothing of the kind do the identity, you find in this manifesto itself that the Congress contemplates a partnership the Congress contemplates a co-operation with the British people, but that co-operation to be such as you will between two absolute equals. That was when I pointed

myself as being and being called a British subject. I have asked for many years to call myself a British citizen. I would far rather be called a rebel than a subject, but I have now agreed, I still aspire, to be a citizen of the Empire, but as a Commonwealth, as a partnership of govt. of Great Brit. and us, as without his partnership, but not a partnership superimposed upon our nation by another. Hence you had here that the Congress claims that either party should have the right to cover the convention, to dissolve the partnership. It has got to be, necessarily therefore, of mutual benefit. Now I want it only be beneficial to the constitution, but not beneficial to us,—that is I have said elsewhere, I am quite satisfied the responsible British themselves today being wholly engrossed in domestic affairs, as trying to make both sides meet. We could not expect them to do anything less, and I felt, even as I was talking towards London, whether not, as the sub-Committee at the general meeting, would not be a drag upon the British conscience whether we could not be overlooked and yet I said in regard. It is possible that we might not be overlooked, it is possible that the British conscience themselves might consider the proceedings of the Round Table Conference to be of primary importance even to those of their domestic affairs. Yes, India can be told by the world but what will position in the prosperity of Great Britain, and the economic position of Great Britain? As involved but a relationship here, as, we Indians, an extended patient with Britain to share her success, to take part only by side with Britain in her achievement?

Yes, it could be, but as has been said, to fight only by side with Britain, not for the improvement of a single race or a single human being or state, but to may be ultimately for the good of the whole world. If I were freedom for my country, before any, if I can possibly help it, I do not want that freedom to come that I, belonging to a nation which counts itself of the human race, may explain any other side upon earth, or any single individual. If I were that freedom for my country, I would not be desirous of that freedom. If I did not demand that freedom the right of every other race, weak or strong, to the same freedom. And so I said to myself, what I was seeking the chance of your beautiful island. Perhaps it might be possible for me to persuade the British Members that India as a valuable person, was told by those but by the other side of love, as India of that character might be completely of real assistance to you in achieving your hopes, and for one year but for many. What cannot the two nations that are a beautiful but broken with a sympathy for every perhaps unexplained, a nation used for having fought slavery, a nation that has at least shared some without number to protect the world—and made a very ancient nation, ancient as wisdom, with a glorious and ancient past, representing at the present moment two great cultures, the Indian and British cultures and if you will, also containing not a small but a very large number of Christian population, and certainly deserving the whole of the spiritual Decemist stock, as goodness almost boundless sympathy, but as political things and sympathy almost unexplained, certainly unexplained. We have got all these cultures concentrated in India, and supposing that God free both Hindus and

Muslims represented here with a proper spirit so that they then make not come to an impossible understanding, take that nation and this nation together, and I appeal only myself and only you whether with no Indian line, completely independent as Great Britain is, whether an impossible partnership between these two cannot be greatly beneficial, even to those of the domestic affairs of the great nation. And so, in that dreamy hope I have approached the British Isles, and I shall still through this dream.

And when I have said this perhaps I have said all, and you will be able to let the Po and even the Po, not expecting me to tell in all the details, and tell you what I mean by created over the many, what I mean by control over national affairs, finance, local and economic policy, or even the financial transactions which a friend yesterday considered to be impossible. I do not take that view. If there is a relationship between business and religious affairs, that transaction are subject to audit and efficiency, and the Congress will not be guilty of any unreasonable conduct in asking to say that the nation should understand what it is doing over and what it should not take over. This week, this speaker, as asked for not merely in the interests of India, it is asked for in the interests of both. I am positive that the British people do not want to enable upon India a single leader which should not legitimately lead, and I am here to declare to the world of the Congress that the Congress will never think of repudiating a single clause or a leader that should justly discharge. If we are to live as an impossible nation world of something would have the whole world, we will say every nation of impossible debt with our India.

I do not think that I should take you any further through the chance of this machine and explain for you the measure of these chance as compromise give them. It is in God's will that I should perhaps to take part in these deliberations, as the deliberations proceed, I shall be able to explain the impression of these chance. As the deliberations proceed I would have my eye in connection with the delegates also but I think I have said quite enough in having with some information and with your generous help given, Lord Charnock, when the time of the meeting. I had not intended really to take that time but I felt that I could not possibly do justice to the cause I have come to represent to you, the sub-Committee, and to the British Nation of which we the Indian delegates are at present, the guests, if I did not give you not of the whole of my heart my cherished mode of life here. I would love to go away from the shores of the British Isles with the conviction that there was to be an impossible and equal partnership between Great Britain and India.

I cannot do anything more than say that it will be my fervent prayer during all the days that I live in your world that this conversation may be fruitful. I thank you, Lord Charnock, for the courtesy that you have extended to me in not stopping me, although I have taken quite upon forty five minutes. I was not entitled to all that information and I thank you very much.

Young India

Amended Press Bill (By C. BHASKARANARAYAN)

The Press Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, has been published last week. It is a bill which is not only a thing wholly discarded. The noticeable object of the measure is to prevent the encroachment of political violence. Having law simply provides scope for proceeding and securing the publication of press matter of any kind. It is a bill that contains types of encroachment against another definition of element such as should be defined and passed through the Legislative Assembly as purely defined offences.

Instead of this straight forward course, which would make the stated object, it is sought under the cover of prevention of violence and it is a bill that is a piece of fiction by putting all newspaper under scrutiny for good behaviour. To make a measure like this one proposed and to claim that the press is left free is an effort to put all without under Section 186 C, P. C. and claim that everything is still intact. A measure of this kind cannot be made right by amendments, either to the Select Committee or to the Assembly. It is not the House only but the very heart that passes.

Not all the laws have, however, been touched in the amendments. Under the bill as now passed would come to be, except, otherwise, after being scrutiny. The amendments provided an escape to all, but under the scrutiny otherwise after three months probation. The total of laws which passed during three months period may be expected to last, otherwise, there is the question about the all persons whenever local Government pass it is certain.

The amended bill is based on amendments to make and responsible offences involving violence. It is not a very large class of offences that are excluded by clause, as may be seen by a perusal of the schedule of the amended provisions. Most offences, even of a trifling sort, are punishable. Any allegation that the police may take cognizance of is punishable. Even criminal conspiracy is punishable. The offences include, (Madras Provisions) who "incite" into the large criminal group to make a body they alleged charges are prosecuted for a responsible offence, namely, as every one is under against the will of the nation. Any report is considered that may be alleged as true, "tendency to encourage such as any other responsible offence is enough to justify application of the act.

Mr. Lawrence (Madras) made a law in the Council. Case has had some effect on the Select Committee. Several phrases of various applications are added from clause 4, but amendments have not touched the scope of the clause in any way. What is gained is liberty. The content is not lost, content of substance is fully intact. It is put always to test the opinion.

The explanation that is expenditure of substance made historical by literary work still is a ground for which, when it leads to encourage crime, does not put one at ease. On the contrary, that such an explanation was forced necessary for those responsible for the bill is sufficient proof of its danger. For from getting out at once it reflects its possible scope.

The amended bill provides for an appeal to the High Court, whenever necessity is demanded. There was one remedy there but appeal could be made only against a preliminary order. Dissenting members of the Select Committee recommended that, even when demanding a remedy the magistrate should hold a preliminary, though summary, inquiry. It seems to us, however, that amendment does not resolve the position of the case. A case has to be adjudged a criminal before he commits an offence. What sort of a summary judicial inquiry can be held? The purpose of the law before the magistrate, or in case of appeal, before the High Court, cannot be any offence already committed before the case can only be the feasibility or not of passing preventive measures by the lower court orders. There can be no definite allegation that can be made. The law must be highly even number of judgments and no inquiry under the conditions can be considered. We hope that the Amendment, as amended to it, will allow to pass a measure where which there is no connection with freedom of the press or contemplated transfer of responsibility for Law and Order to the people.

Indirect Election

(By C. BHASKARANARAYAN)

Qualified has discussed the amendments based on public opinion as to scope of direct election, which is against the report of the Select Committee. Government of India suggested it is not easy to understand things from a great distance without the aid of explanatory systems and devices.

The issue of direct or indirect election may be understood and considered from two aspects, one general, and the other, a particular application. Usually it is no later more clear the pros and cons of the two methods of election have been considered, usually, whether the Central Legislature should be a Federal Assembly of members, chosen by vote of the constituent provincial legislatures, or by direct election by primary voters spread all over India. In the other sense, the question is one of general application and not concerning only the Central Legislature. Indirect election, in the general sense, means first the voters will choose their representatives for local affairs in the first stage and these representatives will choose men to deal with wider affairs who again will have the authority to elect representatives to deal with more central affairs, and so on, right up to the top. In this sense, even the provincial legislatures may consist of members chosen, not by all the voters directly, but elected by a body of representatives, themselves elected. There will thus be double and triple filtration of election. It seems that it is in this general sense that qualified supported the principle of indirect election in his speech at the Round Table Conference.

The acceptance of the method of indirect election does not mean that direct democracy is through all the way up to the apex. It may be accepted only up to the point considered by the various elements of the electorate, or representatives among themselves and replaced from that point by the direct method. It does not follow that, because, for instance, the primary voter does not elect representatives to the provincial legislature but does so only through the Taluk or District Councils, the Central Legislature also must be elected only indirectly by the provincial

legislature. Talukha Shiksha may directly elect the provincial legislature without the intermediary District Board. Similarly, Talukha or District Shiksha may or will elect members to the Central Legislature and not necessarily leave it to the members of provincial legislatures though indirect election may be practised. The principle of a relatively direct elect may be followed in stages where it may be practised. There is nothing incompatible in this view. Otherwise anything negation of the principle of thought, or not at all, can therefore make of the merit.

The first question is, shall we have adult suffrage and equality of votes for all, irrespective of sex and property? If this is accepted as an avowed principle there is consideration of the physical conditions of the country, and spread of population which must lead us to find practicable ways to express voters' choice, which may or will be other than what the Government is ready to accept. Countries of the West have prevented work in this idea by law an electoral system yet been evolved which is not open to objection. Considering the size and conditions for voting, if we have to choose between giving up adult suffrage or permitting indirect election, we must certainly prefer the latter alternative with whatever modifications it may involve. After all, if a nation has the will and vision every citizen will shape itself in time given us, just as the American lady develops wrinkles on her face for progress that constantly evolved, national institutions will automatically develop themselves in a gradual and happy manner. No constitution can be constructed now, which can be said to be the all time or perfect. It must be open to the people of India to alter and amend it in every aspect. What appears to be a perfect safeguard may be later we will say, error because a better found the truth. The strongest point against indirect election is the fact as most people of improper methods and corrupt practices having no vision and vision play in the system of direct election due to the indirect election by large baronial elections. But even happily to ascertain whether elections be direct or indirect and where it is not possible, technicians will handle down whether elections be direct or indirect. We have to recognise our slavery or reveal ourselves under slavery. We have to develop civil life, civic initiative, civic honesty and civic efficiency in order to cope with the responsibilities of self government, if we wish to embrace Swaraj in time of personal freedom.

An example of the perceptive spirit of Central Legislature, the strongest argument against indirect election is that wherever we produce direct election, that has proved sufficient, confirmed and confirmed of a united India, the method of indirect election will stop the growth of national sentiment in the central and not in a growing centralised form. There will be altogether a too strongly centralised atmosphere in an institution where freedom will be the words of the type questions of general interest. Again, if indirect personal councils differ from that of the Central Legislature, the members have, now come to feel responsible to our own and freedom like lawmakers, responsible to us men. These considerations are weights but as pointed out already Gandhiji's support of the general principle of indirect election and his grounds for it, have not necessarily made a triumph of the Shree Government's proposal. In both chambers of the Central Legislature should be elected by provincial legislatures.

London Letter

1

A French Welcome

When the last part written at Marcellin the very first in welcome Gandhiji to the European soil were Mahatmaji Mahatma Gandhi, the name of one of the greatest sons of France, who is living in voluntary exile from his country because of his devotion to truth and non-violence. M. Gandhi had made a desperate attempt to come himself, but his health had prevented him and he had to content himself with sending a warm message of affectionate welcome through his sister who begged Gandhiji as though he was her twin dear blood brother. With her name M. Priant and his good wife, the French friends who are staying in close association with M. Gandhi, and who have done a great deal to spread the message of truth and non-violence. Gandhiji in national affairs is a home away discovered, and even as a scientist would describe the workings and applications of a new law M. Priant described the workings and possibilities of the law of love and truth before Gandhiji has now both in *Chien Du Patrimoine* (The Chien of Patrimoine), describing various experiments and introducing some of the new experiments in the field. One of these was Gandhiji, the great French people, who is trying to fight will become by expressing great words of truth in some studies with me at other moments and who is at present engaged in going to India to the events in India. "Has you ever seen out" said M. Priant to me, "but he is not needed to travel himself as Gandhiji." The presence of dear and old friends is a strange land, especially when the French belong to the land, makes me feel completely at home and within half an hour of our arrival in France we were welcomed in fact at home.

If the first friends to give us welcome were Mahatmaji Gandhi and M. Priant, the first strangers to do so were the students of France—members of the general association of the present and past students of Marcellin—who had organised a reception to honour the 'great ambassador of India.' They welcomed him to bring the Indian idea to the west, every and explanation—filled notes of Shree, and as his reply to them Gandhiji showed them as friends and fellow students. Since he visited France as a student to see the Exhibition held at Paris in 1900 "some greater and more permanent help bringing you and me have been found. The finger of these days in your own distinguished countryman (Gandhiji) who established himself as interpreter of the Indian message that I have been trying to deliver to my countrymen for the last 12 years or more. I have been promising of the Indians of your country and of the workings of Mahatma and Valley Hope and on my return upon my very necessary difficult matter in London—it has been me to find a welcome from you fellow students.

And as he expected the message of non-violence in the peaceful language in a neutral tone, as he explained that non-violence is an weapon of the weak, but of the strongest and that strength does not mean mere strength of muscles, and that is a tremendous man possesses of the words is not a weakness but

staircase of a strong heart is an absolute necessity'. They claimed him most unreservedly. He explained by taking the example of the comedian who quailed before a Dancer's child holding it over his head and compelling him with the waves of his arms to avoid India's blows and India's charges without quailing. To tell and to be told is to learn as many is unconsciously spending an act of learning but to stand the blows of your adversaries and not to withdraw is a greater form of learning, and that is precisely what India has been trying herself for. He concluded by touching on another aspect of the same question. The struggle through acceptance has been otherwise described as a process of purification, the underlying idea being that a nation learns by being wrong to know of its own weakness and so that immediately we shed our weakness, we regain our identity. The people on earth are the fleshly subjected without their cooperative minority or majority. It is involuntary cooperation when the first of white physical heat has cooled you call it a knot or a shape. In my wandering among the students I made the discovery at an early stage of the movement that in order to construct a character of the ideal character must be the foundation. We also found that ideal character involved not in policy, the 'how' with its many faces and forms, not in passing resolutions by passing resolutions but in identifying character. I do not know by what name you identify of France lay after your character so far, then upon intellectual studies, but I can say this that you explore the principles of character you will find that without character it will prove a problem study. I hope that the society will not be the beginning and end of our acquaintance. I hope that the acquaintance will be the beginning of a living contact between you and my acquaintance. In a movement such as we are conducting in India, we need the intellectual sympathy of the whole world and if after a careful study of the movement and notes employed by us to attract our friends you find that we deserve your sympathy and support I hope you will not fail to extend that sympathy.

"Truth in the News"

Certain things have a remarkable family likeness in nature where they may be one nature that makes us in that of C. I. D. police member or that of industrial firms or that nature is that of propagandist newspapers. One would have thought that when you left the stage of India we had better good bye to the traditional propagandist one has got accustomed to associate with the Anglo-Indian Press. No less. The Daily Mail Press in England can just say good to the world—the day-break in our country are but little laboratory of their conduct in the country—and we encountered a mysterious article in the representative of the Daily Mail who interviewed Gandhi on board the "Rangoon". He was present at the reception given by the students, and used all eloquence to his associates were introduced by introducing what Gandhi had said, and so forth till of late. In the speech given by the students before Gandhi Gandhi gave the brand a new effect to it. He had no reply to these points. The speaker had had represented was by rebellion, India's conduct. It was surely opposed by the students of Khartoum. Without giving in point a well-rehearsed answer from the speaker

he had said Gandhi composedly turned to the British side. He was asked to point out a single phrase of violence in condemnation of his conduct. "I was surprised that you thought in politics," he continued to repeat softly to his listeners. "You must understand that Gandhi" that I cannot sustain politics from the deepest things of my life, for the people know that my politics are not concepts, they are reality based on with observation and truth. As I have said often enough I would be rather that India polished than that she was freedom in the manner of truth. "Then there were vague resolutions which again he could not substantiate. First came! He had not expected that he would be thus called to account. "No—you are generalising round the subject of reality." Gandhi had heard even the words of Khartoum, in our first meeting, as Gandhi was taken to the meeting place, but the Daily Mail board reported that "Gandhi was disappointed in the poor reception." "How did you know that I was disappointed? Just how do you say that the gift from a British Cabinet of a woman's Cause betrayed you, when I said that I was surprised?" He had no reply, he said "movement perhaps more successful." "Well then I may tell you that I have a sense of honour which never can know compromise over these things. If I was looking for it, I would have gone and by now, for instance I should go and over this article of yours—it is up to me to see that you have guided the article with things which are for your sake and I should have nothing to do with you. But I do not do so and would continue to give you an interview as often as you come." He seemed to pause under the interview but by an exact report.

But truth seems to be a very sensitive point in the present situation and was reported differently, with an intention to misrepresent, here to further the truth. For instance, Mr. Mills, the American Ambassador from correspondence, who has been with us for a long time, who knows Gandhi's habits, could not do without underlining the truth about his life on the boat. He described the proper women, the atmosphere of the spinning wheel and many other things but left this the picture would be dated at "nature" without a set to it to show Gandhi's real every feeling? There is Mr. Stoddard, who made a name by publishing that shocking account of his interview with Gandhi in Yarnold's fall, wrote to the Evening Standard underlining Gandhi's generosity and left that the picture would be complete without a counter balance. He then spoke for his interview and represented Gandhi as presenting himself before the Prince of Wales when he came to India. "Well, Mr. Stoddard, I would have expected you to have better. You have made quite a good impression here," said Gandhi. I would have the same when the good newspaper, the present representative of India, he having participated in working here for freedom I would say into the fact of his last that I would not progress myself, not even before the last week but before the Prince of Wales, for the day's dinner that he represented Indian might I may after speak to be studied by an abstract but not progress myself before him, but I should perhaps speak before we get for having even successfully inside, open at." Well says the Irish Press, Dr. Fisher's paper, dated a few days ago,

back as its voice, 'Back to the 'Vars,' and declare us on very firm ground. "We shall never consciously use this platform to manifest our friendship to its interpreters and those who oppose us." The newspapers which we forbade to this matter are very few indeed.

A Warm Welcome

But it would be wrong to judge the people from the newspapers, though at a locality where the editors use of newspapers is confined to millions of copies, one can imagine what an incredible mass they can produce and how unimpeded public opinion can be. Then that color of view the reception accorded to Greeley has been surprising anyway. So far as public opinion are concerned the public reception at the "Irish Home" was most happily answered. All branches of public life were represented at the meeting to welcome the "Grand old man of the nation." It was the words of Mr. Lawrence Harrison, from whom a happier choice of address could not have been made. He at once gave assurance of something more deeper than a "gracious welcome." For of greeting goodwill towards Irish, goodwill towards the interpreters of the results of the conference. He struck the right note when he described Greeley to the satisfaction of something which is comprehensively understood—acknowledgment of public and religious—"In America we are all citizens, but to politics every one else is a stranger—that is a correct description of our daily life," and Mr. Harrison, "and Mr. Greeley has come to call upon us to teach our friends and to declare what our relations are."

But the words of private reception was, if possible even greater. What, for instance, can be more affectionate than the language of Miss Harriet Lunt, our host, as Greeley's staying with her at Knapp's Hall, at New? But the depth of the affection is fully to be proved by anyone who did not know the story of "Knapp's Hall." Miss Harriet Lunt, to answer to the interpretation of a learned heart decided to go and live in all its loneliness at New in the midst of every public house and den and squall private house, full of money and mud and sin, how she pleased a court to Irish and shared the hospitality of Dr. Thorne and Greeley, how Knapp's Hall was opened and how she called there with a few comrades to bring help and comfort and joy to the trustees when drawn like the unknowning way of a *Janet's parlance*, the shelter affords to get work, the strength or weakness, the unimpaired *disposition* and despite on every day being asked to a dwelling more told to the pages of Miss Lunt's book. My dear Mr. Harriet, it was in the name of things that Greeley, the representative of the willing millions of Irish, should be served here and that he should find it a welcome absolutely after his heart. The members of the audience as they clapped, talking, watching the demonstration and every one who accepts that hospitality is expected to help in the daily household. I have not lost the privilege of meeting Miss Adams, or of seeing Hall House, but I have read a good deal about Irish and perhaps Miss Lunt's welcome is to do nothing less than have a "Well House" in London. It is her welcome in my Knapp's Hall opened after her last brother, not accidentally

placed her "back through and through, permeated and pervaded with the spirit of God—the spirit which surely can be correct, self-discipline and personal sacrifice." It is possible that enjoyment of the work which has brought Greeley here may compel him to more for the improvement of himself, to more sensible questions, but it is not likely to suggest what a week it will be. From morning until night we sat outside Knapp's Hall, open at the Latham Road daily opened. Hundreds of men, women and children bring to the locality around the place in order to have a glimpse of Greeley and to wave his good cheer. The children mostly follow as when we go out, hardly with a view to collecting us, but with a view to making friends with us. "Well, well as when ever before is going to see the King of England" is the question that has often been put to Ireland. "Are boys quite like us in your country?" is another question. "These people look quite strange in their clothes," says a girl to her mother who already replies, "as we look strange to them." "Your father goes on a cat, does not he give you one?" is the next inquiry of a boy, while a gentleman ran slowly from a distance "Tell me where's your mother?"

But the friendship of it all is inimitable. Even the hostile press has, except of itself, observed the "Masters" by following numerous guests of his and in the meantime in the street, and the telegraph on the roads, the Committee on the pavement and the committee in his shops, upon "Gosh" right enough the witness his own stage, illustrated by the meeting London public, draws near and warm respect fully or smiles affectionately.

The Evidence

But let this should be destined to the statement instead of the masses, some of letters upon to Greeley daily from all parts of Great Britain and the Continent giving him a welcome and expressing sympathy for his mission. Old friends who knew him long ago as a young student have turned up to see him and all the English friends, including Lord Sumner, who have known him, have made a year of improving the friendship. "I was a dog of gratitude to him," said Sir George Denon the other day as he came to see him and was content to shake hands as he was about, because we are the witnesses to repeat a quiet worded at every place for our and good and when expressions of sympathy have taken concrete shape. Here is a letter reaching a 100 days. "I have read with the greatest interest in the 'Times' the account the address you delivered on Monday at the Friends Meeting House in Thistle Road and the message broadcast to New York from Knapp's Hall. The speaking is both an act and an opportunity that I much hope that friends in all parts of the world will understand and respond. My salute to Irish is all day standing. I had the privilege during the War of substituting money of the address and lecture returned in this hospital home. It will give me much pleasure if you will accept the cordial thanks as a personal expression of sympathy with you and your teaching. Please put it to say just of your work you thank him, I much hope that your presence at the Congress will facilitate the work, and that you

will not suffer from any ailment." There is no ailment from one of the numerous writers engaged from Lancashire. "May I say to you that I, as a Lancashire Cotton working man, who is used to our suffering through the action of the Indian Cotton bales I have a profound admiration for Mr. Gandhi and a great respect of my fellow workers in Lancashire when that spirit of abstinence for Mr. Gandhi." Here at a house in which money is at hand from a working man is a most welcome testimony to the first understanding of the Gandhian movement but such an endorsement is for self-physicians (I use a simple word) has persuaded even Lancashire, "God has chosen you to be his leader, not only for the glorio-victor Indians, who have been cruelly treated by our Indians drink traffic, but you are by far our greatest leader and the greatest Christian, for all others are leaders with the Indian divide. I am a real free god-follower and if you ever come to Hindustan you will find that I generally have a few minutes, after my kind of working, showing that god-follower is by far the greatest remedy and that Mr. Gandhi is the only person with a real principle and who stands everywhere to keep the flag of the tag. In fact since my case, at I was a gathering." Hindu, Gandhi's "pat" saying again that I can advise you that I can get it in some year there. I pray that you will be the means to the hands of showing our devil-riders rather than all these thousands of devil-balls (pale) are kept going by the Indian and other people who are feeding the wages out of the mills into the pits and then wearing our brother Indians to purchase our goods and keep their money going in mill while we have, home, and home again? In conclusion I pray again that God will be with you and your men and your dear country and that England will have to thank God for your efforts to stop this cursed traffic here and then your home land will start to live and we shall all sing together, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

Numerous friends have sent letters with their letters of welcome but I shall not have put two sentences. Mr. Rutherford, whom all English educated Indians now know, sent a copy of his *Indian India* and offered to show me Indian villages as I had chosen. Mr. Miller, the facts within, with the publication of other periodicals, in full of Indian facts and doing statements even of which Mr. Rutherford, is unable to prove and is published in this manner, is altogether the case of *Indian India*, being in full from the British India. A greater sympathetic response is also shown in the shape of a book sent by Virginia Oswald Carter, A word in Hindi, with a note to Miss Lester that "Mr. Gandhi will be surprised to find in a military way an education of his." The book is full of things which would make such blood there is such value for which the author holds the British Government responsible. It will be remembered that he had to resign his position in India when he was ordered to suppress crimes of violence against disobedience and land revenue. He charges the British Government of "Mistrust in India" which every one of us as human being was to them and possibly more. Why is this much encouraging little India had about in the English

Press and called a half-witted Fable who declares to have the Christian missionaries and all India? For the same reason that the same Press that shows the book in 1920-21 and accused them of working with effect for their good? What knowing "Press," loyalty -----, press persons "Loyalty" is what? The Press? "Persons to what that knows that Lord Rutherford have" . . . India can be free, France can be free, Germany can be free.— all can be free to do as they should, and as they would, provided the world empire called "Empire" is destroyed and let its place be set up, loyalty is the religion of "loyalty." One of the most extraordinary statements that have ever been written.

The Mission

It is to draw up a similar statement that Gandhi has come to England and he has been slowly at work perhaps the mission would make its foundation the next year. For many years that he often comes suffer only out of the rest of his heart leaving the rest of work and work. That is the reason why the preliminary statement made by him in the *Star of India* Conference, though it was a claim for complete independence did not offend. That is why when he signed a preliminary letter and of Lancashire which should explain the plan against India in the House of Commons was one of the M. P. a took it away, and that is why when he entered a law protest against the disclosure of the proceedings of the Federal Non-cooperation Committee and against the policy of the British India delegation, he was told the slightest step was "England and India bound by the other end of law." A writing previously which could be called as well and we can expect again to see others as detailed." India, except and will not provide a subject unless any longer "see others that will be long current here before we have left the shores of England.

The Ministry of the Government have seriously mismanaged him, and by a having no more intention to leave the place. He has not yet met the Conservative leaders and though he has had a talk with the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State, the mismanagement of economy is still there. Possibly the English movement are not prepared enough to make up their mind about the Indian situation. With its considerably changed India India, with the number of unemployed increasing to about up to 25,00,000, with large of gold being sent every through the sea by France, with the Chancellor trying to keep money to balance the budget and with now in the Indian Government to make, they may not be in a position to find time to think of India. They may be so used to consider the suggestions made by Gandhi that India, made an equal partner, may be of valuable assistance to England in balancing the budget and for more far in all these. Perhaps they may probably intend themselves of the great works of Chamberlain at Liverpool certainly a tone of peace in presence "have not then there comes a message when change is under their pressure, when some great act of their working the hands and that of the mission of this, achieve the results that we wish of internationalism can compare."

Practical Rights has had time, a national outlet, as a national line of defense. We have no resources, however, that make defense and attack an art question of numbers, but of efficiency and the latest scientific devices. The aeroplane, the tank and other forms of mechanical warfare are replacing the old methods and even the modern cavalry and infantry may be so out of date as the men with bows and arrows. We shall then have to concentrate, with the aid help of foreign experts, on building up a highly efficient mechanical defense force.

All these resources we shall have to take, but above all we shall have to develop the spirit of our people. If the common people, the workmen and the peasants are real citizens in this land, that will come they will fight to defend of their country and their souls with a freedom and a doggedness and valor that come from a new hope. History goes to many countries of that that history does not give us a single example of an able power working its selfish power here to defend themselves and thus get rid of foreign domination.

India has thus nothing to fear if the foreign army of occupation is met and also is left to her own resources for defense. One of the greatest merit and what has to be faced we mean nothing to the land of the dominating or foreigner for defense. We shall have then danger and ruin and the strength which enabled us to give our freedom will also enable us to retain it.

[continued]

Notes

Circular Withdrawn

The Private Secretary to the Secretary, for Governor of Madras, has written to Bruce C. Hays, publisher to say that the circular issued by the Director of Commerce, Charles Drake, and which was published in the name of September seventeenth, was issued under a misapprehension and has been withdrawn. This is on his part. It is said, however, the only case of the kind. We have many instances of the issue of similar withdrawal circulars and proclamations at other places. So far as policy and legitimacy are concerned, they have to look upon Congress workers and Congress representatives as being well within and with the general classes from giving their laborers of assistance on point of legality and freedom of the more feasible method. It is high time that the Government should clearly define and confirm its attitude of recognition towards its this direction.

A Doubtless and A Doubtful Compliment

The Associated Press of India reports that one French member of the European Assembly, held in Paris recently, M. Charles Winter, the General Secretary of the Association in regard of an address "just a beautiful tribute to the Indians with which M. Winter had settled a delicate situation, underscoring the fact that the Viceroy and the Government of India were disappointed of every step by the last Secretary of State, Mr. Wellesford Duns," was also known what Mr. Duns in the Viceroy here in way of the following declaration by the secretary of the European Association. Mr. Winter also whether M. Winter is pleased with the implication of the previous conclusion—

C. R.

From a Regent's

18

Through Red Sea to Port Said

When I wrote you last, our fleet had done a little better of the Red Sea and we were again along the Gulf of Suez. Within a few hours after entering the Gulf the fleet passed a number of light houses showing how difficult it was to keep the ships from through these waters must have been, for the southern part of the Gulf is filled with coral and shoals. As you go further up you destroy the main cause of the Red Sea. These low reefs extend very close to the pale beach of the coast, some called Mena's reefs where Mena and the French collected their differences from the house of Ibrahim after receiving the Red Sea. Every year and half or so the sand and coral of the Gulf of Suez accumulates a mass of dried part, like the coral hills and mountains in our country. Under the waves, however, the hills are the most part of the Red Sea are black and rugged and unsuitable, making our vessels all the more time from these reefs across these of the wall between India of the world—Japan, China, and India. There are hills of the mountain sides of these hills, and given a way further and reflects that all the great lakes of the world spring from the north end of Asia, one lake advanced and multiplied into the great followers of these lakes are so far from their great mountains and the Holy God who gave them dominion that they are had from asking to study and everything to separate themselves from our nation as early from the Great Father.

The Red Sea was a great wide route throughout the middle ages, until Vasco De Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and opened a safer and more economic highway. But the opening up of Suez reduced the Red Sea to its present position of one of the greatest highways of the world. The Suez Canal was the work of the Great French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte de France, whose army, station, an apparently impossible task, on the borderland of the extreme of the Mohammedans, against the era of every miracle. The canal, which took years on years to construct, cost £2,000,000 to the Suez canal company, but of the capital being raised in France and paid by the Egyptian. But the opening up of the canal in 1869, when the British Imperialist declared it was regulated as well to the new Mohammedans with India, and asked the maintenance of the British rule in India, raised more or less to be forced up with the British rule in the East, which might mean to be allowed to be extended. How was this held to be extended and the loss of the French empire, belongs to be asked by Britain? The Khedive's power should whether be extended. A British fleet entered as successfully by real expenditure money in North Africa during those days was to induce the same result to be more fully with the foreign power not to make them heavily indebted. That is how France asked Tunis. The Khedive of Egypt too had then been reduced to run up nearly a 100 million pounds of debt—mainly to the English and the French—and his credit was so low that there was nothing for it but to sell all his shares in the Suez canal Company. The year 1874 marked the end of the new imperial policy

a "British" and through laughs for being almost all in British—clothes [179,002] etc. [179,003] This was one of the best things of the occasion—a laugh. What followed Israel Pader's extended harangue would lead us into the negro history of Egyptian oppression which is not necessary for our present purpose. Suffice it to say that these clothes were valued in 1902 at more than their original cost, and surely the present cost of the materials through this cost is said to be under the Dutch flag.

Friendly Egypt

I have on my last letter already made mention of the warm messages of greetings and good wishes from Mahmud Naghib Pasha and from Mustafa Nuhur Pasha, the President of the World. A number of Egyptian crowd correspondents were Gooding on board the ship and a representative of Nuhur Pasha met Gooding both at Suez and Port Said. A delegation of British merchants in Cairo, mostly Gooding's friends on Gooding's bank at Suez and Port Said, and gave him an address of welcome and passed him on my a card in Cairo on the return journey. I heard distinctly at Port Said that though no exceptions had been taken to the British Consulate working on Gooding, the attitude of some Egyptian frontier personnel to Egyptian passengers and it was with great difficulty that a single representative of Nuhur Pasha could get the permission.

In this connection, a local source of the present conditions in Egypt would be an all place. I do not claim to have made a study of them, but I have had over the advantage of long talks with Egyptians and have a fair idea of what they have passed through. The outlook of the deeper, the everywhere the more, so much so that if you leave the general outline you could easily fill in the details. So now, I suppose it under the delusion that Egypt is enjoying over a condition of independence, but I was not prepared to hear that she is passing through such the same torment that our nation created under the heel of the foreigner may be doing.

The trouble in Egypt is that with an Egyptian King and an Egyptian Prime Minister, Egypt is an independent state today. In Egypt Pasha stated the situation known as the World War—Body of Egypt—condition of Egypt—of which the President was a Nuhur Pasha, who was formerly England's prime secretary and for a brief interval came minister. For the British Government could not break the independence of the World and were bound to King Fust and Nuhur Pasha, ready state. Nuhur Pasha, killed in his conference with the British Cabinet, Nuhur Pasha reported the Parliament and made Nuhur Pasha virtual dictator. This resulted in a wholesale horror of his year's slavery and a general strike followed by what the Egyptian character as they "everyone." I had no means to feel the authority of the strike given to me, but I was told that when the men on the Midway Washington had done took and used "history on the World" they were fired upon by the soldiers. "Was the morning absolutely necessary?" I asked. They had no arms, and the fired I was interviewing, "but they had some pieces of law on the soldiers who killed 19 and wounded nearly a thousand. These wounded, which is hospital, were kept under heavy military guard and when discharged were converted

into soldiers' uniforms and used for political demonstration—consequence. The present assembly is a perfect body of Government members, and the administration is in the hands of Nuhur Pasha's men." "What about the press?" I asked and I heard practically the same thing as we are familiar with in India—perhaps much worse. "The Police are posted at our presses, the best good copy has to be shown in front and they suppress the news if they think it contains objectionable matter. All that is the result given issued by Tuzla Club every year of Nuhur Pasha's report." "What about the students?" asked about the general status of men?" I asked. "The students are all with us. The women under Mustafa Zaki's son is called the mother of the Egyptians, we also talk, and what is known as the students on the Liberal Party and which used to attack and destroy the World of also supporting the World. Mahmud Mahmud Pasha the president of the party was imprisoned during one of the demonstrations and he has since been a violent supporter of the World." Indeed among the many statements that were received at Port Said was one from Mahmud Mahmud Pasha and also from Mustafa Nuhur Pasha, the president of the women's Gooding Association. In spite of the strong press censorship, it may say that on two days before Egyptian papers—those of them with a daily circulation of 40 to 50 thousand—had special articles on Gooding, two named special members, and all represented the religious and sociological part to Gooding by Nuhur Pasha, Mahmud Naghib Pasha, Mahmud Mahmud Pasha and others.

No wonder Egypt is so important of the British police to us are, and all other visit Gooding to visit Egypt in his return, "wherever he the result of his journey to England" as Nuhur Pasha put it. Everyone asked for a message from Gooding at New York to say "Young man Egypt", and Gooding expressed, in answer of the message he gave, the best wishes for the great country, the said they were all of them here. "How can it would be if Egypt took up the attitude of servitude. To an English journalist who was here at Suez, he said in reply to a question: "I would heartily welcome the union of East and West provided it is not based on these terms."

Talks on Non-Resistance

By a curious coincidence the talks after the evening prayer have all been about non-resistance and the Egyptian leaders who dominated them at Suez had an opportunity of listening to the such discourse.

"Consequently so non-resistance we are sitting again, naturally towards one another in daily life", said Gooding's son coming and non-resistance asserted that "all well connected men are based on the law of non-resistance." I have found that the positive in the matter of non-resistance and therefore there must be a higher law than that of domination. Only when that law would a well defined society be intelligible and life worth living. And if that is the law of life, we have to work it out in daily life. Whenever there are just, whenever you are confronted with an opponent compare him with him—in his noble manner I have noticed it was in my life. That does not mean that all my difficulties are solved. Only I have found that this law of love has answered in the law of the stripes, but never done.



The Congress Rejoinder

The second instalment of Congress rejoinder to Government replies to Gandhi's charge about is given below.

Vallabhbhai Patel
President, Indian National Congress

Bombay SCHEDULE A

Copy of Mr. Motilal Gandhi

Copy of Local Government

I. Following general picketing by non-sitting sale of liquor in numerous places and unlicensed hotels. Numerous instances in Ahmedabad and Anandkheda (Baroda) and Rajapur District. Bombay Government have defended these acts as a matter which will lead to the liquor. According to picketing by liquor sales confined to.

1. So far as is known, picketing in the houses and places of sale of country liquor is now allowed only in Ahmedabad only for the reason that picketing is there organized purely by liquor sellers and politicians and the reason of contention is to force them to their houses and having overhauled their plans of employment return their demand. The liquor sales make an error of its policy in this matter and alleges that its members are at liberty to refuse to work elsewhere of non-liquor sales. The number of non-sitting places allowed in Ahmedabad is not under restriction and the Collector has been informed that a notice to general conditions should be effected at once as possible, but this will not be possible as long as local picketers' methods include measures to secure dismissal of individuals who are denied in the act of procuring drink. The allegation that members are picketing by liquor sales are confined as much as have been unless instances are given.

Paragraph 1.—The words "picketing in the houses and places of sale of country liquor" are most misleading when we consider that in the city of Ahmedabad where regular illicit sale of liquor was going on at 22 places, the action and picketing of which have been prohibited by the Towns Labour Union, Ahmedabad. The Government of Bombay, in the course of their correspondence with Mr. Motilal Gandhi on this subject, after first saying that "no unlicensed or unlicensed sales are taking place in Ahmedabad" proceed to give place a three months by stating that "the only change compared with the normal system of sale which has been introduced in order to moderate the consumption. In contrast of the picketing of liquor shops, has been that in the course of the ordinary process of Government, Collection have been given license to return the restrictions regarding house and places of sale." This means that the Collector has to be guided by no legal restrictions or regulations that the public must face, and that the sale of liquor is to be governed by no law save the will of the Collector. If, while liquor picketing is restricted as legitimate under the terms of the Settlement, the Government should be questioned as by every method legal or otherwise and at the same time contend that such action is within the ordinary powers of Government and consequently within the discretion of Collectors and therefore, not in contravention of the Settlement, then holding that Government may do or may not do need be deemed to be in contravention of it.

As to the practice of the Labour Union of Ahmedabad to arrest the names and addresses of each of its members as frequent the liquor shops, it takes a part of the Union's liquor picketing campaign, started by the Union long before the Civil Disobedience movement was inaugurated, and has been in full operation ever since. If the Union required that its membership should be restricted to total abstinence, it had a perfect right to do so both under previous law and the Datta Settlement and its methods can in no way be regarded as objectionable in terms of the Settlement. It is something that the Government should want to prohibit a claim by mixed groups to give up their right to refuse to work elsewhere and who are dependent,

It is also significant that in no case has it been alleged, even by Government, that at any of these places a picketer has, in the course of his duty, exceeded the limits prescribed under clause 2 of the Settlement nor has any one of them been ever presented for an offence of violence, obstruction, intimidation etc., in any of these places.

It is also significant that in no case has it been alleged, even by Government, that at any of these places a picketer has, in the course of his duty, exceeded the limits prescribed under clause 2 of the Settlement nor has any one of them been ever presented for an offence of violence, obstruction, intimidation etc., in any of these places.

It is thus evident that Government, in effect, object to and resent picketing as such, where it is successful however unobjectionable its nature may be in view of the terms of the Settlement. The object of Government cannot but be held as a clear breach of the Settlement.

As regards assaults on picketed picketers, the instances are too numerous to quote. In Ambedkar Road, in the neighbourhood of Khairat Police Chowki where Khan Dastur liquor shop is situated and where picketing is conducted by the Labour Union, the picketers have been beaten, frequently under the very nose of the police. These instances have been reported to Major Sawarkar the District Magistrate by the Labour Union, copies of which are regularly supplied to local officials and the police.

Daily assaults on strictly peaceful picketers by a liquor seller in Margashikha Road were continued at the several, then numberless of Congress meetings strongly representing the facts to the police and local officials, the press publishing the incidents and asking Government to intervene and the citizens leading public meetings of protest.

Complaint of Khairat Road

1. Several prosecutions going on in Surat District. Where private parties have rather early withdrawn complaints, they have been urged on by the Superintendent of Police to press the complaints.

Reply of Local Government

2. It is true that there have been in this District both cognisable cases initiated by the police and non-cognisable cases initiated by private complaints. As regards cognisable cases, notice has been taken in the case of drunken or badly drugged constables resulting in murder and in cases of theft of crops. As regards complaints by private parties, a considerable number has been initiated from time to time in cases of intimidation of, and extortion from persons who have paid their land revenue, local points and other similar persons. We must say however to the Local Government to which complaints have been initiated by police officers not to withdraw these complaints when they were willing to do so, but local officers have been told to encourage aggrieved persons to complain in obvious cases of persuasion and intimidation.

September—3. The complaint to the District Magistrate is not in regard to matter of drunken or badly drugged constables or to cases of theft but has reference to cases where no violence is involved. Similar cases had all been withdrawn to Khan Dastur under orders from the District Magistrate. But in Surat District although the complainants themselves presented petitions for withdrawal they have, under threats by Police Officers, been made to withdraw their own withdrawals. There have been instances in which withdrawals petitions have been repeatedly produced by complainants but they have on all occasions been either permitted or removed in pursuance with their complaints. In one case the complainant went to the benefit of going to Surat all the way from his village in Valad Taluk and presented his petition of withdrawal to the District Magistrate. And yet the District Magistrate ordered the petition to the same Police Officer who was responsible for not allowing the withdrawal in that very case. The case is still pending at the police office with a request against the withdrawal.

It will be noted that the Government reply admits that the "Local Officials have been told to encourage aggrieved persons to complain in obvious cases of persuasion and intimidation." As generally happens, the official manner of talking or discussing about such matter has resulted in a large number of false proceedings being filed to harass innocent people.

Complaint of Khairat Road

1. But two cases—those of H. D. Bapat and Bhatani Daryawan—were specifically referred to the Bombay Government. The Bombay Government on reply sent copies of speeches made by Bhatani which in no way can be said to indicate violence. Bhatani Daryawan's brother of very high is partnership is described as violence.

Reply of Local Government

1. Bhatani Daryawan was convicted of deliberately burning the tenant's crop, in order that the revenue due to Government should not be paid. The land was burnt in the month of a hard storm of the crop. The fact that the accused was a potential owner of a cultivated half share did not entitle him to burn the whole crop and the destruction of his tenant's property can only be regarded as an act of violence which precluded him from the benefit of the amnesty. The case of H. D. Bhatani is under further consideration.

Speaker—3 The facts about the latter case are that the land admittedly belonged to Katsagi Deyanem who was the owner of the land. The tenant was a co-tenant in the crop field and was to receive half of it. The crop was set fire to and destroyed by the owner Katsagi, it is admitted, and to deprive or rob the tenant of what was his legitimate due but to deprive the Government of their revenues which is a second circumstance he willingly paid but on this occasion he declined to pay having become a civil resister. Katsagi has alleged that his tenant had already received a portion of the crop and that he himself what was only a part of his own share. The value of the crop destroyed was Rs. 31 according to the proceedings itself, and the total loss caused by Katsagi by his tenant, the complainant, would, at the most, amount to Rs. 17/6. For this offence, in addition to 4 months rigorous imprisonment, Katsagi was fined Rs. 100. It is clear that Katsagi had no criminal intention but he is alleged to have burnt the crops to avoid payment of Government revenue on a civil resister only. It was at best a case for non-payment to the complainant to the extent of the soil damage for which the complainant could have filed a civil suit against Katsagi.

In a letter to Government on the subject, Girdleiff wrote: "I have now created the judgment and evidence in this case. There is certainly no violence as contemplated in CL 13 of the Statute. It is also manifestly incorrect to say that the accused burnt his tenant's crop. The accused burnt his own crop which he owned jointly with the complainant Deyanem Jagu. If the complainant suffered any damage it was upon his loss, as it is now seen, by being a civil suit against the accused. But within, in the evidence itself and the failure of the police submitted by the Government, the crop was burnt in order to prevent officials from collecting revenue from taking the crop there was no question of intending to damage the parties."

Girdleiff also pointed out "the inconsistency of Government in releasing the co-accused Bhaskid who had no ownership in the crop and keeping Bhagat Deyanem who was admittedly joint-owner of the crop."

The Government of Bombay, in reply, contended that Bhaskid was only the potential owner of a still unharvested field share. On the fact that the tenant had received a share of the crop, given to Katsagi every right to deal with a portion of the soil as his own. With regard to the release of his co-accused, Government stated: "Deyanem have also been made regarding the release of Bhaskid whom you describe as a co-accused in the same case. It is now found that he was accused of abetment of the offence and that since Katsagi was then absconding he was tried and convicted separately. His release appears to have been recommended on the ground that he was not the principal offender and no sentence was clearly warranted, while escaped upon going to the very large number of prisoners who were then being released as rapidly as possible. I am to say, however, that the Government do not propose to re-arrest him at this stage."

It is however understood that the Collector recommended the release of both Bhaskid and Bhaskid and for them the decision of the latter's release being an oversight, the release of the former was wholly unexpected. Katsagi Deyanem has by this time covered up his full share of the substantive sentence.

The case of Mr. H. D. Rajah is said to be still "under further re-consideration." There has been long correspondence on the subject between Mahatma Gandhi and the Government. Careful review of the judgment and the evidence had to be changed and legal opinion was also taken and submitted to Government showing that Mr. Rajah's case does not involve any technical violation so as to justify his detention in jail even for a single day longer. And yet he has by now been served more than 6 months in jail since the Statute.

While going to the press we are informed that a reply has been received from Government to the effect that they have further reconsidered Mr. Rajah's case but that no jurisdiction to order his release.

The Government of India have examined the case and they agree with the Government of Bombay that it does not come within the scope of the Statute. They repeat therefore that they are not able to order any remission to the local Government in regard to it."

The Congress disagrees with the view of Government and repeats the detention of Mr. Rajah as unjust and in contravention of the Statute.

Statistics of Mahatma Gandhi

Reply of Lord Curzon

4. In Delhi in March, District and 3 cases people are being asked to pay fine for having used land for non-agricultural purposes viz., having school/camp during the campaign, camps which were destroyed by Government. They have been told that punishment would not be given unless the fines are paid. Full remission has been offered.

4. The Collector has now been instructed not to levy the penalty under the Land Revenue Code for non-agricultural use of land from agricultural to non-agricultural purposes in the cases mentioned, but to levy a non-agricultural assessment only.

Speaker—5. Although Government have ordered not to levy the penalty under the Land Revenue Code, the Congress contends that, in accordance with the spirit of the Statute, non-agricultural purposes the temporary use made to form the agitation camps and stands for temporary meetings that are now being changed or increased.

Complaint of Mahatma Gandhi

3. A boat at Kaira seized by the salt authorities and sold by auction of the Salt Collector long after the Transport act enacted, 1931 officers being compensated. Owners here not being asked to approach the postmaster and afford policy was refused.

Reply of Local Government.

3. The matter had in fact been settled, unknown to him, before Mr. Gandhi made the complaint. (taken over)

Response—3. The facts about that matter are briefly these. A boat was confiscated in May 1930 for carrying contraband salt. The boat used to be worth Rs. 200/- was sold by public auction for Rs. 10/- on 26th March 1931 i. e. three weeks after the conclusion of the Datta Settlement and also after "Government orders regarding the redemption of the confiscated property were received." The boat was handed over to the postmaster on the above date. Mahatma Gandhi complained about the matter to the Collector of Kaira towards the end of May or beginning of June 1931. On 26th June, the Collector of Salt Revenue, Bombay, wrote to Mahatma Gandhi requesting that if the postmaster was willing to release the boat to the largest owner, the Department would consider the question of refunding the amount of the auction money to the postmaster but that the owner must make his own arrangements to come to terms with the postmaster. Mahatma Gandhi replied on 15th June, stating that it would be reasonable for him to get hold of the postmaster and induce him to pay with the boat and claimed that as the sale of the boat, being subsequent to the Settlement, was clearly in breach of it the only proper course was to pay the greater market price of the boat. The Collector of Salt Revenue wrote on 16th July, rejecting the suggestion made by him in his earlier letter. Mahatma Gandhi placed the matter before the Home Secretary of the Government of India on 16th July 1931 and on 16th August the Collector of Salt Revenue informed Mahatma Gandhi that the postmaster had been persuaded to hand over the boat back to the largest owner on Government paying him the auction amount but that the boat would be actually handed over to the owner by the postmaster after Diwanji's holdings i. e. the third week of October 1931, and that the owner should be informed of the steps taken in the matter. The owner of the boat will thus receive without any means of livelihood for full seven months. In spite of the above fact, the Government reply to the complaint lodged by Mahatma Gandhi about this matter conforming is that "this matter had in fact been settled, unknown to him, before Mr. Gandhi made the complaint."

Complaint of Mahatma Gandhi

Reply of Local Government.

4. Narayana Press not yet returned

4. The delay in the return of the Press was not due to any doubts about the obligation of Government to return it, but about the question whether it should be returned at Bombay where it had been removed for sale during the salt distribution movement by the Local Government, or at Ahmedabad where it was seized. Government was advised that the terms of the Settlement would be fulfilled if it were returned at Bombay. It was in fact returned at Ahmedabad.

Response—4. The Government reply would seem to show as if they had gone out of their way to create a barrier on the return of the Narayana Press. The facts are that from 15th March to 14th August 1931 correspondence went on between Government and Mahatma Gandhi as to the redemption of the word "return" in the relevant clause of the settlement and, besides, whether the Narayana Press which had been confiscated at Ahmedabad and removed to Bombay by Government should be returned to its owner at Ahmedabad as they were to come and take delivery of it at Bombay. The Government of Bombay on 15th May decided to give delivery at Ahmedabad. Mahatma Gandhi then offered to state by any legal representative of the word which the Chief Justice of Bombay may give, but the offer was not accepted by the Government of India. They obtained the opinion of their own legal department which obviously resented the opinion of the Secretary, Legal Department. This opinion was communicated to Mahatma Gandhi. He, however, obtained the opinion of two Ex-Advocates General and a distinguished lawyer of Bombay who all definitely agreed that under the terms of the Settlement Government were bound to give delivery of the Press at the place from which it was seized, i. e. on the Narayana Press Presses at Ahmedabad. Even after receiving this opinion the Government of Bombay at the time of giving delivery of the press at Ahmedabad wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi on the subject which discloses the uncertainty with which the Settlement is being worked. Thus runs the letter.

"I am directed to advise your attention to the Private Secretary, to His Excellency's letter of the 14th July on the subject of the return of Narayana Press in which you were advised that the Government of Bombay proposed to refer the whole case to the Government of India and would willingly abide by their decision on the question of re-transporting it to Ahmedabad."

"In the meantime the Government of Bombay have sent the opinion of the Legal Department of the Government of India, a copy of which was sent to you with Mr. Bhandarkar's letter of the 16th/15th June. This opinion, as you are aware, was to the effect that one could not claim delivery of the press at a particular place."

"While the Government of Bombay have thus been confirmed in their desire to give possession of the press at the place where it now is fully supplies with the issue of the Settlement and that in consequence it would not be proper to change the location of the Press in the two papers, they are now in a position to close the controversy in a manner requiring no consideration of principle on either side, sufficient private funds having been placed at their disposal for the express purpose of paying all the charges which will be incurred in delivering the press and its accessories in the office of the Government newspaper. They are therefore issuing herewith accordingly and they repeat that they in no way will be bound in any or more representation at the time of the delivery of the press."

The letter bears the date of 23rd July. The delivery of the press was given to Akabulbhai on the 14th August and in spite of the best intention of the letter the letter was delivered to the Manager of the News three days after i. e. 16th August. It could reach Gandhiji's hands in Bombay only on the 19th. The failure of Government in carrying out the Settlement in such an efficient manner as the state of the Government press would fall far behind daily involved in much inconvenience and expenditure to Mahatma Gandhi in getting his three weeklies and other publications properly placed during that period.

Summary of Mahatma Gandhi

7. Written and paper funds in Bombay are not retained except as to understand and in this part is my latest movement.

Reply of Local Government

7. The funds referred to are held under bonds and an express confidence of loyalty contained in the bonds, and do not come within the scope of the Settlement. The Government are prepared to consider the restoration of forfeited land if they had provided the persons concerned equity to first effect, express intent, and undertake that they conduct in future will be satisfactory. Lands held on an express condition of loyalty and forfeited for disloyalty cannot be restored unless the holders restore their sense of loyalty.

Response—8. It is not the Congress view that restoration of Written and paper funds do not come within the scope of the Settlement. This is a question of interpretation. Lands forfeited owing to the participation of their holders in the Congress movement ought to be automatically restored.

Summary of Mahatma Gandhi

Reply of Local Government

8. Certain purchasers of lands whether in Bombay or elsewhere have been the original owners being descended from being so by the police authorities in the local district.

8. Government have no information that the police are desisting purchasers of forfeited lands from recovering them to the original owners. The Government issued by the local Government and are that Government officers should adopt as strictly neutral attitude and take no part in negotiations opened by or on behalf of former owners for the restoration of lands.

Response—9. The fact that Government had no information that the police are desisting purchasers of forfeited lands from recovering them to the original owners does not deprive the charge of the Congress that the police authorities have in fact done so. In several cases such purchasers have indeed acted, acting pressure from the police, after having agreed to return the lands purchased by them. In several cases the purchasers are still holding the land against their own will simply for fear of offending the police officials who had received the bargains.

Summary of Mahatma Gandhi

Reply of Local Government

9. Purbis and Mukhar who have been appointed for 3 years as "and further order" are being treated as permanently appointed.

9. Appointments "and further order" have only been confirmed when there was a definite promise made to the Purbis or Mukhar that he would be confirmed if his conduct was satisfactory. As regards appointments for 3 years there were no definite appointments made and were limited to 3 years as this was the period fixed by law for the appointments.

Mr. Gandhi remarks that such appointments should be regarded as temporary, the men appointed to them dismissed and the former appointments terminated under paragraph 10 of the Settlement. Apart from the fact that under this paragraph and it is to be considered as its intent, the principle underlying the paragraph is that the vested rights of third parties should not be disturbed. This principle obviously applies to provide the dismissed officers any service of an official who has been appointed for two years before that period expires.

Response—10. The words "and further order" in my appointment was probably have no other meaning than that the appointment is temporary and therefore, under the terms of the Settlement the old Purbis or Mukhar should have been provided satisfactorily.

Such as the question of appointments "for a period of 3 years" as also as appointments "and further order," Mahatma Gandhi has questioned the interpretation put by Government and Government have also refused to order the matter to an independent judge was in the estimated sense of interpreting the terms again (page), had been allowed to have the sole authority to interpret them.

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Reply of Lord Government

12 Among these several lives have shown to be satisfaction, the 2 activities came being those of the Mahdi of Rao and Patel Jethang of Vard. The Rao Mahdi has a reputation for possession of stolen property against him. During his reign, when the Taxes, destruction of houses and crops of trees and burning of villages belonging to non-Hindus has gone on. Jethang Patel has been charged with numerous acts of bribery, misappropriation, extortion and bookkeeping. He is reported to have a share in lands purchased by Barhar Gadh in Barhal and has collected money through the purchase of his village to serve as Gadh's look. He took part recently in a police raid on the people of Vard for recovery of money.

Reply—10. From the above circumstances, which had passed before Government and Mahatma Gandhi it appears that Gandhi has considered themselves as not being for establishing the benefits of Government regarding the absence of the Sarthman. But all now Government have successfully ended the issue. The Mahdi of Rao was admittedly holding a temporary appointment at the time of the Sarthman. His belongs to a Criminal tribe and has been convicted for being in possession of stolen property for which he suffered two months rigorous imprisonment only about a year before his appointment. The old Mahdi should under the terms of the Sarthman, have been reinstated in his post long ago. Now are the reply of Government is that the role of the Mahdi of Rao is "not under consideration". The fact is that the local officials are most anxious to remove the Sarthman even in such trivial cases, and Government have not been able to come into them.

In the other case of Patel Jethang of Vard, although the Collector wrote to Mahatma Gandhi, warning him that an open and impartial inquiry would be held in his case, inquiry was made but a long time, in spite of various objections against Jethang. The Mahatma, being impressed a very substantial portion of land revenue through the services of the old Patel, changed his attitude subsequently and ordered Jethang's services for restoring the people of Vard to order to recover the remaining small portion of the money. The very Mahatma is now reinstated with the inquiry against Jethang and the Congress is reported that all attempts are being made to further the role of force and that the inquiry is neither open nor impartial but a sort of collective affair between the police, the Revenue Office and Jethang which will inevitably result in the extermination of the whole thing.

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Reply of Lord Government

11 Several Taluk in Jethang and Kani are mentioned which all but one Barhal have been reinstated, one not being reinstated for having taken part in civil disobedience movement.

12. The number of taluk who have been reinstated in the Kani district is found to be 11. In 10 of these cases the posts had already been filled and in the remaining one the taluk was not reinstated because he had been classified for repeated misbehaviour. In the Sarat district the taluk who have not been reinstated are 1 in Orpat, 1 in Jethang and 1 in Chikhi. The situation in the district is that a number of posts of taluk are due for restoration in accordance with the recommendations of the Interim Committee of 1947-48 and these posts are gradually being classified as vacancies come. When therefore these taluk beyond the vacant posts become vacant, and, although it may be possible to absorb some of the original taluk in future vacancies, it is not now possible to institute appointments which have been classified owing to their irregularity.

Reply—11. It is a strange coincidence that the resignation of the taluk in Sarat district should have taken place just at the moment when Government was in great haste to carry out reorganisation of these taluk posts recommended some years ago by a Committee under other circumstances of which still await adoption.

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Reply of Lord Government

12. Two Deputy Collectors about whom there was an understanding between Lord Indra on the one hand and Mr Gandhi on the other that they should not ask to be reinstated but should apply for and be given places have applied unsuccessfully.

13. The understanding was that the Government of India should advise the local Government on their behalf and this was done. It was made clear that the matter was within the discretion of the local Government who were unable to do anything for the persons concerned as they had not moved a proper under the rules. These posts had been permanently filled.

September—12. It is surprising that the correspondence between Lord Irwin and Chaudhri should be dated. These two cases were disposed independently of the general question of reinstatement of officials who had resigned. Chaudhri was permitted to strengthen the claim for their reinstatement and accept instead an understanding that either they would receive pension at disability in lieu of pension, because the official plan to Lord Irwin was that it would be embarrassing for Provincial Governments to receive officials of high rank in their original position. The two gentlemen were fully entitled under the rules to a pension or a gratuity in lieu of pension, one of them being in the last year of his service. There was no question of their posts being permanently filled or not, as the claim for reinstatement, passed during the talks which led to the Settlement, was definitely given up in the assurance described above. The refusal to carry out the arrangement proposed in a frequent breach of the Settlement.

(Signature of Mahatma Gandhi)

Reply of Lord Government

11. Two more or independent medical departments applied to be reinstated. The Surgeon General had rejected their applications without showing any reason. (Dr. Sahas, who published a letter about prisoners at Jall, who was asked to apologise but did not and was therefore dismissed. Dr. Chaudhri who resigned his post in pursuance of the compact.)

12. Dr. Singh was employed temporarily in the Central Prison at Saharanpur (Almohadd)—His services were disposed with income of a letter he wrote in which he stated that he considered it a crime and sin to continue in Government service and that he had made up his mind to refuse to cooperate with the British Government whose very foundation is based on immoral principles. His application to be re-employed was rejected at the first instance, but on further consideration when have been stated that he should be re-employed as a temporary official in the most available capacity. Mr. Chaudhri requested "in view of the many sacrifices and acts of valour done by Government." His post was filled permanently at once and it was not therefore possible to get him back.

September—13. It is clear from the facts relating to the case of Dr. Singh that he is not a case of (honour). He had a good record of service. His only offence was that he was greatly shocked by the conditions and suffering of his fellow countrymen and sympathy in the nature of the last year's campaign and in a moment of emotion he expressed the indignation of his soul in a private letter to a friend. He ought to have been restored to his original post of justice and to be done to him.

Further details with regard to the case of Dr. Chaudhri are wanted.

(Signature of Mahatma Gandhi)

Reply of Lord Government

14. Person of 70 years old school master in Dhoos (Almohadd District) informed. (Name: Mahatma Mahatma Singh.)

15. Mahatma Mahatma Singh, a retired Schoolmaster, was promoted under section 115, I, P. C. and section 41 (10) (c) of the Salt Act and employed but released under section 20, Criminal Procedure Code. He was appointed Secretary of the Dhoos Taluk Board and his services as a volunteer continued until he was arrested and sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment under section 127, I, P. C. on the 15th July 1930. As his action amounted to gross misconduct within the meaning of the Civil Service Regulations Government decided, after giving him an opportunity to make such representation as he might wish, that his pension should be withheld, in view of the aggravated nature of the offence and of the fact that the maintenance of public peace is not a matter common within the terms of the Settlement. Government are unable to restore the pension.

September—24. The presiding of persons was shown sympathy with the Congress and participated in its activities is certainly inconsistent with the spirit of the Settlement, nor was the Congress spirit in the view taken by Government that participation in such activities constitutes "gross misconduct" justifying forfeiture of pension. In this particular case the forfeiture of the pension of a 70 years old school master appears unduly harsh.

(Signature of Mahatma Gandhi)

Reply of Lord Government

16. S. B. Jais (P. W. D.), temporary supervisor, Salt Commission, resigned in April 1930. He has been disqualified from getting Government service.

17. Mr. S. B. Jais, temporary supervisor, Salt Commission, resigned his appointment as the Lloyd Storage and Canal Commission in April 1930 with the stated object of joining in the civil disobedience movement. Government themselves stated that he should not be given any kind of Government employment in future. On reconsideration of his case in the light of clause 15 of the settlement, Government have decided to restore the fund, and any application which Mr. Jais may make for its restoration will be considered on its merits.

September—18. In case of Government having admitted the facts complained of and offering to give relief, no reply is necessary.

(Excerpt) of Minister's Speech

15. *Amalghat*—Eight girls and eleven boys of Amalghat excluded from all Government and aided schools for all time for having taken part in the civil disobedience movement.

Secretary—16. The Congress holds inconsistent with the Settlement. In view, school given and offered, no expenditure is necessary.

(Excerpt) of Minister's Speech

17. *Asahia* (Karnar District)—Four students who were excluded are still not being admitted. A boy's scholarship forfeited.

Secretary—17. The facts are not denied by Government. In the case of the Congress that the provisions of students by refusing their unconditional admission or becoming with the Settlement. There out of the four boys have been, since the complaint was made, been admitted but the non-admission of the scholarship of the fourth boy is in conflict with the spirit of the Settlement.

(Excerpt) of Minister's Speech

1. In Bardoli Rs. 24,70,000 out of Rs. 25,00,000 have been paid out of the current dues. It is claimed that Congress workers are responsible for these payments. When they began collections it is common knowledge that they told the peasants that they were to pay all they could both of the current dues and arrears. The Congress declared themselves to be hardly able to pay even the current dues. The collection, after harassment and even the refusal for some time to accept dues, accepted payments and gave receipts on account of current dues. Now it demands arrears or unpaid dues.

Reply of Local Government

16. No breach of the Settlement is involved since it contained no provision relating to the readmission of students. The names of 4 boys of the Amalghat Chikoladi High School, Amalghat, were struck off from the roll and 12 boys were excluded for the remainder of the term ending in October 1931 for conduct unbecoming in school discipline in connection with an attempt made by some of the students locally to hoist the Congress flag on the compound of the school. Substantly 8 girls were struck off the rolls of the Government Girls High School, at Amalghat, and 4 were excluded for the remainder of the academic year on the same ground in connection with an attempt to hoist over the school compound and hoist the Congress flag, resulting in an open fight between the demonstrators and the lady teachers. A notice was issued by the District Magistrate to Headmaster that some of the girls who were expelled or removed were to be admitted to any co-educational school. Orders have been issued to withdraw the children. It is not known if a similar notice was issued in the case of the boys, but enquiries are being made and, if so, it will be withdrawn.

Reply of Local Government

17. No breach of the Settlement is involved since it contained no provision relating to the readmission of students. Of the 4 pupils whose names were struck off the roll at Asahia, 3 who applied for admission have been re-admitted. The 4th has not yet applied. In April, May and June 1930 the boy Ramabhai Uma Naravade defied the provisions of the Salt Act and took part in a protest Satyagraha on the 15th August 1930 for which he was arrested, tried and convicted. He was therefore excluded from the school as inadmissible at the time when such that if discipline was to be maintained, it was necessary to take action of exclusion against it, particularly in the case of Government schools where conduct should be exemplary. At the request of his guardian, he was re-admitted in April 1931. The scholarship which was forfeited has not yet been restored because his conduct in connection with good conduct and, the boy having been re-admitted to the school as a result, it is considered that a longer period of probation is necessary.

SCHEDULE B

Reply of Local Government

1. It cannot be asserted that no demand arises or arrears run's down from those who plead inability to pay dues of land with the workers and the people, liability must be paid and not merely pleaded. The suggestion that non-payment arises there is that the same treatment as mentioned arrears this year has no force. Arrears arise only when the crops are abundant of which they are due, when whole or partial failure and the cultivation could not afford to pay their dues at the usual season. Government arrears in Bardoli were not because the crops failed but because the cultivators refused to pay their land revenue as part of the civil disobedience campaign. The question whether any particular individual was or should pay owing to losses of any kind is a matter for consideration in each case. In Bardoli there has only been one attachment of property in connection with

Complaint of Nidwara Council

from those who plant, mobility is a factor of 1975 with the workers and the people but for the workers are unemployed, it is estimated that if the unemployed workers are employed because of the fall in prices, at that time, the unemployed workers desire the same treatment with greater later, because the ones having been a few months later to addition to the town due to low prices suffered severe losses through migration. Their losses have been estimated and presented to the authorities. Nevertheless Congress workers have offered to maintain some support by the authorities. What they want is greater protection, land and display of the police who increased people's losses.

Respondent:—The Government of India have, since the reply was given, agreed to grant an enquiry in regard to the complaint and, therefore, no enquiry is left necessary.

Complaint of Nidwara Council

1 In Sind and Siddhagar (Karnah) the persons asked for relief owing to drought. There was no action whatsoever. The authorities were approached through Mr. Chitambar, a member of the Legislative Council. Relief was promised. Some was given. But now instead of being satisfied with using the services of the Congress workers, massive protests have been started. Arides of daily use, including cooking stoves, have been taken away.

Respondent:—2. The reply of the local Government quotes a verbatim account in a report sent by the Karnah Provincial Congress Committee to the All India Congress Committee. The report was sent in the month of June, that is, during the pendency of the Settlement. In whatever manner it might have come into possession of the Government, the contents have been true. From the content to prove the accuracy of what is made perfectly clear in the report. The Ardesi Taluka was selected by a political party campaign, whereas Sind, Siddhagar, and Nidwara were selected for an economic and not a political reason campaign. The report says:—"It was on December that the first move was made up that not whether a political campaign or a political issue could be started in any Taluka in Karnah. It was ultimately found that Ardesi which was the chief centre of the anti campaign should again be chosen as the main for political action campaign." The report proceeds further and states: "The above named three talukas (Sind, Siddhagar and Nidwara) took up the action campaign not on political grounds but on grounds of hardship in day-to-day necessities of farmers of crops in the Siddhagar taluka and hill of prices in the Sind and Siddhagar talukas." That the campaign in the two talukas mentioned in the complaint was not a part of the All India Congress movement is further proved by the facts that (1) whereas the type in the Ardesi taluka, paid up that time wide instructions from the Congress immediately after the Settlement, this could not be done in Sind and Siddhagar owing to lack of the type to make payments (2) Taluka which happened in Ardesi (the type in the other two talukas approached the authorities and finally and through conferences and discussions with requests for compensation or a loan when the anti-indebtedness movement was at its height and it was only when the authorities failed to find out to all these requests that the need sought the help of the Congress. (3) The memorandum dated 16th April 1955, concerning the matter of Government in Sind and Siddhagar passed after Mr. R. K. Deshmukh's interview with the Commissioner, also contains evidence that the campaign was an economic one and a result of acute distress due to fall in prices. Government do not find the allegations contained in the complaint that certain persons have been elected and were articles of daily use, including cooking stoves, have been taken away. 120 storchers in Sind taluka with a population of about 10,000 and 20 storchers in Siddhagar taluka with a population of about 15,000 do not constitute a small quantity of campaign, when the effect on the farming community is considered.

Reply of Local Government

the realization of income. The local government Collector has had regard to distress cases, including in the circumstances that he has suspended land revenue collections in the extent of about Rs. 10,000 and granted remissions to a extent of about Rs. 1,000. Fights were not used directly in the collection of land revenue but they were taken only in a few villages where the revenue officers were afraid to take for the purpose of collecting land revenue without the support of the police in case of a disturbance. Their duties were confined to protecting the persons of the Revenue Officer or the principal revenue officer at the village, to granting a loan in case attachment proceedings were undertaken, and to come about to accompanying the talukdar village servants when need to call a detachment.

Reply of Local Government

3 The opening report of the Karnah Provincial Congress Committee to District in the Secretary of All India Congress Committee on the anti campaign is as follows:—"It was in December that the first move was made? It did not whether a political campaign or political issue could be started in any Taluka in Karnah." That is a clear admission that the agitation there was political in its target. The assessment of land revenue payable in Sind was Rs. 1,000 and in Siddhagar Rs. 1,000 and the quantity of some permanent collection of public assessment will not be considered. The two remaining questions concerning only the land revenue. One is that in Sind there were 120 storchers of taxable property but only 2 take the affected property being retained in the remaining 118 cases. The number of fullness of tax lands was 14, of public lands 2, and of mixed tax and public lands 9. In Siddhagar there were 211 storchers, of which only have been affected 10 cases, and affected property retained in remaining 201 cases. In 9 cases the lands have been forfeited and in 2 cases public lands.

Bengal

SCHEDULE A

Complaint of Violation of Rights

Personal petition was allowed granted at Pabna near Calcutta.

Reply of Local Government

No definite information available. Inquiry was conducted. Apparently 3 or 4 months ago some volunteers (Sahaj) a Sub-Inspector of Police at Pabna had to resign. There was no arrest and no complaint has been made to local authorities.

The complaint was that personal petition was wrongly awarded at Pabna near Calcutta. Government state that they have "no definite information." They, however, state that some volunteers headed a "Sub-Inspector of Police at Pabna" and to "resign" but they say that there was any arrest and granted that no complaint has been made to local authorities. Government leave that it is very rare that Sub-Inspector takes complaint before officials. The issue of this incident are that on 10th June 1951, four volunteers were going to Pabna where on the way the police arrested them, threw them on the ground, pushed one of them into a canal, and later introduced into visible jail that said he wished to talk from their camp. The volunteers did not want the Sub-Inspector but on the morning the latter deliberately arrested the volunteers.

SCHEDULE B

Complaint of Violation of Rights

1. Workers doing general constructive work have been arrested at Calcutta.

Reply of Local Government

1. The officers of the Central Congress Committee feel the local officers were backing the Trade by arresting Congress Workers have been proved to be ordinary lawbreakers as the case against every accused of punishable offence.

Remarks—1. Detailed information called for is wanted.

Bihar and Orissa

SCHEDULE A

Complaint of Violation of Rights

1. Violation and persecution of personal petition of Indian troops.

Reply of Local Government

1. It is difficult to deal with a vague charge of this kind. Prosecution have been accepted in cases where complaints have been filed and where there is prima facie evidence of a criminal offence having been committed. There is reason to believe that prosecutions have been started against personal petitioners who have not infringed the law and if there are any such cases, details should be given.

Remarks—1. Detailed information called for is wanted.

Complaint of Violation of Rights

2. Trade union was to show 12 (out of 12) 500000 though the union study will show 1000000. Local Government has refused to allow. Gov. made a law awarded leave 1000000. By the State High Court in 1949 Indians would mean to take order 1.

Reply of Local Government

2. This is a case of a matter in which the Executive Government has intervened. In 1949 the High Court passed for the intervention of the local Government that in view of the compact between the Government and the Court. Party the Court had decided in the proceedings under the Local Finance Act that against local government who were accused for offence in connection with the Civil Disobedience movement. At the same time the Court directed District Judges to call on their legal practitioners who had applied for a warrant of their certificate to sign an undertaking as a condition precedent to the removal of the certificate and to report to the High Court if any of them refused to do so. The undertaking is to the effect that the plaintiff or defendant will not in future engage in political or other activities subversive of Government as established by law but will confine himself to constitutional methods of expressing his political or other opinions. It is understood that the legality of this provision has now been challenged on the High Court and that a motion has been allowed on which the High Court will pass orders.

Remarks—2. The High Court was moved by some of the lawyers concerned to set aside the order against the Government as being illegal. The High Court, without dividing the question of legality of the provision which was moved before them, refused proceedings against the lawyers concerned under Order 14 of 1949, thus appears to give high scope that was desired, as stated by Government, "to take power out of the legal field" and to make legal practitioners who are not in a position to communicate with the Government "movement." As a matter of fact proceedings were ordered the orders to be issued in view of the fact that the Government was in a position to set aside the order as being illegal. From these proceedings it was clear that there were many lawyers who did not move the High Court as they wished upon their view to the Court and thought that their cases would be dealt with in a similar way. The judges have previously refused to give any ruling regarding all the cases and have applied their decision to

complaints were made. Each lawyer has therefore to apply and get an order for an agent for their particular case. There will come, however, when we shall no longer need suffering from hardship. The view of Babu Radha Chandra, friend of Harabhai, has been brought to the notice of the Congress. He is an M. A. of the Law University and was prepared to oppose in the D. L. examination last year when the Law Department commenced work. He was opposed and defeated in an earlier's examination but was released after an appeal to the law school. He was opposed at the law examination in January last which he passed in due course. When he applied for being admitted as a pleader, he was opposed by some of the same students who were opposing students were expected to stop and on his refusal to do so the High Court has ordered in such cases to a pleader then, depriving him of his right to begin practice at the Bar as a pleader applicant. That is inconsistent with the Settlement.

Copy of Mahatma Gandhi

Copy of Lord Government

3. An order in this regard under Ordinance IX has not as yet been received

3. The Address at Bikaner, Bikaner District, was not read under Ordinance IX having before the Ordinance was introduced Government was advised that the nature and purposes of the Address were lawful as the same would thereby constituted an official assembly. Subsequently they made steps to suppress their assembly by obtaining a ban, which they were advised was valid, from the District, after he had given notice to the respective bodies. Since then they have gradually been still in operation. It would not be fair to the Government in the future to consider the property as a third party. If the Congress wish to change in the hands of Government's examination in this matter, they should get the matter decided in a civil court. This matter was suggested in Congress by the local Government.

Reference—1. The Bihar Provincial Congress Committee reports as follows:—"The facts are that the Bihar Address, which is the same given to the provinces designed partly by the local Congress and partly by the District. Since then it has proceeded on payment of cost. On the 11th of May 1930 it was lawfully occupied by the Government through the Police Officers, the arrested leaders and finally turned out and returned to the District in the District in the said. Subsequently was started from 1st June 1930. Five volunteers used to go with flags in hand to various positions and were severely beaten by the Police and sometimes arrested. Large crowds used to collect to see what was going to happen in the volunteers and were charged with Lathi by the police. Subsequently went on without break from 1st June 1930 to the time when the Delhi Conference was held. After Government had taken lawful possession the Congress Committee, then, in the name of one of its members, took a vote dated on 12th July 1930 on payment of contribution in respect of the building and material funds from those persons who were the proprietors for themselves and the members of some other members of their family. The deed was duly executed by one of the members but the deed was abandoned and no proceedings being taken the necessary registration under the Registration Act it was executed by the voluntary party also. On 12th July 1930 when the vote dated had been entered by all the members and executed by one of them, the Police entered the assembly grounds to give them a hint of the presence in the fact and gave them a hint from 12th May 1930. The Police alleged it to have been the fact and the vote dated in respect of the present as it was not a vote dated in respect of a vote. After the Delhi Conference Government was asked to give them a hint but they refused saying that they had a hint and then if we had a hint we should give them. The matter was represented more than once by the Congress. Present he knew and at intervals. Congress Committee wrote several letters which were communicated to him or then later dated 12th August 1930 (1931) and decided to surrender the Bihar Address on the 12th August 1930 and not to prove the law. The Police who had been occupying it accordingly retired from the Address on or about the 12th August 1930 and the Congress has taken possession. It may be noted that the Address was surrendered by Government after the expiry of three hours. Then original lawful possession was wholly illegal as Ordinance IX which sanctioned such occupation was not then in existence and there was no law under which that action could be taken. These continued occupation when the Delhi Conference all these occurred have exposed were equally objectionable as, then, the vote was at the last of a single document which could not stand scrutiny by an impartial tribunal. We, however, have not yet had the Address."

Annex SCHEDULE A

Copy of Mahatma Gandhi

Copy of Lord Government

1. Certain College students (Gandhi) who had passed examination as private candidates without making any undertaking under the Government's order 1, are being asked to furnish security of Rs. 10 required from those concerned of political offences, and undertakings were required from the rest.

1. The breach of the Settlement is involved since it contained no provision relating to the maintenance of students.

The action complained of was taken by the Government Body of the College College, Gandhinagar. The demand for and maintenance of the students with the rules and orders of the Department and was considered necessary for the maintenance of discipline. Only 10 boys, both of whom had been leading part in political disturbances, were required to furnish security.

Reference—1. During the Civil disobedience movement, the Assam Government issued a circular order which undertakings were to be taken from school boys that they would not take part in political activities.

Some boys being unwilling to give such an undertaking voluntarily from the school, and their college refused any undertaking given under the condition not associated any benefit of continuing with the school being no longer their students. The Government gave them special permission to continue in the intermediate examination to provide students. When, after the examination was opened, all students or college students in the Grace College, Gwalior, were boycotted by the Principal and a demand for an undertaking of the college students, and in the case of those who were interested in political education a notice of Rs 50/- was demanded. The result has been that several students have had to leave the college and seek education elsewhere. It is pointed out in the Commission that it is not a fact that only one boy was required to furnish security. The policy of success who participated in the anti-disobedience movement by refusing to furnish their receipt as giving an undertaking is inconsistent with the spirit underlying the Settlement.

SCHEDULE B

Boys of Local Government

1. Prabhu Puri boys were arrested at Indore on the 15th June, under colour of Police Report dated Durgay.

Remarks—1. The boys fully are that on the eve of the Ameer Political Conference Prabhu Puri, consisting of boys were expected to participate in the conference. There was an intention to provide city arms. It is reported that the Superintendent of police himself assembled some of the boys. There is every evidence to show that the boys were arrested. That the real intention of the attack on the Prabhu Puri was to reach the 'top of the people' is clear from the fact that when the young boys returned to Indore on the 15th June, they were arrested. The Police Division had the effect of the boys would not be broken they gave a card signed the Prabhu Puri to pass arrested.

Boys of Indian Council

2. Dr. H. K. Das was asked to show cause why his presence should not be for cause for having supported a Congress resolution at Kanpur.

Boys of Local Government

2. Indore is the National school in the jurisdiction of the Government of Madras. The reason for action against Dr. Das is not correct, that he supported a Congress resolution, but because, as a Government servant, he engaged in undesirable political activities during 1930 in spite of warnings and his making an objectionable speech in April 1931 on the occasion of which he glorified Hinduism and was disrespectful to a number which would only be regarded as a glorification of Hinduism.

Remarks—2. The intention of the Commission during the last campaign is to encourage with the spirit of the Settlement. If Dr. Das had given the Settlement, by speech or by some other means, the proper course for Government was to not make the law and not to punish him and his children by forbidding his presence.

Delhi

Boys of Indian Council

1. Undesirable was to take part in any future campaign as being demanded from students attending education.

Boys of Local Government

1. No branch of the Settlement is involved even if a campaign is proposed relating to the maintenance of students. In spite of this, the order issued by the Chief Commissioner in April 1931 for the withdrawal of students concerned and continued for participation in anti-Government agencies or expelled from their schools for this offence, were maintained. No case in which these orders have not been observed have come to the notice of the local authorities, and the Chief Commissioner's intention to look into any such cases as are reported to him.

Remarks—1. The demand for an undertaking before entrance was inconsistent with the Settlement. It was known at the time given by Government as regular or necessary.

Ajmer-Merwara

Boys of Indian Council

Dr. Chandan Gupta, a teacher in D. A. V. School, Ajmer, Chikamalai, teacher, Government College, Ajmer, Dandekar Das, Agency student, Government College, Ajmer and Dandekar, M. A. Headmaster, Government School, Bikaner, have been detained from any service under Government or school school. This has been done for their participation in anti-Government activities.

Boys of Local Government

As the teachers in question were dismissed their cases do not fall within the scope of the Settlement.

Remarks—1. On the first ground named in the complaint, viz. it is a student to whom case the Government apply under no reference. The student Dandekar Das was expelled for taking part in protesting. The other three cases relate to teachers. Government claim that as they were dismissed their cases do not fall within the scope of the Settlement. But no grounds of their requirements has been given. The complaint is that in June 1932 a teacher was asked by Government to deliver these teachers for being engaged in any Government or school school. The Commission of this has no connection with the Settlement and appears definitely irrelevant.

As regards the student, the spirit of the Settlement requires that as soon as a case arises, he should be admitted without any undertaking.



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Young India

A Weekly Journal

Edited by M. K. Gandhi

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London Letter

No Progress

Since I wrote last week there has been no progress in the matter. It will be remembered that Gandhi today, at the Federal Structure Committee on the 17th September, a "gentle, humble complaint" against the Ministry's advisers. "He had appealed to them, through Lord Bledsoe, to let the Indian delegation know their mind, and rather than come to inflammatory discussions on details which certainly could be settled later on, by Indians themselves, to place all their cards on the table and to get forward concrete proposals that the same Indian process continue. They have been going round and round without ever making an attempt to get near the issue. As for Gandhi, he has already placed the Congress process before the Committee, and explained the implications of the Congress manifesto. Rather than expect him to offer remarks on details in the future of that Manifesto, they should come forward with their own view about the Manifesto and if they are wrong they should have a private Committee.

But the British make a clerical in her own position, denying and sleeping politicians are after another, whilst in India the representatives of His Majesty's Government would what Gandhi characterized as "the uttering and reprehensible aspects of the Government." The Secretary of State calls attention to the efforts of the National Government towards establishing confidence in British Finance and British Currency whilst on other a long road here or in India to restore Indian confidence in the British Government.

Look from how deliberately Lord Bledsoe's chief, but he should come spontaneously to indicate in Indian affairs, but Gandhi is having an important meeting with him today of his home and I should not be surprised if important developments take place very soon next week.

What India Wants

In the meantime Gandhi is watching almost every move at his disposal to place before the British public the case for India. In an article in the "Daily Mail" he implores to the reader what he described as his "principal" viz. The Indian National Congress and explained "reasonably the Indian demand of a

* This article is published elsewhere in this issue.

special meeting of the Indian M.P.'s in the House of Commons he condemned the government's policy and the historical psychology of even advanced Britishers who were systematically being taught false history. He described them as the "vults of the earth" as you represent the poorest economic laboratory" but he said he could not discriminate between them and the other parties, so far as the Indian question was concerned. "I have got to treat them all equally," but before the representatives of the working man he placed the poverty aspect of the question at great length. "I want to dilute your mind of the notion that the masses of India are concerned of just Britannia. The truth is that they are anxious to throw off the British yoke simply because they do not want to starve. And what else can happen when a weak more prosperous country like your poor France has lost not less than 20 times the average income per capita income, whereas in India the average income is about 1/100th of the average income of a Frenchman. And if the average income is so low you can understand that the actual masses in a vast number of cases want to die." The Army question was also discussed, but it concluded nothing like the structure that the poverty question did. The Indian M.P.'s were of the while thinking of their own unemployed, and that question caused caused the problem of Lancelotti's chief. "Tell me," said Gandhi in a tone full of pathos, "in India mostly bound to purchase Lancashire cloth whilst the one produce her own? Does not Lancashire was now anxious to have her own prepared on the rug of India? They had an reply "that if you don't buy our cloth we won't buy your tea or your cotton," and one of the M.P.'s in the place (one Bamber's name) "No, certainly not," said Gandhi. "It is entirely a matter of choice. We don't want to lose our tea or your cotton."

The meeting with the members of the House of Commons was brief and for there instead of making an appeal, he made not a strong case for the independence of India dealing at length with the "independence" and the "autonomy" "coloured a central over" of India and national affairs. It is an independence that we would get, it would not be some a mild form of self-government. It will be a more basic and work meeting. He repeated the famous hope and asserted that having reached economic stability and happiness in the past we were capable of doing so in the future,

and to assure that we are common people and they are not but made them all noblemen, princes. I will do it well. I wish them all prosperity and I also pray that their prosperity and their welfare may be valued for the advancement of their own dear people, their own subjects. Dressed thus I will not go. I cannot go. I can only make an appeal to them. It is up to them, as we have, either to come (like the Palanquin) or not to come here. It is up to us to make it easy for them to come into the Palanquin. It is up to them to make it easy for us to welcome them with open arms."

Where, I ask, is the coward? Gandhi has made no secret of the symbolism involved: that he expects from every person joining the Palanquin, and has given his word to the friends from the various States that he will have nothing but. The speech was an appeal to the process to play up and to submit proposals to the Committee. Whence lies the coward? The question of cowardice can come only when the proposals are submitted to the Committee.

The part of the speech that has surprised friends here is Gandhi's acceptance of the principle of walking shaven. They hoped that part and parcel of his scheme was a single shaver and what shaver (with only a "diamond hair") which enables us "to walk off the reasonable appearance, not only of the Mussulman, but also of the accepted untouchability, of Christians, of laborers and all kinds of classes."

As regards the actual formation of the shavers, he said:

"We would have 500-600 men [village men]. Each will elect his own representatives and these representatives will be the shavers that would elect, if you will, representatives to the Central or Federal Congress."

I may say, for those giving the impression that Gandhi was making a compromise with the Tories, great representations were made that he was ruling the Congress leaders here to desert and that it was a little too much to expect the great Indian revolution to be modelled on the Congress organization.

His Signs

But I must leave them of it with the big people and come back to our friendly surroundings of the happy Old Friends here have accompanying with him against many of the place, to distant from the palace and roads. English friends have been both coming ready to offer their houses in the neighborhood of the famous Palace, but Gandhi is clear that he must not leave the house of the beautiful folk which has been his home for two years. He may have an office where he can receive and meet friends—and some Indian friends have placed their houses at his disposal for the purpose—but he cannot afford to enter the house in the East that who want him and feel him "good movement" when he is out for a walk are not to miss the little man who entered here and there an occasional cheer. In fact, a special meeting with these people was a thing to read enjoyed. He left on Thursday he was in the midst of the shivering of the storm, covering their ample but penetrating and passing lightning and spreading through their his moments of work and rest. "What is your business, Mr. Gandhi?" They ask, and Gandhi takes them through the serenity of serene words in English

and Indian vernacular and shows them that we are often all children of the same Father. He tells them stories of his childhood and explains how it is better for the rest to let him then to mean a blow for a blow. He tells them why he wears the coat of shaven to men and he also tells them why he wears shaven. "This, in me, is the real Round Table Conference work," he said one day. "I know that six friends who are gone are dear friends, I know there are friends who can generously spend money for me. But I feel happy as when London's shaven because I get here a taste of the life I am obliged to live. This has secured no extra expense for me—a thing my son can do—that also has put himself and his surroundings in considerable inconvenience and exposed some work on them for my sake. They have saved the money I am accepted and they sleep on the ground. They wish for themselves. I and my surroundings have added to their work when they have taken upon themselves charity. How dare I now speak from their surroundings?" An immediate yes, which Gandhi answers me seriously and sternly. And on the day the question of shaven in another house was being discussed, some were old, then, about women, with eyes full of his, just to shake hands with Gandhi. In the man entering the house in me and said, "Don't think of leaving this place. It is not Manu's place. Mother is a built for her mother, not for me. It is a memory of her mother who lived for as long as which Mr. Gandhi is an embodiment. It is just the place for him. This house close on 18, is Mrs. Lingam, the daughter of the mother of Mrs. Bhowani. Babul Dey and her late step is in shivering and saying that I must devote in whole to it as another man of young India."

A Million's Worth

The importance of this place can best be judged by the number of common people who get an opportunity of knowing him and meeting him here. It is three months that since he came to walk today, age along with men and women who whom he is a cheer-board and the highest still standing in shivering men a pitiful. I propose to stand here just one or two, with results. The day seemed to be an extraordinary day and every one of them who happened to get an opportunity had his own story to tell.

One friend, who works with Mrs. Latta and shows her to from morning and night, even shivering himself as Gandhi, came one day with a book in which he wanted Gandhi's autograph. "I purchased that book for a shilling, Mr. Gandhi. I was on the staff of the Daily Herald then, the book was intended for me, but it was regarded as too confidential to be presented and there among books to be disposed of, with the result that I got it for a shilling. I took it home, read it from cover to cover and immediately made use of it." "Introduced you to the people who gather together on the Kanyasulk and give a notice of inclusion on you. With that alone you feel acquaintance with you?"

Gandhi was apparently surprised. "Then it is you who introduced me to Manu?"

I shall not presume to say so. Perhaps she knew you before. But the other friends came to know fully about you from what I told them from the book. It remained up to me that I had thought myself but many (Continued on page 82)

Young India

The Financial Crisis

(By J. C. KENNEDY)

The so-called "Emergency Power" of the Viceroy was freely invoked last week to carry out the Governor and Exchange Police of the Government. What was the cause of this "emergency" and to what extent was it met in the National interest? The issue, which was settled last week in Europe by suspension of the obligation imposed in 1925 on the Bank of England to exchange gold for the Sterling note, is not of a moment's making. The workings of this system have been heard since 1914. To grasp the full significance of our position it is essential to have some knowledge of the British attitude to the two monetary systems have been directly related since 1925, and what affects the one has its repercussions on the other.

Since 1914, and especially during the period of the war, a great deal of the gold, which was held by Great Britain in back up the Commission of European Communities, found its way into the hands of American banks due to the enormous purchases of munitions and armaments by the European powers from the United States. American war is a commodity of world-wide nature and continuous buying of such materials in large quantities necessitated a flow of gold to America, as Europe was not then in a position to supply America with anything else in exchange. If a man bought fireworks continuously and sent them up in rockets, in course of time, all his money would have found its way into the pocket of the fireworks dealer and that is what has happened to the European gold stock. It is slowly drained into the hands of America as gold is regulated automatically by the level of prices. A large stock of gold in the United States would have sent up the price had there checked American exports but during the war the intelligent customer was not deterred by high prices nor could they find other suppliers and America turned to virtual monopoly to gold demand had now risen from 40 per cent of the world's stock of gold.

Great Britain, on the other hand, has long steadily losing ground as the financial or "bleeding" centre of the industrial world. (1) She has not controlled her external expenditure in accordance with her resources as it is possible for her to derive from the emergency during the war. She still spends about £100,000 a day on it, while her production in the United States may be stated to be about £100,000 a day. (2) The people have consumed their standard of living, and so they now consume 10-2 per cent of their production to replace 10-2 per cent in 1914. If her foreign trade had increased her income, her increased expenditure and larger consumption might have been met without export of her gold stock. But, unfortunately for her, even then she is losing ground steadily. In 1913, her export trade was 25-4 per cent of the world trade in manufactures with now it is only 19-5 per cent. Her total export last year has fallen by 44 per cent over last year and her export to India by 62 per cent. This is not merely due to the impoverishment of the rest of the world in general, and in particular, to the decreased purchasing power of her

best customers due to a fall in the buying power of primary products, but not a little to the high cost of production and consequent high selling price of her manufactures. Falling prices have also increased the cost of production as the wages have not fallen in proportion. Thus we have led to unemployment. To-day there are nearly 5 million people on the dole which again increases public expenditure. This large decrease in her exports is a very serious matter as Great Britain is not a self-sufficient country but depends on her imports for her food and raw materials. She has to pay for her imports by her exports and if there are not sufficient then she has to stop gold out of the country. Her balance of trade in 1930 was £185 millions while last year it fell to £16 millions. Shortfalls of this kind based on the London Money Market 40 per cent in 1913 was for manufactures while in 1931 it fell to 20 per cent.

Even last May when the Government of India issued a per cent limit of the £10 millions offered, only 34% of the sum was taken up by the public, the rest falling on the bankers who had in the past hoarded. These reflect the steady decline in her foreign credit and financial standing. Great Britain today is weak in the position of a merchant who has consumed his standard of living while his income is continuing. Although she has enormous accumulations of wealth, which she takes drastic steps to preserve the well she will have to be prepared to yield the leading role in international finance to America. The bank stated above shows clearly that the British is not a more temporary fluctuation but they signify a permanent down grade movement. Since July last, Great Britain has had to export about £200 millions in gold. Hence she has lost or expended to transport the obligation to exchange gold for notes. British India had borrowed short and have been looking long to Germany. Under such conditions and no wonder that foreign financiers have been insisting on a reimbursement of Great Britain's expenditures before they would be prepared to lend. This fell in the lap of the Labour Government and the formation of a "National Government".

Then being so, what is the interest of India? Can we afford to be linked on to Sterling divorced from Gold? An independent India will have to have an independent currency. At least, gold had with her currency had an inflexible, though narrow, connection with gold backing through the liability of the Government of India to supply sterling which could be converted into gold. Even this narrow connection is now cut off by Government transfer of the same would continue as first date as he is able to for purchasing power of the country's monetary unit. Money in the past five months or so Government of India have based its currency on the Government of the value of about 25 rupees. In India, we have now a unit which has no stability of its own and which is in no way anchored to a foreign standard from outside standard. India is a dollar country. The fall in prices has meant decrease in gold bought followed by deflation which has increased the burden of debt incurred previously. Thus, our own millions are called upon to bear further financial burdens. Will any the Congress leaders in the Assembly all Parliamentary rights etc. right to regulate currency and exchange in the national interest? India needs a currency of her own. She can no longer remain content to be exposed to the direct wind of our foreign.

How They Manage Things in Madras District

(By J. Venkatesh Nigam)

The District of Madras in the U. P., has given a measure of intensity to recent months and it has forced prominent members in the charge that against Government framed by Congress. The trace has been observed from by numerous records of Congress Members and by police work, so village and records of village and Congress Members. The emphasis is against the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs, mentioned in the charge sheet, were denied by the local Government. The judgments in appeal in recent cases show clearly that the Government's reply is wrong and the charges, in the work, correct. Governments conducted by the first Court have been supported in appeal. In English cases the Sessions Judge has told that the false-appears of Police, the Hindu and a minority collected in force false charges against the accused in the English judgment the Judge says:

"I cannot think my judgment without showing that it is to be expected that while the complainant and other Congressmen were holding a meeting some politicians, two of whom were Ghans and Yashu Lal, had rarely associated with Ghans Lal, most probably under the very name of the U. P. Congress (Ghans) of the police Station Manager. The order further enquiry in this case with regard to the money received by Ghans Lal, who is not a party to this complaint, may give rise to complications. The names of two of his associates but of four were not known and in these circumstances I think it that Ghans Lal may, if he likes, take legal proceedings against his associates."

But the most revealing document in the judgment of another judge in the Kanchipuram case. This case was made out to have arisen out of a supposed quarrel between Hindus and Muslims. Over seventy accused, including most of the prominent merchants in the largest town north of the district, were tried and the case lasted three months. The judge, perhaps unconsciously as the case was supposed to be a commercial case, was a Director. He has written a judgment running into 218 typed pages and has expounded all the accused. He has held that it was not a commercial affair at all and has described the attempt to do so in the Congress note as "I may state at the outset," he says, "that a prosecution case is watched so that it would be impossible to imagine." Previously innocent persons, who had shared an official paper having and had been seriously injured, he further says, was implicated "as a police officer as that had might not be granted as there and they might have been persecuted from having connections." About a police officer, he says, "it is disputed in the evidence in that a police officer in his capacity taking deliberate law." Referring to a Congress meeting where the police prevented from being held by false-appears methods, the judge says, "the authorities could have prevented the meeting if they so wanted and if it was attempted to be held in spite of this prohibition it could have been dispersed by a little charge. There was no need to go on by a large number." The police "did arrest every body whom they wanted to arrest and said that the witness was brought in say that they had all taken part in the riot."

The police officers stated in evidence that they kept a list of Congressmen and of other leaders of the Congress but the District Magistrate refused to produce this list on the ground that it was a confidential document.

Witnesses for the defence were threatened by the police and were actually "prevented" for alleged offences under Section 14 of the Police Act and other offences.

The Sessions Judge concludes by saying that a petty village which had been made into a criminal case, and which the police could have easily prevented, has cost the Public Treasury probably not less than half a lac of rupees, has wasted nearly a year of the valuable time of the Court, has kept a large number of perfectly innocent individuals, many of whom had themselves suffered severely at the hands of the Congress, in jail for nearly 12 months and has probably ruined many and also possibly the largest group involved in the district."

The Judge has further ordered the presentation of five witnesses for property.

These five extracts from an able and exhaustive judgment will give some idea of this extraordinary case, extraordinary not because such things are unusual, but because it is unique that they are the basis of a judgment of a court. This judgment itself is a national demonstration of the weakness of the Government and the police and a complete answer to the denials of Government of the charges made against them.

In the course of this judgment has not gone home and the district authorities still continue to follow the very tenets of their views. In spite of the great economic distress and in spite of the fact that the time for collection is long past serious petitions, representations and objections, submitted. Police has been repeatedly asked for those who have already been apprehended but instead of this police force processes are being issued. As late as August a large number of persons for arrest were issued and many were actually arrested. Names figures are not available but it is believed that about 15,000 persons for arrestment have been issued. The attachment orders have been cancelled before 1 before March to 15 now in service to cope with this additional work.

September followed August but the activities of the revenue officials only increased and became even fiercer. It is stated that on the 16th September a large number of revenue officials, including a Tahsildar, a Sub Tahsildar, Amils, Karamdas, and a host of peons went to the village of Marthand, 17 miles from Madras town, and up Jorawda, near by. The village officials and business were invited in and people were made to take up 'forced' practices—a practice which is open a temporary device with the police and revenue officials in the United Provinces. People were made to do without food and were old men were not, spent a long and hot day at their hands and feet, and, indeed, burned as their men were turned things was mentioned. The cattle, carts and other belongings of the houses were seized and sold on the spot in day before for any price that he was pleased to offer. The revenue then returned to three villages for four days.

On the 12th September when the Standing of the Federal Congress Committee visited the village of Jerehah for enquiry he found that all the residents numbering about 100, had appeared and looking themselves to the neighbouring states. The village was deserted and there was no one to be found there. It was only after it was known that it was occupied by some people but Congressmen who had come, that the terrified villagers came out and gave their statements. Some also, however, they went back to their hiding places but the words of the adverse press might be used upon them.

Such is the way they manage things in Malaya District.

An Old Chapter Recalled The Present Crisis

The present crisis in Louisiana strongly reminds one of another crisis that confronted her in the early middle of the last century. The crisis then the Louisiana slave revolution was then called upon to make war between abolition justice and an unbridled economic distress. The dilemma that faces her today is perhaps even greater. With millions of the white already closed to working about two and fifty percent of the working population engaged in the hidden corners of the trade unemployed, with thousands of working class families that had her own had a century been accustomed to a decent, respectable standard of living, down on the slaves but nevertheless, Louisiana is today called upon to solve the question of plantation, most of political control over lands, which she has long sought to believe would only mean a perpetuation of her present plight. No wonder that an English friend in which the moral opinions of his country's position is a matter of greater concern, was that its economic prosperity is linked to a measure of protection, in addition to the course of a characteristic misperception of his in England, it is not possible for one man and women under such conditions to take a balanced or interest, more of things as persons. It would therefore be not without interest to recall here the story of the earlier moral struggle, then Louisiana was called upon to face and the manner in which she accepted battle in that crisis.

The Earlier Strife

The battle of the early slaves, as it will become central toward the question of Negro slavery, introduced to Louisiana by Hachens and Drake and earlier into New York by the Dutch, a special battle rapidly expanded to each State as more suitable for the cultivation of the three profitable crops—sugar, coffee, rice and cotton. The movement in the North in favor of slavery was never very strong. The first Colonial legislation against slavery was passed by the Rhode Island as early as 1642. And Virginia, as soon as it was free from the dominion of the English Board of Trade which would not countenance the denaturalization of the slave trade passed a law "for the prohibition of the importation of slaves." Maryland followed suit in 1783, Virginia prohibiting further slave trade three years later. Georgia, before South, after the Union, prohibited the further introduction of slaves by constitutional provision while the Congress in expanding the North West territory that had been ceded by Virginia refused in the Ordinance a

provision that "every North Carolina settler at the said area north (1792) of the Ohio River. The Ordinance was, and by the unanimous opposition of the States on the subject of a more liberalized vote which was sent by a Southern man. The Southern States acted unanimously for it.

Slavery Declined in the South

Then was in 1797. Slavery had already declined in the North, the climate and soil of the North being unsuited for employment of slave labor. But, what it was required is that the greater collection that made Negro slavery profitable in the South, but when coming upon a stage that might eventually decline. England had raised the single industry of the South by dumping Indian crops, helped them to slowly acquired territory of England, their refinements had raised among nations after the Revolutionary war while reduced cultivation which employed more labor than both the other crops put together and thus conditioned the movement of slavery in the South was resulting in a rapid reduction of the soil, besides proving an extremely expensive comparison and was less likely to popularize. The price of tobacco was going down and further down, that of Negroes mounted up to such as that according to an American historian, led to the thought, "the planter would have preferred to maintain their slaves, which in fact was done as more than one Southern state then he remembered with the end of the century trade.

A Slavery Reversal

But, now came a slaving reversal. In 1794, G. Whitney created the gin and it threw open an outlet had led her entire collection with the help of slave laborers. The result was that between 1790 and 1800, while slave population in the North declined, it increased in number of 10 percent in the South. The next decade showed even a more startling development. The number of slaves in the Southern States rose from 1,41,000 in 1800 to 1,781,524 in 1810 while in the North the slave population declined from 15,446 to 21,112. In 1790, New York and Georgia had about the same number of slaves. In 1810 the number of slaves in these two States, stood at 11,000 and 10,900 respectively. The result was that while the cotton-gin continued to grow in the North, after G. Whitney's invention, "slavery in the Southern States," moved nothing less than the indispensable economic instrument of Southern society.

A House Divided

Two sections then arose with divergent moral values and opposed economic interests. First, in that time, gave rise to conflicting political policies. The struggle for the perpetuation of their entire lands translated these differences and led them all badly they culminated in the fight over the slavery question. Compromise was, for some time, avoided through a series of agreements, but when Abraham Lincoln, whose antislavery convictions were but too well-known, was inaugurated President of the United States in 1860, the South saw the writing on the wall and the Southern Confederacy declared its day of economic in their capital of Montgomery.

'Cotton Is King'

In the struggle that followed between the North and the South for South not only secured upon its independence returned in cotton to supply it with the

'interest of war' but also started upon its ability to secure for the Confederacy the sympathy and support of America, countries like England and France, by winning eminent diplomatic positions. 'Cotton is King' declared Senator Hammond, 'as proved to each that nation war or nation.' 'What is also proved,' wrote Russell, 'that the Lord Chancellor sits on a cotton bale.' While no event was the fact of Davis Jefferson, the President of the oppressed Confederate Government of Montgomery in America's monetary blockade that he wrote, as has happened that "to that his advances looked to the stringency of the English cotton market and the suspension of the manufacturers to stand up a signal, could have the English operations that would compel suspension."

Cotton famine in England

The blockade of the Southern ports by the Northern States became a great reality, towards the latter half of 1861 and soon produced a terrible cotton famine in England. The imports from America showed that 1,00,000 bales of cotton from the previous year to 1,600 bales necessitated the closing of a large number of mills. The effects of the resulting unemployment may be judged from the fact that at the time cotton manufacturers were supporting one-third of the entire population of England, with an annual payroll of 21,000,000 Dollars. By the close of 1862, nearly a quarter million operatives were rendered worthless, while only 18,170 were working full time and 601,024 in nearly 3-4 percent of the entire population were thrown on organized charity. For relief, the local resources for relief having to be supplemented by contributions received from Australia, Canada, India, and even China.

England's Dilemma

So acute was the problem of the cotton famine felt in England that Lord Palmerston, the Premier, was forced to remark to President Adams, "we do not want slavery but we want your cotton." The following week the result of English papers and fully indicated the popular sentiment of the political mood of England.

"Though with the North we sympathize,

It must not be forgotten,

That with the South we're stronger too,

Which are composed of cotton.

Whereof our exports depend more

A case of supply and demand

And where would be our cotton

Without the rail of sugar?"

In the Autumn of 1860, Earl Russell, the secretary of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Lord Palmerston "I agree with you that the case is strong for seeking recognition in the United States Government with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederation. I agree further that, in case of failure, we ought ourselves to recognize the Southern States as an independent State. Thus Mr. Gladstone made a speech at Manchester which made the American Mr. Adams, write in his diary the next day, "it is to be my request, on all of the cases of the Calcutta, that is my own duty to be very short."

A Bank Makes History

It was at this stage that the British workingman made the entire leadership of Calcutta and Douglas fully aware of the picture and tempering, as it may seem, it was the timely appearance of a letter,

Mrs. Emily Stowe's novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," that made this anything else did the trick. It became the "best seller" of the day among the like operations of Americans and so profoundly did it stir popular feeling that the very action that was supposed to send eye "ground swell" for the cause. Stowe threw its weight on the side of the North and even in the height of distress that it professed to suffer the effects of the blockade rather than by breaking it, to obtain cotton that "would be stored with blood and poured into the support of slavery." "It is the possibility of England," wrote Justice, a prophetic saying in England, "that the heart of the country is thoroughly softened. The plan here, then, between the two nations was, therefore, naturally not evaluated by those whose progress in America was the law of commerce controlling the law of the land and well has it answered their purpose. To this way have the great cause of the people here, as given issue, to replace the nature of the conflict. The emancipation of the Negro from the slavery of Mrs. Emily Stowe's house is the one idea of the millions of Britons who have no better and do not care to lose."

The British Workingman Declines

The emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln moved all hearts to swing the popular sentiment in favour of the North and from January 2, 1863, an earlier stream of addresses to President Lincoln from meetings of representatives of Lancashire began to pour in. On January 20 came the wonderful Water Hall demonstration which by an spontaneous and self-organised task were Calcutta by surprise. Following is a Calcutta wrote to Governor "the meeting has had a powerful effect on our newspapers and politicians. It has stirred the hearts of those who have been advocating the side of the South, and I write to assure you, that if an attempt were made by the Confederates in any way to extend war to the coast, a great world be instantly created which would drive that Government from power."

Justice Triumphs over Expediency

By the summer of 1863, the popular sentiment against slavery had grown to such a pitch that in spite of the Cotton Famine being at its height, when the French Government approached the British Government for armed intervention in favour of the South, the British refused their aid support to. In June 1863 came the British blockade in the House of Commons and all acts of intervention on behalf of the South had a violent death. Filled in their hopes of foreign intervention, with their foreign supplies cut off by the blockade established by the Northern States, the Confederates soon came to the end of their resistance and with that vanished the daylight of the Southern slavery to.

Slavery vs. Emancipation

The moral of the tale, however, does not end there. The abolition of Negro slavery did not spell doom for the South. It did not spell a perpetual cotton famine for England as was sought to be made out by the protagonists of slavery. And anybody who tries to cut him from has been the passing of Calcutta that "with slavery abolished and freedom truly established in the South, not only there would be a rapid increase in the growth of cotton but the permanent increase would be secured."

The Writing on the Wall

"There is no greater enemy to Lamentation" confessed Dabba, "so its capital and its labour that the man who writes the cotton agriculture of the Southern states is he confined under conditions of slave labour." The Fundamental law that had almost our entire male great universities established in Colorado's prophetic warning holds good even today and the British working class would do well to ponder over it and its example in implementation, in the hour of its second trial. For, in its eye, who blinded by the greed of immediate gain, it should be clear as day light that a progressively impoverished India has never been compatible with a prosperous Lamentation. But a few links, a prosperous India, no India occurred and well depicted towards Britain might still be too far removed to reach where that cotton and power to be but only hope in the economic debate which is day threaten but is common with the rest of the world.

P

London Letter

(Continued from page 290)

expressed: "Thus I believed all the thoughts from you or past happened these thoughts" said Gaudy laughing. "Laughing is not a good investment, man!"

"Nana could have been better, and you will agree that what I have done with it settles me in the sunlight."

Will the reader guess the name of the falling's worth?

With Two Good Luck

The man had been in the city and knew a Hindu's father said that she was the daughter of his father. Although he had a claim upon her. As she was returning from her work one morning he followed her and then described her appearance for having no photograph from Gaudy: "I have been in the city for 12 years. I have never under your letter, and my own eyes suggest the girl's with Mr. Gaudy. Would he not kindly give me an autograph? He had not appeared to her in years. Gaudy asked him to be returned to, He cannot contain but autographing, this time with the following additional remarks:

"I wish you and your mother and good luck, Sir. I have had enough of this world. Several days ago was seen there about from place to place—we were ordered to work in Colombo from Calcutta such known fact and have passed through considerable trouble. I would never be a person that serve during the rest of my life. It is a dreadful business, Sir. I should prefer to take for your cause. I wish you success in your mission." He had photographs of his daughter and mother who applied the milk.

"How many children have you?" Gaudy asked him as he was preparing to go.

"Eight, Sir, four sons and four daughters."

"I have three sons," said Gaudy, "so I can share with you half my. And the whole house reared with laughter.

I could go on with these ridiculous incidents and indeed there are more which I must have a case made. But this week I must close. The link is "Voluntary Poverty" in Dr. Maudsley's "Cranks" which was attended by your two famous artists

class men and women, was so vivid, stirring spirit and separate action. That was I shall fight over for the next hour. I shall record, moreover, the meeting with Mr. Charles Chaplin, just to show that even the world-famous comedian could think of working for the problem of the poor as the only topic worth discussing.

A Meeting with Charles Chaplin

Perhaps few would believe that when Gaudy was told that Mr. Charles Chaplin would like to see him, he hesitated when who that distinguished person with. For several years Gaudy's life has been such as to shiver him as there is no hope of read anything that does not come to him in the ordinary course of work that he has not met his heart, but as soon as he was told that Mr. Chaplin, came from the people and lived for the people, and that he had made ordinary things, he agreed to meet him at the house of Dr. Karel, who has passed himself and his car as well depicted during Gaudy's stay in London. Mr. Chaplin shook me to be a good, charming gentleman and smiling like we had been on the film, but perhaps in depicting himself as he did Gaudy had not heard of him, but he had evidently heard of Gaudy's speaking wheel and the very first question he asked was why Gaudy was against machinery. The question delighted Gaudy who explained in fact as to why the so-called unemployment of the whole present population of India made it imperative for him to reduce them to their former voluntary industry. "It is not only to starve death!" "Probably," said Gaudy. "In spite of food every nation which he self-sufficient. We were self-sufficient and now it is not again. England with her legendary production has to look for a market elsewhere. We will be everywhere and unemployment England is a disaster to the world, but if that is so, how much more so would be an exploding India, if she took in machinery and had produced their many times as much of an employment."

"So the question is reduced only to facts?" and Mr. Chaplin grasped the point quickly. "That is wrong. You look at India the independence of Russia and you could find other ways for your unemployed and means capable destruction of wealth, you would see that degree machinery. The world is valuable in other kinds of work and more labour for the worker!"

"Certainly," said Gaudy. "The machine has now been forecast with Gaudy for the twentieth time, but I have not above said it by himself who agreed the machine as quickly. The machine was perhaps too familiar from prejudice or preparation and evidently his sympathy.

Then sympathy came vividly and when Chaplin, concluded him of his visit to an English printer: "I can face a crowd of old people, he said, "but I cannot face their prisoners." But for the Grace of God, say I to myself, you would have been with them. One fact calls relevant to the accounts of one cause of anything. That difference in time between us and them excepting that of the fact around them I am but a reduced power relation. Crime is a disease the way other and it should be treated not as a power but as a disease of nerves."

M. B.

A Gentle Complaint

[The following is Gopaling's second speech at the Federal Students' Conference.]

Members as Representatives

Lord Curzon, it is not without very great hesitation that I take part in this debate on Head 5, and before I proceed to deal with the several points that are raised there here let themselves I should like, with your permission, to introduce myself of an appreciative feeling that has been growing in me ever since Monday. I have coincided with the greatest advances for democracy that have taken place in this Committee. I have endeavored to study to I have not done before the list of the delegates, and the first feeling of surprise that has been coming upon me is that we are not the chosen ones of the nation which we should be representing, but we are the chosen ones of the Government. I am, as I said, the list and as I know the different parties and groups in India from experience, some very admirable groups also, and so I am oppressed with a sense of humility in connection with my competence.

Whither?

My second reason for feeling a sense of humility is that these proceedings seem to me to be interminable and to be leading in practically nowhere. If we go on at this rate I do not know that we shall succeed beyond having increased the various points raised before this sub-committee themselves.

I would therefore first of all, Lord Curzon, tender my deepest sympathies to you for the very great patience, and may I add the selfless bearing with which you are dealing us, and I really appreciate you upon the great point that you are taking over the proceedings of the sub-committee. I hope that at the end of your task, and of our task it will be possible for me to tender my congratulations on having finished us, or even convinced us, to show some tangible result.

May I now help a gentle, humble-hearted appeal to His Majesty's address. Having thought us together from over the sea, and knowing, as I said in my first letter, that we are all of us without exception busy people, to keep themselves up, and that we have left our respective pieces of duties, having brought us together it is not possible for them to give us a lead. Can I not believe you agreed to them to let us know their mind? I should be delighted and I feel that that would be the proper procedure, if I may venture to say so in your presence that they would bring forward concrete proposals for action and opinion, if agree with doing was done I have no doubt that we should be able to come to some conclusion, good or bad, satisfactory or unsatisfactory but if we simply register ourselves into a debating society, each member of which gives us disjointed opinions upon the points currently raised, I do not think that we shall be coming to advancing the progress for which we have been brought together.

It seems to me that it might be possible, if it is agree, for you to appoint a sub-committee to give you some points for conclusion so that our proceedings may be terminated in full time. I have simply ventured to throw out these suggestions for your consideration, and for the consideration of the members. Perhaps you will kindly bring them to the notice of His Majesty's address for their consideration.

I do trust them to give us and to give us a lead, and to place them upon cards on the table. I want them to say what they would be suggesting that we appointed them to the notice of our body. If they would be good enough to make our advice and opinion, then we give them our advice and opinion. That would be in my opinion really a better thing than the state of hopeless uncertainty and confusion today.

Having said that, I shall venture to offer a few remarks upon Head 5. Then I share the difficulty that faced Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. If I understood him rightly he said that he was embarrassed in that he was called upon to deal with several sub-heads which he did not know what the Executive actually would be. There is that difficulty that arises on at the time in connection with him, but there is an additional difficulty that arises on in the time I place before the sub-committee the members of the Congress, and I have to discuss every one of the sub-heads in terms of that meeting. Therefore on account of these sub-heads I would have to offer propositions in my opinion in terms of that meeting, and if the sub-committee does not know what it is talking but actually disapprove that I may offer would be of really no value in that sub-committee. The opinion would be of value only in terms of that meeting. My meaning will be clear when I come to examine these sub-heads.

The Status

With reference to sub-head (1), which my sympathies are, broadly speaking, are with Dr. Ambedkar, my reason is wholly with Mr. Gopal Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. If we were a homogeneous sub-committee, whose members were agreed to vote and agree in a conference, I should then call a very large distance with Dr. Ambedkar, but such is not our position. We are an ill-assorted group, each member of which is perfectly independent, and is entitled to give his or her voice, in that which we have no right, in my humble opinion, to say to the Congress what they shall do and what they shall not do. These Congress have very generously agreed to our appointment and said that they would federate with us, and perhaps give wide scope of their rights which they might otherwise have held under-order. In that case, too, I could not but receive the opinion given by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, which was perhaps expressed by Mr. Gopal Jinnah, that the reason that we are to be placed with the British, and show them our own difficulties, but at the same time I feel that we have to recognize their special difficulties.

Therefore I also only realize a integration in two in the great Program for the sympathetic consideration, and I would say this, being a man of the people, from the people and endeavoring to represent the lower classes of society—I would urge upon them the advantage of finding a place for themselves in the very scheme that they may evolve and present for the acceptance of this sub-committee. I feel, and I know, that they are the victims of their own or ours. I have said that they show jealousy to good their leaders, but they will, if all goes well, more and more come to united with popular India. If I may say with Dr. Bhabha India, and they will meet to make common cause with the attachment of that India, so that the one of that India would work towards common cause with the "Western" India. After all, there is no real, real division between these two India. If you can divide a living body into

two parts you may divide, India into two parts. It has lived as one country from time immemorial, and an artificial boundary can possibly divide it. The French, be it said in their craft, when they declared themselves free and consequently in favour of Tipudiah, claimed also to be of the same blood with us, claimed to be our own kith and kin. How could they do otherwise! There is no difference between them and us except that we are coming people and they are, that has made them, traitors, traitors. I wish there were I wish there all prosperity, and I also pray that their prosperity and their welfare may be utilised for the advancement of their own dear people, their own subjects.

I wish that I will not go, I cannot go. I can only make an appeal to them. It is open to them, as we have, either to come into the Conference or not. It is open to us to make it easy for them to come into the Conference. It is up to them to make it easy for us to welcome them with open arms.

Without that spirit of give and take I know that we shall not be able to come to any definite scheme of Indefinite, or, if we do, we shall ultimately quarrel and break up. Therefore, I would rather that we did not attach upon any Indian scheme that we should do an indirect way full heart in the thing as we do so, we should do in whole-heartedly.

Voters Qualifications

Then, with reference to the second head, I see that the second head has really been considered in connection with the first question. Whether there should be any disqualification or not. Although I claim to be a full-fledged democrat, I have no hesitation in saying that it is so only connected with the right of the voter to have some disqualification attaching to citizenship as also some disqualifications which would cancel a member. Why, they should be like me who to go into in the present moment, I simply say that I would rather whole-heartedly for the sake and the principle of disqualification.

The words "moral turpitude" do not frighten me, as the contrary I think they are good words. Of course say words that we may come with the present deliberations will not come definitely, but what are judges for if they are not there to remove these difficulties? In case of difficulty, judges will come to the assistance and will say what comes under the term "moral turpitude" and what does not and if, perhaps, a person like myself, offering such evidence, was considered guilty of "moral turpitude," I will take that. I do not mind being disqualified. Some people might have in their knowledge also, but on that account I am not disposed to say that there should be no disqualifications whatsoever, and that if there were any it would be an encroachment upon the right of the voter. If we are to have some kind of some eye test, I think we should have more character tests as well.

Direct and Indirect Elections

Then the third point is as to indirect and direct election. I wish Lord Peel were here so that we could understand agreement with him as far as the principle of indirect election is concerned. I do not know, I am talking simply as a lawyer, but the words "indirect election" do not frighten me. I do not know if they have any technical meaning if they have I am wholly unaware of it. I am personally going to say what I mean. If that is also called "indirect election," I would

certainly go round and plead for it, and probably get a large body of public opinion in favour of that method of election, if that is also called "indirect election." So that the expression "indirect election" does not frighten me. I am talking of this as indirect election if it is indirect election, because I am entitled to elect villages. Therefore or when Congressmen came for it. Adult suffrage is necessary for more reason than that, and one of the decisive reasons to me is that it enables me to satisfy all the reasonable aspirations, not only of the Mohammedans, but also of the so-called minorities, of Christians, of Hindus and all kinds of classes.

I cannot possibly have the idea that a man who has not wealth should have the vote but that a man who has got character but no wealth or literary should have no vote, or that a man who writes falsely by the word of his liver day in and day out should not have the vote for the sake of being a poor man. It is an unreasonable thing, and having lived and moved with the poorest of the villagers, not having failed myself as being considered as unscrupulous, I have just come at the first expression of necessity are to be found amongst these poorer people, amongst the very unscrupulous themselves. I would for rather lose the right of voting myself than that this unreasonable feature should not have the vote.

Voters' Lists

I am not concerned of the doctrine of literacy, that a voter must at least have a knowledge of the three Rs. I want for my people a knowledge of the three Rs, but I know also that if I have to wait until they have got a knowledge of the three Rs before they can be qualified for voting I shall have to wait until the Greek, the Arab, and I am not prepared to wait all that time. I know indeed of three men in this capital of words, but if we are going to give them all the vote it will become very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to bring them all on the voters' list and have manageable minorities.

I do share Lord Peel's fear that if we have severely restrictions it is not possible for the machine to come in personal touch with all the millions of people or to keep touch with them from year to year and to take their opinion and so on. Although I have never spoken in legislative houses I have had something to do with these elections and I know how difficult it has been. I also have the experience of those who have been members of three legislative bodies.

We in the Congress, therefore, have not had a scheme, and though the Government of the day have agreed to it, and I am not saying up a parallel Government, I would like to indicate to that change is not our business. Though we have not set up any parallel Government, we certainly agree some day or other to replace the existing Government and in the interim, in the nature of evolution, to take charge also of that Government.

Having been for the last fourteen years a chairman of the Indian National Congress, and having been for nearly twenty years chairman of a similar body in South Africa, you will allow me to share my experience with you in the Congress. Considering we have particularly adult suffrage. We require a period of 4 years a year. I would not need expressing further even now, I wish share Lord Peel's fear that in our poor country we run the risk of having to spend a lot

of money merely upon money-making and elections. I would prefer that and therefore I would even collect this money. I am open to conviction that even if there would be a given number, in which case I would refuse it, but in any case in the Congress organization we have that.

We have this another disqualifying feature. So far as I know the working of voting system, the organization officer has to put up the voters' list of those who, he considers, are entitled to the vote, and decide whether a man wishes to vote or not, whether he wants his name to come on the list or not, he finds for some time. On one day morning I found my name in the voters' list in Calcutta in India. I and an intention of offering the legislative position there and I went down to place my name on the roll of voters. But when some confusion caused my vote to be thrown off, he drew my attention to the fact that I was on the voters' list and told me that I have known that that is how voters' lists are prepared.

We have this alternative, that the voter wants to vote or not have the vote. It is, therefore, open to those who want to vote to do so, and subject to the confusion regarding age and any other conditions which may be applicable in all, it will be open to every individual to have their name without exclusion of sex or the voters' list. I think a system of that character would keep the voters' list in a respectable position.

Legislative Organization

Even so we would have another, and sometimes it needed to take the village with the Central legislatures. We have something analogous to the Central legislatures in the Indian Congress Committee. We have also provincial bodies analogous to the provincial legislatures, and we have also our own all-India Congress and we have also our sub-committees. We have got our own Executive. It is perfectly true we have no by-elections to back it, but we have something extremely superior to back our decisions and to put our people in confidence in these decisions, and we have facilities for direct communication facilities. I do not say that we have been able always to meet demands fully in all circumstances, but we have been able to press through all these 47 years and you after you the Congress has grown from being a beggar.

Let me tell you that our provincial councils have not full authority to frame bye-laws in order to provide these elections. The other ones, namely the commissions for voters, they cannot always do it, but all other things they can have in their own way.

Therefore I will take only one province where this thing is done. Then the villages about them are left unrepresented. These commissions that they make sometimes include in a sub-division and these village commissions move about the district council, and the district council elect provincial councils. The provincial council elect their members to the Central legislatures, and I may add that the All-India Congress Committee. That is how we have been able to do it. Whether in this scheme we may do this or some other such thing, I do not mind, but I have seriously visualized that we have 700,000 villages. I believe that the 700,000 Indian Provinces have also. I speak subject to correction, and I will frankly say that we have 100,000 or a little more in popular India. We would have these 800,000 more. Each one will elect its own representatives, and these representatives will be the electorate that would

elect, if you will, my representatives the Central or the Federal Legislature. I have simply given you no notion of the scheme. It can be filled as it is somewhat left to your attention. If we are going to have whole villages I am afraid that we shall have to fall back upon a scheme somewhat after the style that I have suggested before. Whenever it has been working I can only give you an evidence that it has worked with excellent results, and there has been no difficulty in establishing contact through these respective representatives with the isolated villages. The machinery has worked smoothly, and where people have worked it bravely, it has worked effectively, and certainly without any expense worth naming. Under this scheme I cannot measure the possibility of a candidate having to spend his 10,000 rupees on election, or even less than that. I know of some cases in which the expenses have been paid out of his pocket, in my opinion, as a reward for the good service in the world.

Bi-national Legislature

What I am upon this, I would like to give you my opinion, for what it may be worth, in connection with the national legislatures. I think myself, if it would not offend your sensibilities, as Mr. Jinnah's company has certainly not encouraged as I do not agree by two legislatures. I have no fear of a popular legislature sharing away with itself and finally passing some laws of which afterwards it will have to regret. I would not like to give a bad name to and then keep the popular legislature. I think that a popular legislature can take care of itself, and, since I am now thinking of the present country in the world, the less expenses we have to bear the better it is for us. I do not let you measure under the idea that voters we have in Upper Chamber to station some control over the popular chamber the popular chamber will take the control. I have no such fear, but I can visualize a state of affairs when there can be a battle royal between the popular chamber and the Upper Chamber. Any way, what I would not like to do is to decide definitely in connection with it, personally I am freely of opinion that we can do with one Chamber only and that we can do with it in great advantage. We will certainly save a great deal of expense if we can bring ourselves to believe that we shall do with one Chamber. I think myself in agreement, wholeheartedly with Lord Peel that we need not worry ourselves about procedure. We shall not a new procedure ourselves. After all we are a democracy. There is no such thing as absolute continuity between any two human living institutions. We have our own political circumstances, and we have our shortcomings. I do feel that we shall have to carry away in this way a new path for ourselves irrespective of procedure. Therefore I feel that we would not go wrong if we tried the method of having one Chamber only. While it is perhaps a human weakness can by all means, but he started with only one chamber. Having done so, I do not need to say more about subheads (5) and (6).

Special Interests

I come in without (5), representation by special consideration of special interests. I have spoken for the Congress. The Congress has remained mostly to spread their name of the Hindu-Muslim Hindu angle. There are several reasons for it, but the Congress will not admit that doesn't to say things in India. I intend to be the list of special interests. So far as the one

members are concerned, I have not yet quite grasped what Dr. Ambedkar has to say, but of course the Congress will share the same view. Dr. Ambedkar is representing the viewpoint of the general public. The interests of the members are as dear to the Congress as the interests of any other body or of any other individual throughout the length and breadth of India. Therefore I would most strongly renege any further special representation. Under adult suffrage, certainly different votes, and so on, do not require any special representation. Members must definitely say, and I will give you my reason. There is no doubt on the part of the Congress, and there is no doubt on the part of these French papers, its dispossessed landlords of their proceedings, but they would have landlords to act as trustees for their interests. I think that it should be a matter of pride for the landlords to look after their own, their millions of villages, would prefer them as their constituents and their representatives than others coming from other parts of some one from among themselves.

Therefore what will happen is that the landlords will have to make themselves aware with the people, and what one is willing, what one is loath, then they should do so! But if the landlords, looked on special treatment and special representation in either Chamber, I share two Chambers, or in the two popular Chambers, I am afraid that they would be really divorcing the people of the world, one world, and I am hoping that no such claim will be put forward on behalf of the landlords or any such class.

The Europeans

Then it comes to my friends the Europeans, whom, actually Mr. Ganga Jeeb claims as opponents, but I would request to him kindly that before they have been the privileged class, they have enjoyed the protection that the Foreign Government could give, and they have rendered it liberally. If they would now make requests come with the masses of India they would not be afraid, as Mr. Ganga Jeeb said he was afraid, and he said from some document. I have not read it. It may be that some Indian also may say, "Oh, yes, if Europeans, Englishmen, want to be elected by us we are not going to elect them," but I would endeavour to tell Mr. Ganga Jeeb, throughout the length and breadth of India and show to him that he will be protected as no Indian if he will make common cause with us. Tell Charles Andrews. I assure you that he will be elected a delegate or my constituency or India without the slightest difficulty. Ask him whether he has not been married throughout the length and breadth of India with open arms. I would multiply these instances. I have responded to the European in my class as a whole in five or the good will of the people and not seek to have their interests specially safeguarded or protected. If I might venture a suggestion, that would be the wrong way to go about the business. If they will come here to India as one of us, that is how I would want them to live, I would branch them to live, in my way, I do feel that in my scheme that the Congress can be party to them in an room for the protection of special interests. The special interests are automatically protected when you have an adult suffrage.

So far as the Director is concerned, if I may cite the testimony of one who is no longer with us, I know that he said, "We want no special protection", and I have letters from Christian missionaries saying that they wanted an equal protection, that the special protection that they would get would be for spite of hostile service.

The Upper House

Then are any special qualifications to be laid down for eligibility for membership of the Upper House? As you know my opinion about the Upper House, I do not need to give any opinion about that.

The Oath of Allegiance

Now I come to a very delicate point that is, the Oath of Allegiance. I would not be able to give any opinion just now, because I want to know what is it to be! If it is to be complete freedom, if it is to be complete independence for India, the Oath of Allegiance naturally will be of no importance. If it is to be a subject India, then I have no place there. Therefore it is not possible for me to-day to give any opinion upon the question of the Oath of Allegiance.

Resolutions

Then do I not wonder what persons, if not, shall be made to each Chamber by appointed members? Well, as the nations that the Congressmen have advanced there is no room for appointed members. I am understood man's feeling, is into whose advice might be sought. They would give their advice and they would vote. I cannot see the slightest justification for shifting them with votes. Votes are given only for popular representatives if we want to have a democratic sentiment satisfied. Therefore I cannot possibly endorse a scheme which takes its concerned members, but that brings me back to only one! (i) Supporting I had that in mind, because we have had in the Congress that the want others to be elected, we want Europeans to be elected, we partly want ourselves to be elected, we want Christians to be elected, and I have well enough that there are very large minorities, but still there are advocates, and supporting that minorities in minorities from whom we get to elect women or Europeans or other studies or, say, landlords, and they do not do to let us miserable constitutions whatsoever, I would have two a chance in the constitution which would enable the elected legislature to elect those in minorities there, but I think it would be an election to elect themselves should have been elected but have not been elected. Perhaps I have not been able to express my meaning clearly, so I will give you an illustration. We have in our Provincial Congress Council exactly a rule of this character, that we have chosen the leaders upon the consideration of electing as many women, as many Mohammedans, as many Christians to the council, and if they fail to do so the election is then conducted by this elected body, not from among themselves, but they have, have women who might have been candidates or Mohammedans who might have been candidates or Christians who might have been candidates, from them they will make their election and complete the quota. That is what we do. I would not mind, on the contrary, I would welcome, some such strong clause to imply that representatives may not constitute themselves, but in the first instance I would limit the constitution to elect all classes of people and not become dangerous or be made void. The Congress members, I may assure you, is wholly and absolutely against caste and against the doctrine of superiority and inferiority. Congress is endeavouring to speak of absolute equality.

I am sorry for having taken so much of your time, but I am thankful to you for having given me this opportunity. Good-bye.

The Congress Rejoinder

The concluding instalment of the Congress Rejoinder is being released today for publication. It relates to the Madras Presidency. The Frontier Province alone has remained to be dealt with. It was my hope to include it in the present instalment. Difficulties due to strict censorship, however, and the situation now prevailing in that province have made it impossible to secure fuller and truth accounts of the relevant incidents for the purpose of a proper Rejoinder. But Sri Devadas Gandhi's recent articles in the Young India, based on information received by him personally on the occasion of his visit to the Province, have placed before the public sufficient data for forming general conclusions. With the publication of this Rejoinder, the Congress leaves it to the public to judge how far the replies given by Government are satisfactory and convincing.

Vallabhbhai Patel

President, Indian National Congress

Madras

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Copy of Local Government

1. Press Correspondence published 13th July and others circulated independently stating prohibited printing house does not include printing of law notes.

1. The following is the text of the circular referred to which was issued by the Commissioner of Revenue, Madras:—

"The agreement in respect of prohibited printing of liquor stamps does not include the printing of alcohol notes and Certificates. You are requested to take all steps that may be necessary to see that the forthcoming notes are not rendered void by picketers or others and that no obstruction is offered to printing facilities."

On seeing references to the circular in the newspapers and on a representation made by Mr. C. Raghupathi Rao, the Madras Government examined the question and directed the Commissioner to modify his order in the following effect:—

"The Government consider that Clause 2 of the Pact has no bearing on the picketing of liquor shop notes. It merely lays down that picketing of transactions of liquor may be resorted to, provided peaceful and lawful methods are used. Picketing is in no case illegal in itself and consequently is not illegal if resorted to at toddy shops. If illegal or improper methods are used or obstructions or disruptive means, or are likely to result, it can be dealt with or prevented on the ordinary law provisions."

Rejoinder—1. Though, as a result of protests made, the Government of Madras withdrew on 1st August the legality of picketing of auction notes of toddy houses, an order was issued under Sec. 144 of Crim. Code on the evening of 13th August prohibiting the picketing of auction notes on the next day, as that there was no time to make any representation. The authorities knew that the picketing was intended to be done by independent persons as could be seen from the terms of the protest or when they issued the prohibitory order. The complaint did not even state in the order that he entertained any apprehension of a breach of the peace. As a matter of fact, there was no attempt to prohibit the picketing of toddy or crutch shops, but only the auction notes, as the whole order was printed by the prohibitory order. The authorities as well as the government were aware that similar and other instructions had been issued and were being scrupulously followed to avoid any disturbance or emergency. The order was issued merely to help the revenue by keeping out lawful persons and was not intended to meet any special situation in respect of the King's game.

The members of the Dist. Congress officials and other responsible men were ordered out of the Tanjore Taluk office compound on 6th August when they were there at the time of the auction sales. They composed in the extensive grounds outside the Taluk office where the sale was held. They asked for a written order of prohibition, but the Inspector of Police threatened physical force and kept them out.

Similarly, Congress officials were kept outside the Karikal Taluk office compound at the time of the auction sales. A batch of volunteers who were under Congress instructions picketing outside the compound were then immediately arrested on the pretext of "obstruction" and kept in confinement until the sale was over.

The same thing was done on 8th August and following days during auction sales in Sivakasi Taluk office (Tanjore D.).

Description of Unlawful Conduct

1 Section 144 applied against members of the Tamouk Hui picketing liquor shops only.

Reply of Local Government

1 The allegation is entirely without foundation. No order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, has been passed in Tanjong either against the members of the Hui or against the police generally.

Answer—2. Section 144 was applied against Ego C. E. Panchanathan (Sanyar, Vandalahar) and several other members of the Hui in Chinook prohibiting them from picketing at 14-hour shops for a period of one month from 18th July 1931. This reference to Tanjong in the charge sheet was due to an inadvertent mistake.

Description of Unlawful Conduct

1 Picketing of 14-hour shops at Tivakongpoff by volunteer members at a distance of 15 yards from shops which had been going on for the last 15 days, has been prohibited by Police—issuing an order forbidding at a distance of 100 yards. Picketing these marks better as shops are not within sight from that distance.

Reply of Local Government

1. This restriction appears to have been imposed by the District Superintendent of Police following a good deal of local excitement at a shop in Tanjong town, where large crowds had gathered and was intended to give shops breathing time in Tanjongtown. On finding that there was a tendency on the part of the police to relax the restriction generally and without reference to the circumstances of individual shops, the District Magistrate intervened and picketers are now allowed to approach within 40 or 50 yards. This particular restriction has not been enforced at Tivakongpoff. The District Superintendent of Police, Tanjong, who has just been camping at that place and has visited the shops twice, found that the picketers were standing at a distance of about 20 to 30 yards from the shop. They have been doing this for some time, some were doing business quite as usual locally, although it is true that previously they were kept further off, the matter having made themselves representatives to the District Superintendent of Police that picketers were allowed to come too near the shop entrance.

Answer—1. In the course of the Motion Government already picketed, it is admitted that the Police officers in Tanjong District maintained picketings and for some time enforced an arbitrary rule of 100 yards without reference to the circumstances of individual shops. The Tanjong District Magistrate wrote to Mr. C. Ranganathapuram on the 24th July that the rule of 100 yards was not going to be generally enforced. But, despite of this, as late as 25th August, 1931, the District of Amoy in that district, founded on the evidence picketing the 14-hour shops at that time is composed of 100 yards. It may be noted that picketers are not in active charge of municipal work, but are only reserve officers.

At other places also other with or without District Magistrate's intervention, Government officials work in lay down picketings as to the distance beyond which picketers should stand. District officers do not make their instructions public. It is only latterly in a few cases that attempts are made at real consultation with Congress officials. But generally instructions in this regard are laid down under implied threats of prohibitory orders or voluntary public interference. This interference as to the distance and regulation of picketing renders it impossible for the volunteers to distinguish between lawful citizens and picketers. They are divided effectively from securing or addressing the voters of the 14-hour shop individually, which is the essence of picketing.

Description of Unlawful Conduct

1. (i) Prevention of peaceful picketers on fixed charges, and (ii) physical force because with picketing.

Reply of Local Government

4. (i) It is difficult to deal with a general allegation of this nature unsupported by specific instances. As regards the prevention of picketers on fixed charges, if this refers to the Police, the Motion Government can only say that no such instances have come to their notice and that they vigorously regulate the allegations. There have been one or two cases in which complaints made by voters were found to be false, upon which proceedings were promptly dropped by the local authorities.

As to the alleged interference or force and general in terms, and is generally against the Police. The only definite instance of the use of force on the part of the Police that has come to the notice of the Government was the light use of force in the Chelakottai district to move on large crowds that had collected where the number of picketers was excessive. Then no unnecessary physical violence was used except from the fact that no complaint was made to the District Magistrate.

Reply of Local Government

It is so far as the allegations are concerned, it is false. The Madras Government are satisfied that the Police have not "placably behaved with prisoners."

In regard physical treatment by private parties, there have been instances of assault upon, and the throwing of stones at, prisoners, usually by vendors and sometimes by vendible dealers or customers.

Remarks—4. (a) The Police of Madras record allegations objections to the taking up of a bright light by the volunteers during the dark hours at the time of picketing. They give different reasons on different occasions. Usually, the Tamil Congress Secretary is presented under a security cordon. If he had committed any acts violating law liable under the law, he could have been prosecuted for the specific acts. To keep a security cordon against a Congress Secretary without stamping him with specific offences under the ordinary Criminal Law is a breach of the Peace.

(b) A coup of volunteer came against the officers of Kallipatti was the result of their support to the picketing in that town.

(c) At Kallipattinai, some volunteers who were returning after picketing and going along the road were arrested at the instance of the District Officer of Kallipatti and taken into custody by the police. The Tamil Congress President at Kallipatti heard this and proceeded to the spot and advised him. While the police inspector was moving in force to the representatives in this behalf, the volunteers were taken to an Honorary Magistrate and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1000 (10 3 1931) to seven days imprisonment even though the accused persons wanted leave for defence and examination of witnesses. Applications for revision of judgments and sentences were made to a District Magistrate and the same were withdrawn and were gone through. This procedure on a Tamil Volunteer charge can only be termed as an act of lawlessness. The matter was represented to the Government of Madras on 22nd July, Madras has yet answered.

(d) Processions and picketings have been conducted at Salem, Coimbatore and other districts under many city sections organized in various peaceful and legitimate activities on the part of states and village communities to secure rural prosperity. These attempt to effect to interference with state and village community in rural districts by obstructing traffic in the movement of ~~goods~~. Where communities still function in this is a large village in Southern India and interference with them is calculated to retard national reconstruction. The volunteers absolutely the work of the Congress in regard to the drink evil.

(e) At Tiruvannamalai pickets were arrested and prosecuted by the police on 2-8-31 and the case went on for some time and section 144 was also applied against picketing. It was only after the intervention of Madras District that the case and the picketers' case were withdrawn on 20-8-31.

(f) At Chidambaram four pickets were arrested and prosecuted by the Police and were awarded each one month imprisonment. They were taken to Kallikottai District Jail and were released on bail after four days. Another case of burning liquor shops with acid was launched against two volunteers who were arrested by the Police and released on bail. It was after Madras District and South Indian Society intervened the District Magistrate, that in the first case the picketers were released in the initial period of their having undergone the imprisonment - a few days, and the second case was withdrawn.

(g) At Channarayana, cases of assault were launched against some volunteers by the Police and proceedings under Section 137 Cr. P. C. were taken against four picketers. It was when the President, District Congress Committee intervened the District Magistrate, that the cases were all withdrawn.

(h) At Kallipatti a picket named P. Subramaniam was arrested for no fault of his and prosecuted under a voluntary case and fined Rs. 20.

(i) The peaceful picketing of a toddy shop at Satturamangalam (North Tanjore District) continued from 20th March 1931 to 22nd May 1931 when the shop had to be closed for want of provisions. Some volunteers were arrested on false charges in the course of this campaign but the case resulted in a discharge.

Copyists of Madras District

Reply of Local Government

5. Assault on volunteers and officers of their committees at Kallipatti, picketers ordered not to hold meetings or stage and public square against supplying them with water.

1. Information is available as regard to this case.

[Since the above reply was given, the following communique has been received from Government.]

Early in May the picketing of liquor shops at Kallipatti became objectionable and certain pickets were charged by the police under sections 143, 144 and 145, Indian Penal Code. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has already made a representation to the Government on this occasion and the following is an extract of the relevant portion of the Government's reply.

Reply of Lord Sargood

"As regards Thanevali, in which you make particular reference, and also at Kolhapur, the Government are satisfied that the local authorities have acted in accordance with the law. They are not prepared to interfere in police proceedings and withhold the case against the Kolhapur volunteers as you suggest. If the accused are guilty they should have no difficulty in establishing their innocence in Court. All the same time they concede that present force is seems wholly necessary for the police to have full possession of the volunteer's private affairs such as residences, office carriages, etc. And they have issued instructions to the District Magistrate to seize such vehicles if they are not "material objects" in the case now pending."

It is wrong that the picketers were arrested and ordered not to hold umbrellas or flags, or that the public were warned not to supply them with water. It is true that the Deputy Superintendent of Police refused the delivery of their tents and campfires, but did so with a view to showing the Court, in connection with the prosecution under sections 147, 141 and 120, Indian Penal Code, that the picketers had formed a sort of management in the kind question of their operations against the liquor shops. As this Government conceded to Mr. Fitzgibbon, present force is seems wholly necessary to have taken possession of private affairs such as residences and office carriages etc. But they have no doubt that the Deputy Superintendent acted in good faith in doing so.

The Madras Government's contention is that the facts have been grossly misrepresented. It should be noted that the case under Sections 147, 141 and 120 Indian Penal Code, is still pending.

Examiner—J. Representation was made to H. E. the Governor of Madras on 29th May about the high-handed methods adopted by the police officers towards peaceful picketers at Kolhapur. The District Magistrate had refused to register facts the conduct of the officials concerned on the ground that there was a pending case against the volunteers. If an enquiry had been held, there would have been no difficulty in proving the truth of the allegations made. The pending case—namely the Penal Code offences alleged against the volunteers could not have stood in the way of an official enquiry into the conduct of the police. The Government of Madras have refused giving any opportunity to Congressmen to prove their allegations and stated that "they are satisfied that the local authorities have acted in accordance with the law" and have reported to the Government of India that the facts have been grossly misrepresented. It can only be said in reply that this contention is erroneous. The Madras Government concede that umbrellas, office-carriages, carriages, etc., were seized by the police and they admit that this was wrong. And they concede that the picketers were not arrested or ordered not to hold umbrellas or flags. The elected facts speak clearly in a self-evident and a demonstration of force. The Madras Government suggest that municipalities were moved to assist violence in the municipalities. If the seizure was wrong, it cannot be justified on such a ground. This plea is an obvious afterthought. The prosecution of the volunteers was a mere consideration to the high-handed action and intended to prevent future picketing activities.

Reply of Mahadev Govind

1. Restriction of number of picketers—

Reply of Lord Sargood

1. The number of picketers has been restricted in the following places and in the circumstances noted below—

(1) **Ellore (West Godavari District).—**In Ellore where the picketing of liquor shops became aggressive and there were one or two "incidents" in which volunteers were roughly handled by shopkeepers, the District Magistrate informed the local Congress leaders that, in improved conditions of the Ellore town, there was no need for more than one or two volunteers at one shop and any greater number would be regarded as definitely obstructive or intimidating.

(2) **Kolhapur (Thanevali District).—**Picketing of liquor shops in Kolhapur took a serious turn on 12th May 1931, resulting in

Reply to Local Government

the preparation of the volunteers under various 145, 141 and 125, 175. Since this the volunteers have been restricted to live in contact at this place.

(b) Committee.—After picketing started to become aggressive in the District is how far the District Magistrate issued various restrictions on communication with the local Congress leaders. The number of pickets has been severely limited in view of such steps.

(c) Magistrate.—In this place the restriction by the District Superintendent of Police after reception and communication as to the number of picketers is scrupulously followed.

(d) Magistrate.—(Muzaffargarh District)—In this place the District Magistrate issued the picketers issuing a declaration, restricting themselves as close to the doors of the shops as to make persons physically difficult and actually passing the streets and denying picketers as to which way they should go. The matter was discussed with the President of the District Congress Committee who agreed to reduce the number of picketers at each shop and to post them at a suitable distance. Councils issuing these restrictions have been imposed with the agreement of local Congress leaders and only after picketing had shown a tendency to become aggressive or intimidatory.

Remarks.—Below reference to the individual cases referred to in Government's reply the general position is stated in this point may be stated.

The number of volunteers and the place at which they should stand must depend in each case on the situation, spread of ground, number of depots and approaches, alignment of streets, number and quality of houses and other such circumstances. The Provincial and local Congress Committees are themselves issuing instructions in these respects so that there may be no room whatever for any suggestion of obstruction or cause of disturbance. But while the Provincial Government has abstained from laying down any express rule as to number or distance, the police officials such as without instructions from the District Magistrate are putting arbitrary restrictions in these respects. It would be as less arbitrary to lay down a rule of this kind for a whole district than it would be for a province.

Wherever picketing operations are found to be effective in reducing consumption, the present act up an agitation for reducing the number of volunteers or keeping them off at a greater distance in the hope of securing passages and approaches free from their hindrance. The demands of local officials in this respect are really the negation of the intended agitation and are not concerned with or free of disturbance or obstruction.

Executive regulations arbitrarily issued to limit the number or distance or otherwise to interfere in the operations of the picketers so as to render it difficult or impossible against the terms of the Statute, so long as there is no obstruction or intimidation or disturbance of the peace, if it is felt necessary to give precautionary regulations to be imposed by local magistrates, it is claimed that they should be done only in consultation with the local Congress leaders, and where agreement is not possible, with the assistance of one or two respected leading citizens of the place. The well known condition that the restrictions are in the interest of peace and order and not to protect the traders' business at the expense of the latter. But will that procedure interfere with equal administration?

(2) Elber (West Gurdwara District).—The authorities were hostile to picketing. Encouraged by their hostile attitude a few of the foreign-made shop keepers in Elber were unconsciously indulging in acts of violence and vulgar abuse towards the picketers, several of whom were liable of leading leaders of the town. The picketers remained absolutely peaceful and were restrained. It is not true to say that the picketing was aggressive. Had the police or the Magistrate tried to to put and given permission to picketers the shop keepers would not have behaved as they did. It was their consciousness that the officials would let go their rule whatever they might do even to the most respected ladies that encouraged them to be aggressive and abusive.

The District Magistrate sent for some of the leading Congressmen, faced facts with picketing, threatened to issue 144 and to stop picketing, and restricted the number of picketers to be stationed near the shops.

(3) It is not explained what is meant by "arrests here." The facts as reported to the Congress are that picketing in Rajasthan was carried on most peacefully. In view of the partitioning propaganda against such the picketing proved most successful. This encouraged the petty shop keepers whose efforts to resist

a disturbance completely failed. He then complained to the police. But the neighbouring street shop vendor, whose shop was also being picketed, informed the police that picketing at both the shops was going on very peacefully. The police, however, arrested the volunteers, raided their tent and seized all their materials. The volunteers were picketing at a distance of 50 feet from the lower shops in batches of 2 or 15.

(a) The picketing was on an uneven surface. It was mainly peaceful. The fact that it was unsuccessful led to false complaints and lawless action. There was no prohibition by anybody restricting the number of picketers to 100.

(a) Dharmapalan (Amravati District).—The local Inspector of Police always filed the daily and sent him reports to the District Officer that the picketers were violent and aggressive. Cases were also launched by him against the volunteers under Sections 177 and 187 against the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, against withdrawal of all cases against picketers but restricted the number of picketers. The Congress leaders, unwilling to create a situation by defying the order, had no option but to accept and follow them.

(a) Wamangarwa (Wamangarwa District). It is not true that the picketing was aggressive or unruly. The picketers never created any disturbance nor did they obstruct the movement. They stood on the side of the road which is 15 yards distant from the tally shops and about 50 yards away from the tally shops. They did not at all go near the shops. On 27-7-51 the picketing was started. The next day the District Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate interfered. The picketers were asked by the President, District Congress Committee not to allow vehicles to pass and as they were asking people not to collect from us so not to obstruct public traffic. When they did this, the D. S. P. instead of checking them, complained that the picketers obstructed public traffic. The police actually made false complaints to the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate sent for the President, District Congress Committee, and increased the number of picketers and also told the President, D. C. C. to keep the picketers at a distance of 30 yards. The latter protested that standing at 30 yards distance will be useless. Then the District Magistrate told the matter of disturbance by the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate fixed it at 20 yards. The Government fixed 10 yards by it.

Copy of Mr. Chakrabarti's letter to the Government dated 10.10.51.

Copy of Local Government's letter to the Government dated 10.10.51.

3. Paragraph 4 of Memorandum.—Dr. Chakrabarti Rao, M.B., D.S., Honorary Assistant Ophthalmic Surgeon, Secunderabad. He resigned his post in May 1951 was asked by the Provincial Assistant to Surgeon General to resume charge in May 1951. He did so, but on 12th June was asked by the District Superintendent to resign from his Government post pending during the strike. He asked for the order in writing. The order was dropped. At the end of 1951 he was told that Government had decided to re-appoint him.

4. Under paragraph 19 of the Settlement made reference to which an appointment for re-employment was made with to be resumed and on its terms.

In this case the facts are that Mr. A. S. Chakrabarti Rao resigned his appointment as Honorary Ophthalmic Assistant Surgeon, Government Headquarters Hospital, Secunderabad, in May 1951, without receiving any notice though as will appear he did so "in connection with the civil disobedience movement" and without giving three months' notice in writing which was one of the conditions of his appointment. He was subsequently recruited to Government but was recruited under the Government. On 15th May 1951 he wrote to the Surgeon General a letter stating that he was willing to resume his appointment and was ready to put on working order. The Madras Government considered that the letter was not couched in the form of an application for re-employment and wished to be recalled in this particular case that Mr. Rao would not participate in anti-Government activities. When approached on the matter Mr. Rao did not give any reply but asked for the point to be given to him in writing. While endeavoring to pursue a liberal policy in the matter of re-employment possibly, the local Government were unable, on the basis of this case to persuade Mr. Rao. Orders were passed accordingly on the 22nd June 1951.

It is incorrect to state as alleged that Mr. Rao was asked to resume work by the District Medical Officer, Secunderabad. The fact is that while the question of re-employment was under consideration the D. M. O. advised Mr. Rao to resume work through a mild understanding of the order of the Surgeon General.

Reply.—Dr. Das's resignation was accepted by Government at the time he submitted it without raising the question of notice. It is strange that it is being raised now. Whenever the Settlement is extended to cover all cases of resignation, whether with or without notice.

The objection takes that the letter was not submitted in the form of an application for re-appointment, though Dr. Das himself took the initiative and expressed willingness to resume his appointment and continue to join only shows that, contrary to the previous mode, Government is overruling not the Settlement, but an official agent. The Congress understands that Dr. Das is not ready to submit an application in the usual official form. Dr. Das contends that he was not asked to signify that he "would not participate in anti-government activities", but he expressed regret for the anti-government propaganda in 1930, which later demand was inconsistent with the Settlement. He had no intention to participate in any anti-government activities while holding the post. That was why he resigned. Dr. Das got relief to join from the Settlement. The statement made in the complaint. Dr. Das was allowed to work for a month. It is not clear what objection as "months" could have come in the way of Dr. Das's re-appointment.

General

Complaint of Mahomed Ghaffar

Case and para however isolated for in the absence of participation in civil disobedience not being given a reply, referred in several cases.

Reply.—The instances in which para and para clauses to be detailed here and in most cases the parties concerned brought the instances to the notice of the local Government, Government.

Reply of Local Government

specific information, it is not possible to

have not been noticed are the instances in the local Congress representatives have All these instances are then available to

Notice when required from the superintendent of the police and the District Magistrate was, notwithstanding in the District was properly executed. The District was suffering from a heavy scarcity in the grain market on food. The Government was proceeding to let them on food. Meanwhile, the records were taken to the local Sub-Inspector, Mr. Magistrate, and put on trial and continued in 7 days imprisonment on a Section 31(a)(1) even though the alleged would have been before and consideration of witnesses on their side. Mr. Guruswami, Vaid later applied for release of the prisoner and trouble. But the application was returned without any consideration. When the Vaid wrote a paper, the Sub-Inspector and he could not give copies because the records were sent to the District Officer as an original letter from him. The application for copies was then prepared in the District Officer who told that the records had been sent to the District Magistrate. The Sub-Inspector merely informed the Vaid that the copy application had been sent to his office and that the copies would be granted as an early date as made in the records were received from the District Officer. I have only to add that on 14th July the copies had not yet been delivered.

I do not know if you consider that the 7 days imprisonment on a charge of embezzlement before Mr. Magistrate was not an oppressive sentence even if the accused was guilty of any offence. But the circumstances under which, while he was being offered the case was proceeded with and concluded on a Sunday and disregard the great of copies were delayed in the manner of such above are extremely ugly in my humble opinion. If the facts are not correct I shall gladly withdraw the language I am using. But if you feel the facts to be correct, it is not worthy a matter of public record but can be put to take notice of in the interest of good administration and the prestige of the judiciary.

I am enclosing herewith a true copy of a solemnly attested statement of Mr. L. B. Guruswami made in support of these allegations.

Yours sincerely,

C. Rajagopalachari

J. W. L. Correa, Esq., C. I. E.

Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

II

Post St. George,
Madras 22nd September, 1931.

Dear Sir,

Following the Magistrate, Rajagopalachari and Rajagopalachari's application for consideration of Mr. Magistrate's decision about the 21st 1931 (Public) (Madras) 1931.

I am directed to say that the Government have approved the allegations made in your letter of the 22nd July 1931 and are satisfied that the District Magistrate was charged that had to observe the terms of the Settlement of the 15th March 1931 in the face of considerable difficulties and past history before.

I am in regret that on the basis of alleged irregularities on by subordinate officials, the persons concerned should, in the first instance, approach the District Magistrate concerned for release. Yours sincerely,

G. T. H. Krishna, D.D.-H.

M. E. R. C. Rajagopalachari Esq.,
Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengode.

III

Chennai Ashram,
Tiruchengode, 15th September, 1931

Dear Sir,

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter addressed to the Chief Secretary on 22nd July and his reply dated

22nd 23rd September. I was so deeply disappointed by the reply of Government, that I cannot believe that the Government's action had been done to the best, and I think it my duty to lay it in the public domain before concluding that we are left helpless in a matter coming out of the State.

If I had hoped in any case that Government would considerably improve their action by the end of the month of my appeal, I should be the two cases mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 of my letter to the late Mr. Correa, enclosed herewith. The Chief Secretary's reply dated 23rd September does not make it clear whether Government intend upon investigation that the facts were different from my allegations as regards either to the Sub-Inspector's case, or the trial and sentence of the prisoners on Sunday. If the facts were not found favourable, as I guess from the absence of any consideration of them by the Chief Secretary's letter, it is most disappointing that Government have not thought it fit to express their opinion of the conduct of the officials concerned.

I must be forgiven for saying that the reply of Government that District Magistrate was doing their best to observe the terms of the Settlement in the face of considerable difficulties and past history which is entirely beside the mark. My complaint was that the Sub-Inspector of police published a proclamation that totally misrepresented the Government's policy and attitude towards Congress under the Settlement and itself in misleading and wronging the officials. Such a wrong treatment of Government policy should at least be corrected, even if the official was not to be corrected. In the other matter, my complaint was about what I think is a brutal oppression and illegal procedure on the part of the Sub-Inspector Magistrate at the instance of the police, which is a very long story to the officials.

The principle of administration would be explained, and decided, by the manner of such officials. To say in answer to all this, without constructing the facts or showing that they were corrected, that the District Magistrate have done their best in a most disappointing disposal of my complaint.

I request you to place this before Mr. Rameswamy and to draw his attention to my letter for his attention to the case.

Yours sincerely,

C. Rajagopalachari

A. D. Chatterjee, Esq., J. C. S.

Private Secretary to Mr. E. The Government of Madras.

IV

Government House,
Chennai, 15th October, 1931.

Dear Mr. Rajagopalachari,

In reply to your letter of September 22nd, I am directed to say that Mr. Rameswamy has seen the case in which you refer and is satisfied that the District Magistrate of Tiruchengode is doing his best to observe the terms of the Settlement and is not guilty of irregularities committed by his subordinates. The Magistrate has the most serious to take in his hands, as far as his conduct is concerned, there have been no complaints at any level of the District Magistrate since then. I am in mind that the Government do not propose to undertake to you any disciplinary action they may think it is wise to regard to individual officials.

Yours sincerely,

A. D. Chatterjee

The Two Revolutions

[Addressing the All-India Students' Conference, Lahore, Kaulan delivered a speech, of which the following is a fair summary. B. D.]

The problem before us is independent. It is not merely political. It embraces the whole of life in all its various departments. Other people in their days had to adjust their lives to a single condition. We have at our time to adjust ourselves to a double condition. We are not fairly out of the one and are not yet faced with the latter, greater and more comprehensive.

The first began with the advent and establishment of the British Raj. Directed by its organised, organised strength, that like a hurricane swept everything before it, we stood up against the achievements of the West in a brief space of a century or so. We thought we could come up to the Western strength, efficiency and joy of life only by copying their methods, accepting their values and their attitude towards life and its problems. First we had no, we had hard work and studies, produced a learned, which could be distinguished from the West by its inferiority, by the colour of its skin and the blood in its veins. Later the veins of English strength and unshakable but unchangeable. This was natural. How could it be otherwise, with a race that had a rich but not accomplished work. But it had its way to take stock of its past and strike a new fresh path in keeping with its genius, its Swadharma and Swacharya, laws of ages of experience and knowledge.

This stark choice and striking a new path a keeping with the national genius constitutes the second revolution. The two are going on side by side. Both have their roots, though the first seems to be in the past. So far as the present is concerned, the second revolution has been chosen in all these departments in which it has been able to find a path suited to the Indian temperament. I shall give some examples from English to make my point clear.

The first Western impact in a religious people produced a religious freedom, breaking in the established creed of a new age, the Deistic Creed. It had much to do with it. It produced some religious freedom. But it could not create a movement, but a movement in relation to the nation, to show the best world in itself. This was done by a major party. India remained, I think the movement deriving its inspiration from Hindu Swadharma, which by the action of Swami Vivekananda. This movement was only preliminary into the nation, allowing the whole movement, but arrived at a stage ahead. Today the Hinduism and Vivekananda are seen that belong to the history of world's religions.

In literature, so long as English was common in literature, it produced nothing worth mention. But now came English and the great poet. Who dare say of them that they are devoid of foreign genius? The result has been here shown. The great poet's name is not in danger with all this world war.

In painting, we grew into the dark. His Varna created in Western Realistic style and later changed of the diverse group of native Indian was adopted. We are now familiar with the New Delhi School. In fact, it is the first Indian school of painting deriving its inspiration from Bengal. It has something of the sense of Japan. Its very early figures were to be just discarded from the clouds. It has already won a place in the world's gallery of master.

In science, the great English men, working in the spirit of the people has dominated the story of life. European science may have the dominating influence in India, it can only dominate the story of finite science and commerce.

These examples should suffice. Whatever has been inspired and inspired by the Indian spirit, has been created in a short time, has been creative. Whatever aspects of material life have not met all the foreign way there not only showed growth but also improvement. Take one example of the inter-relationship in the field of the Western temple and the Taj, there has not been, that the advent of the British, one building with looking at, longer of the society of the Government, the Indian process and the life movement. One has only to look at the Victoria Memorial statue by New Delhi in a similar model. The value in Western style, material "patience" that our people English have built with the money appeared from the former passage show the development modern taste. Every thing is necessarily only.

If then we are to accomplish anything great we have to build our economic life for first revolution and then in our lot with the second. Recently politics has come to the forefront and absorbed our attention. We had hardly hoped that it was but a small portion of human happiness that governments could make or mar, but we were disappointed that upon the issue of government rested the foundation of our society, that our culture, if it was to survive and flourish, must be helped by the indigenous political consciousness. It was, therefore, natural that the political problem should have large.

The political movement, a short time a century old, it began under British occupation and its English models which we neither understood nor assimilated. The result was a party resembling of French and could have been for a while of days at Christian time when that party closed. They indulged in very much after the pattern of France, Germany and Great Britain, ultimately becoming and showing their foreign masters whose creation they were. They played some revolution and departed to meet again with Great Britain. Some of them, more earnest and more inspired made exception in the two months, collected funds and began to struggle their situation at the bar of English political system. They finally suggested that if their eloquent phrases, protesting the Congress would not reach the democracy beyond the case of world be well. Defeated by effectiveness of the Indian politicians who had not even grasped the formal implications of the slogan that they used for party purpose and were disappointed in suggest they thought they had to speak that and long to get what they wanted. Their belief in British democracy and British liberalism was childish. Because it was pathetic. This naturally resulted a reaction and a party of nationalists spring up in the Congress. This party distinguished itself by its greater action, the spirit of fighting, and by leader and more temperamental determination of the government. It did not of going among the masses and a programme of work which it never carried out. Its policies were equally impractical. They could not satisfy the growing demand of the youth, not only the growing demand of the youth but also the growing demand of the nation for independence. To this / part of the young was added a desire for change, that of the political repression of all legitimate political activity.

and a belief in indirect methods. The credit was the forerunner of a novel party of various nationalities, masked Anarchists. Anarchism is a philosophy of life, associated with the innumerable names of Kropotkin, Tolstoy and Thoreau, having little to do with the bomb and the pistol. But the average Indian mind understands as little of this, as the so-called anarchist who stands at his bar, charged with murder or attempt to murder. All these from political groups comprised the first faculty, the latter two with legal students in the university, the average Western models of political education. The first two headed from good their heritage to the past, the other two showed their attitude of the West by respectable means. However, even to human psychology, uncorrupted history and based also to works of wisdom, as the essence of education.

There cannot grow up might not last long. The halfheartedness of the one anticipated the other two which on the other hand by their individual problems are fast proving their own extinction.

There did their little work and today are in desolation. This has makes the Committee's drop-out as evidenced by his recent activities. A more truly national movement in politics is fortunately in the field already. It believes as to someone its principles in some detail. For the time we will sit as students, above all politics or propaganda.

(To be Continued.)

Young India

Is It a Waste?

[By C. K. Subramaniam]

Goodbye to having a company of leaders in Britain, the state and grace and the victory of which can only be described by the German phrase, I came, I saw, I conquered. It is a joy to read the news that they come over the water in this respect. The extraordinary combination of love, happiness of heart, wisdom, skill and good business that makes up Gandhi could achieve no less, even if there were not God behind it all.

But it is good beyond measure to see this fine harvest that was sown and that after, raised by the past of sacrifice, and the short-sighted policy of the minority leaders who have been called together in England. The proceedings that have been called during the last few days tell us with all apparent lack that we are learning of the ultimate responsibility of the masses. We have got used to the Mahatma when the agitator, and it does not give us a shock, as propaganda in the great end of truth, but the claim of the "depressed" classes is the "best satisfied out of all." Well might our Census say "So is, India," and her mighty heart beat to give us this. It is not distant by their circumstances that these leaders are doing by representing for and meeting on a level of life in the very essence that are pertaining to social instead of importing a state of affairs and dignity and confidence, they are bringing up a sense of justice, and fellowship, and order again of the law

of nature and arithmetic as applied to Democratic Government.

That is the law of physical force, with the violence and persistence, and freedom of action suggested, the solution is long. It will be as long as at short as wisdom on the part of the leaders of the movement will make it. The minority communities themselves are as dumb as the millions. If their leaders get vision and happiness of heart, they will see at once what they are bound to see years hence, and save the long problems for unity.

If the leaders, who, for one cause or another, are in possession of the minority platform, will not be just and reasonable, the Congress may have to give up the struggle of comparative non-violence and seek to educate the masses to the minority communities and carry on a kind of civil disobedience.

But it is hoped that God will come to our aid and that the matter will clear, and that there may be no end of any kind of evil-ness, evil is closed.

Whatever might happen, Gandhi's visit to England will not have been a waste. Last year, we made Britain perceive our strength. This year, we have shown our good business, the sense of justice, and we will be gone through Gandhi. This cannot be worse. It is an organic continuation and a necessary part of Satyagraha, though for the fullness of the programme, we must yet wait. Gandhi and India will be all the reason for this brief policy.

National Flag in Calcutta District

In reply to representations made regarding the matter under Sec. 114 of G. O. passed in the Calcutta District, Madras Presidency, in which question was drawn at Young India of September 15, the Forest Secretary to the Secretary the Governor of Madras has written the following letter under date 15th October, 1931:

"Dear Mr. Subramaniam,

"I am directed by the Secretary to reply to your letter of September 1st and September 15th regarding matter under section 114 of G. O. passed in the Calcutta District.

"As regards the matter relating to the National Flag, they have all replied. We have already been informed that it is not the intention of the Government to forbid the hoisting of the Flag, unless the public tranquillity is likely to be disturbed. Nor is it intended that any general order on general grounds should be passed to restrict the hoisting of the Congress which has not contravened the terms of the Act.

Yours sincerely,
J. D. Crookall
C. S.

Notice

The correspondents are requested to address all letters and communications intended for Young India, Madras, at the Narayana Press in Post Box No. 13, India, which they are likely to be delayed.

Madras, Young India

London Letter The Congress Demand

It has now become impossible to give even a bare summary of the events of the week in the course of a weekly letter. The event was the visit to Lambeth in which I have devoted a special article. But there were numerous meetings that Gandhiji attended during the week, which must deserve separate notice each for itself. Thus, the meeting held under the auspices of the Indian Students' Congress Union was unique in that he made himself completely at home with the students and made some eloquent statements in answer to questions which would be expected to be expected from the political platform. The speech in reply to the reception held in his honour by the Indian Students' Chamber and Union consisted in the Indian people's complete rejection of the Congress demand. Equally important was the speech in reply to the reception held by the Indian community, where the proceedings were confined, meaning, if only for Gandhiji, by the interruption of some so-called communists. But the common feature of all was the rejection of the Congress demand, but there should be any further about complete independence.

"The Lahore Resolution and the Karachi Resolutions are identical," said he in answer to a question asked by a student. "The Karachi Resolutions maintain and confirm the Lahore Resolution, but make a clear case complete independence cannot possibly co-exist on harmonious partnership with Great Britain. Just as there can be a partnership between America and England, in the same way we can have a partnership between England and India. The Karachi Resolutions state categorical rejection, inasmuch as we do not want to belong to the Empire. But it is easy to conceive India as a partner of Great Britain."

"There was a time when I was considered a disbeliever even, but I found that disbelievers there is a common common to members of the same family—America, Canada, Spain, Africa, New Zealand etc. There are disbelievers there is a sense that India is not. The bulk of the population of these countries is English speaking and they value English more than any other thing. The Lahore Congress stated the idea of the Empire from the whole of India and placed independence in front of them. Karachi provided the independence which is this, that even as an independent people we could have partnership with Great Britain, it, of course, the result. In fact as the Empire also perhaps, the centre will be Downing Street, but with India as an independent partner with Britain the right of partners would change from Downing Street to Delhi. India as an independent partner would have a special contribution to make in a world which is getting weary of war and bloodshed. In case of an outbreak of war it would be the common effort of India and Great Britain in previous war, and helped by force of arms, but by the over-ruling force of example. This may appear to you to be an over-optimistic claim, and make you laugh at it. But here is the representative of the million deaths to get beyond that claim and he is not prepared to subscribe to anything less, and you will find that if that is not granted I shall go away defeated, but not humiliated. But I shall have nothing less, and

if the demand is not granted I shall leave the country to go through a long long night and write you too to give your hearty cooperation."

"The object of our non-violent movement, to end of British rule, is complete independence for India—that is my major aim and as the English view of the term—without any mental reservation, I feel that every country is entitled to it without any question of its fitness or otherwise. Its every country is fit to end, to drink and to breathe, even to its every aspect fit to make its own affairs, so make them fully just in a sense with 'bad things will become very definitely, even to India, because of her ailments may make a thousand mistakes. The doctrine of fitness is given in a more appropriate, Independence means nothing more or less than getting out of alien control."

When 'getting out of alien control' meant he still absolutely clear to his speech before the Indian members:

"The Congress came to the definite conclusion that we should have absolute control of our own finances. Without that absolute control no freedom, no recognition of self-government, so-called, would meet the demands of the nation. As you know, a big part of the machine given to me by the Congress that complete independence would be impossible unless it was accompanied by complete control over finance, defence and external affairs. I, for one, cannot conceive any form of Government to be either responsible Government or self-Government, but alone complete independence, if we have not complete control over defence and our finance."

Difficulties Ahead

But the very fact that he wants complete independence and will have nothing less, makes him fully sensitive of the difficulties of the task. As the Congress proceeds at a snail's pace towards, he saw it more clearly than ever before that the task is herculean. The Congress is not composed of representative of the nation, but of "representatives of the Young Men's Union" as Mr. A. L. Inam is aptly put it. "I am not going to make a judgement of myself," said the Prime Minister, "but I want you all to be your own responsibility" words which conveyed to me the true picture of the Young Men's Union, where the immature people have been mismanaged in Congress as a system. To the Maharashtra friends here, the very meaning of "self-reliance" is unknown, and the men, who last year saw the independence by themselves in Gandhiji as a man of honour and sterling worth, and who has moved by the nation through all our trying hours, is not necessary to recall the feeling of an impossible reality of the situation. The Hindu friends are alarmed at Gandhiji's talk of complete independence and the so-called upper classes of the small minorities are afraid of their interests being swept away with the currents. No wonder Gandhiji's statement that he who will save the Marathi Cause should demand a price: and make room for him who demand right should be a cry of the nobility. "Do you think," he continued, "that if I could solve it, I should allow the minority question to hang on and make us the object of abuse before the whole world?"

On this point that, there is no detainer move on the part of Government. They would perhaps prefer to work the game. Gandhiji has made it clear to

them, as he did at last night's reception given by the London Indian. "The Government have got had their minds on the side, but the time is fast coming when they will have to decide their policy, one way or the other. For the members who have come are thousands miles away from their homes cannot afford to sit away there long time. The moment I find that I can no longer carry on my work with the British community and the British public, whom against I am continuously trying to educate, you will find my back turned upon the shores of England."

In this connection I would refer to the full-throated statement of Gandhi before the time as that hundred Indians who had gathered together to honour him on his birthday and on whose behalf Mr. Pannu Bhambhani accused Gandhi of their being support in any campaign that India may have to undertake in the near future. Perhaps, Mr. Bhambhani knew how the wind was blowing, but it was the misapprehension and touching stupidity of his statement that prompted Gandhi to give expression to the feelings that were not apparent in his mind, but lay deep in his heart. I perhaps observe that speak as citizens.

Future Friends.

But, if Mr. Pannu Bhambhani and his party and party themselves to be "friends called," Gandhi is just looking back to those who will also be his friends in good and bad times. Mr. Bhambhani's gallant head.

Though there is much ignorance, there is the making of India, history and present newspaper propaganda, there is a widespread desire expressed everywhere for definite information about India, and many groups of people were have approached Gandhi for a conference and talk. Noteworthy among them was the speaker of the Oxford House, a group of Oxford men who have called in, as who are giving the best part of their time to the people living in the East End. Numerous questions were asked in a sincere spirit of inquiry about Gandhi and in final part the same for India. I cannot give these all here, but here are some of them with their answers:

Q. Do you need British control to be withdrawn at once?

A. Certainly. I have never contemplated a gradual process. But that does not mean complete isolation from Great Britain. If Great Britain will take complete partnership I would welcome it, but it must be a real partnership, not cloak for slavery or control. I know that some of you honestly believe the day that there would be slavery and bloodshed no sadder than the British withdrawal from India. Well, if the British go down, it is up to them to help us get rid of the evils that they have helped to create. They are responsible for much of the domination between different communities and they are responsible for having misruled a whole people. And, I may confess, that we may experience temporary difficulty if you want away to leave that it is up to you to under some measures, provided that you would consent to remain under our control. But what one cannot you want double pain of mind I would willingly have British soldiers and British officers under our national Government, we would be guided by their advice too, but the final decision of policy must be ours. But, even if you withdraw and we were without any disciplined

soldiers, we have enough help in our own soldiers. I do not think that we will not involve the withdrawal of British power and British assistance from at which are today transported in us. With some exceptions, I should not find the glow of freedom. And I think that we may have an opportunity to fight with death for freedom, if only to open your eyes. Why is it that you do not understand of things in respect of the Alphabet? We have a debate and object to them. On do you think it is difficult in your language and to enjoy it without an element of sarcasm in your nature? Well, if we are a nation of cowards for whom you have to be as to the better. It is better that the knowledge of cowardice was removed from their minds. But courage cannot be our virtue towards. You do not know what a coward I was when young and you will agree that I was not quite a coward today. Multiply my example and you will know one whole nation shaking of its cowardice."

Q. Has India benefited by Christianity?

A. Indirectly. I have spoken about this more than once. The masters of some of the worst Christianities could not but benefit us. We studied their lives, we were in contact with them, and they constantly reminded us. But as regards missionary activities as such, I cannot but see the language of conflict. The very best I could say is that I doubt if they have benefited India. The most I could say is that they have helped India from Christianity and placed a barrier between Christian life and life in Mohammed life. When I go to your country, I do not see the barrier raised, but when I am in a missionary I find that barrier standing up before my eyes. I want you to accept this testimony from one who was for a time strongly able to judge influences. The missionaries working in Colleges and Hospitals are here around us with the moral persuasion that through the Hospital and College they may get people to come to Christ. I have a definite feeling that if you want us to lead the stream of Christianity, you must copy the new. The new Christianity draws people to Christ, and the world remains with them. Even so, the stream of Christianity is smaller even than the new and moral, therefore, be satisfied as to some extent, and most unapproachable manner, if possible.

At the end of the talk Sir Vinodbih Dadas got up and paid a fitting tribute to Gandhi by a moving analysis through which they had been privileged to have all that they had heard this evening and related that of lightness could most justice to they had met Gandhi that evening.

Such an honour cannot, I think, was anticipated with one like Mr. Dadas. Dadas and Dadas, the Dadas magazine, through the Lanchester visit, and took a constant in being anticipated every day with the same people who took out every morning to say "good evening" to Gandhi, as he gives out the his international. Mr. Dadas, member of an important Royal Commission on Education and a great temperance politician, was with Gandhi also morning during the walk. He came to understand the shadow of the great truth in India and to be no doubt of a meeting for a conference on the question. The meeting for one these friends meeting and to part Gandhi he said "You are their true representatives and they will like you to suffer here." "They are your Government" said Mr. Dadas. Numerous interesting remarks followed

by Ghandhiji and from these new friends, many among them children who have sent to him letters—"Dear gya!"—and written many a happy letter of the day to "Uncle Gandhi." But come about "Uncle Gandhi" in my next.

Questions and Answers

Some of the most interesting questions were asked by the students at the evening when I had been to the night Clubby, replied from both hands had asked questions. I may not reproduce them all, but take the most important ones. Some of the questions already have been taken in the foregoing paragraphs.

Q. Is not your demand of unity from the Mohammedans an obstacle to the demand of unity that the Government makes of us? Why not give up unity, being rather than pursuing the solution of unity is the question?

A. You have made a subtle mistake. First, in supposing what I have said to the Mohammedans, and what Government are saying to us. Secondly, you would think, it was a categorical demand, but I can look deeper you will find that there is an spirit of compromise. The Muslim attitude is limited by the highest, whereas, what I say proceeds from the heart and has nothing but affection to back it. The response and the great success has the same atmosphere with touching results. What I have said is that I could not possibly carry any demand which has not the backing of all Mohammedan parties. How can I be guided by a mere majority? The deeper question is this: what does one set of demands signify for one thing I have got outside lot of sympathy with whom I have worked at this very thing and who many years ago were handicapped by the spirit of ill-feelings in the most miserable conditions. Am I to be guided by minority to them?

And you must understand that there is nothing in my power to grant. I only told them that I would champion their demand if it had a unanimous backing. As for my attitude of readiness to discuss with and for me, it has been a characteristic of a Muslim. If I could persuade the Muslims to adopt my attitude there would be an immediate solution of the question, but that I have a Mr. Everett to attack, so what I have said is not as bad as you may imagine. In answer to the question of my power, I should not have offered the reasonable question to have an end made in an object of discussion before the whole world.

Lastly, I have no response to be in this question is concerned. That does not mean that I am not a Muslim, but my Muslimism is not limited or hampered by the demands I propose. What I have said does not concern the Congress I used to regard that I would not consider the question in terms of Muslimism but in terms of nationality, in the spirit of the rights and interests of all Indians. I have, therefore, no intention in saying that the Congress should be the representation of all Indians—most of English subjects, in so far as they would regard India as their home and not claim any loyalty to be divided with those of the dark colonies.

Q. Why did you say nothing about the subjects of the Native States at the Conference? I am afraid, you have overlooked their interests.

A. Well, these people did not expect me to make ready declarations before the E. T. C., but they cannot be expected to place certain things before the Public, which I have done. There would be time to discuss my attitude when it falls. I must be prepared to handle things after my own fashion. And it is not the E. T. C. that is going to give me what I want for the subjects of the States. I have to make it before the Premier. Some of the questions of the Hindu Muslims unity I would lead my hand before Mr. Ramsden and ask him, when I want, but I would not do it across the great table. You must know that I am a skilled diplomat, and after all, if I felt, you can believe the fact from me.

Q. Why did you commit yourself to the subject instead of silence? Have you known that the British Empire disapproves it?

A. Your question is good, but it is late what we said in light of subsequent events. Leave alone the subject instead of silence in the Native States. It is a different thing altogether. As for the method I propounded, I may tell you that it is deeply wrong upon me. All that you need to understand is that it is intensely connected with adult selfishness which cannot be effectively worked except by it. After all you will have seen hundred thousand students, thousands of students by the whole world population of India. What an my method I said to be to identify Mohammedans elsewhere. Every village reported. It was the spirit of Islam, which shows an industry and industry has in that a representative for the highest legislation in the land.

After all, what may not England and the Western world send me sympathy and so. Why should we be thinking about of Western civilization. That is a country governed by entirely different conditions. We would not and have our own special method of education?

M. D.

The Book Guide

Every student in the Hindu fold will find volumes of interesting information within the 110 pages of the above book. The Hindus have various means about valuable information will say be used as the basis for improvement in other centres. The value of placing as a supplementary reference to be made out by the table on page 1, which states that in 1921 that the spinning families have added in their houses from 11 to 25 per cent by the mass. This fact alone does not show the full extent derived from the income which are being used that is most used in terms as even stated of food in the spinning houses. Nearly 25 per cent of the total consumption of cloth in India is supplied by indigenous production. Even if all the foreign imports could be supplemented by Hindu it will make a great achievement. The good of Hindu has gone down by 50% since 1912; that at the same time, while the time that the Indians in the cloth will surely themselves with matter which is great because will be given to hand production. The dignity brought out of Hindu should be looked upon as a voluntary law for the rehabilitation of a lost industry.

The book is well put up and Royal edition volumes and over 50 illustrations add to its attraction.

J. C. K.

Friends in Need

Under the patronage of Mr. A. Fraser Mackenzie, the Independent Labour Party, the Gandhi Society and the Indian Congress League gave a large first lunch in honour of Gandhi's birthday. Reported in Mr. Mackenzie's speech, this had said:

From now I have come to London. I have experienced nothing but kindness and generous welcome. I have been eating and drinking from day to day. But you, oh, have revealed me that you have been friends to me, and friends to me up until friends to me. When it appeared that India, or rather Congressmen, might be attacked by nearly everybody on earth you stood by the Congress Party and accepted the Congress position as your own. You have in-day created your faith in the Congress programme and thereby you have lightened my burden.

It would be like carrying loads to Newcastle to deliver to you the message for which I have been sent here as the Congress representative. The letter all about the march of the Congress case and I am convinced that the Congress case is quite safe in your hands and you have by today's action and the road upon the Hindustan, through the Congress, of the friends and unbroken welcome of India's friends.

It is enough that you have attended a lunch. My expectations are wisely with you. I am accustomed to English friends not through the lunch but through the eye, and when I see the English table, I walked what a miracle it was for you to take what is an English for a lunch. I know that the spirit of working with Indian and the way comes and you provide yourself with my little address that English friends and restaurants provide for you. You looked the expected job, there is also a restaurant. I know that you have realized something. Some of you have wondered much for advancing the cause of India independence—understanding the word "independence" in its full English sense. But it may be that you will be called upon, if you continue your advance of India's cause, to make much larger sacrifices. I understood its duties to me when I returned to come here. You heard me say on the first day of my entry into London that one of the most painful moments of my having come to London, was to kill a word of honour that I had given to an Independent Englishman and to persistence of that word, without thinking what the result is likely to be, I am understanding to the extent of my ability, to show to every Englishman and the Indian. I want that what the Congress stands for is what is deserved by India, and furthermore, I am understanding to show that the Congress is to serve and I am here to conduct the business of the Congress, the business of India by solving the mystery that is reflected in the Congress Movement. I should have no liberty to disturb anything from the Congress side, save to the extent that is permissible in that Movement and that India is, I feel the more I say that the task is difficult—direct experience. There is no much experience of the conference that period in India. There is no much ignorance of true history. As a Quaker peace friend revealed me when I was about to come here, that it was the one coming here as long as from childhood you were brought up, not to be afraid and to be, but upon this history and

I am that India called by that Quaker friend exemplified as I come into contact with Englishmen and English women.

It is terribly difficult, almost impossible, for those to realize that at least in the last Indian movement, they believe that the new kind of the movement of British colonization in India has been harmful rather than harmful to the native. It is an old position and the British rule India might have been better than the British conditions. It is of vital importance to see up the price and cost and that we have India has been.

I have placed two definite tests. It is as it is it is that that India is in the present century in the world, having without all people remaining after the first months of the year?

It is as it is it is that that India has been considered unconnected and nearly through compulsory disarmament but also through being denied so many opportunities that members of a last nation are always satisfied to?

If you find upon recognition that in these two tests England has failed, I do not say anything, but in a very large extent, it is not that that England cannot but fail.

As a friend said, and as the late Mahatmas think and repeatedly from thousands of pictures: "Freedom and independence were India's heritage." It is not necessary for me to prove that British rule has been in the end British rule. It is only enough for me to state that events in good rule, that India is entitled to her independence immediately there is a demand made for it in behalf of her freedom and life.

It is no answer to be told that there are some in India who are afraid of the words "freedom" and "independence." There are some of us, and I admit there are some of us—who are afraid of talking about the freedom of India. If the British perspective—created in whatever form India. But I think you are the strongest and those, who have become politically conscious nations in such time that they are ready to pay the price for the rule of freedom. There are, however, well-meaning Indians as long as the Congress believe they present workers and live their life in present policy. We do not want the freedom of India, if it is to be bought at the sacrifice of the lives of others—if it is to be bought by spilling the blood of the rulers. But if any sacrifice can be made by the state, by ourselves, to see that freedom, then you will find that we will not hesitate to give a Congress full of blood to flow in India in order to confirm the freedom that has been so long delayed, and I know, as you, oh, reminded me, that I was not a stranger to your world, but that I was a comrade. I know that I have the absolute assurance that as far as you are concerned and those whom you supposed are concerned, you would always stand by it and give such more to India than you are ready to read and therefore friends to India.

I thank you once more for the great reception you have given to me. I know that it is not the highest that to me. You have done that more to the people, which I hope will be that to me as to your friends, danger—and I have with your presence and your intention I shall never drop the principle that I today practice.

Gandhi in Lancashire

A Most Affectionate Reception

Two of the most emotional days of our stay in England were spent—thanks to Mr. Jackson who had invited me—Gandhi visiting England if only to meet the Lancashire employers and workmen people—in some of the manufacturing areas of Lancashire, areas where the manufacturers have concentrated on cotton fabrics exclusively for export to India. "We were prepared for courtesy which we expect from all producers, we were even prepared for a little bitterness which distrust and misunderstanding often creates, but we found instead a warmth of affection for which we were not prepared. I shall treasure the memory of these days to the end of my earthly existence." In these words, of which the gist was repeated at every meeting and Conference that Gandhi had with the employers and working men, Gandhi summed up his experiences for having had upon the opportunity of meeting all these friends. The warmth of sympathy could only be equalled by what Gandhi has been hearing with in the towns and villages of India. There were no public meetings, but what was better was a heart to heart chat with various groups of employers and employed who gathered before Gandhi all the facts of their existence, and away at the risk of having to repeat the same story to hundreds, Gandhi sat all groups and declined to withdraw even John Wilson, Horwood and Hughes, who were impossible for arranging these talks and Conferences, had made their plans with great skill and consideration and the procedure was carried on to the highest and highest manner. All this was, the records to the forthcoming work of 1932. Charles Jackson who depicted many a prophetic before Gandhi's arrival.

Joy Not Unmixed

But the joy of meeting these friends was not unmixed. After having given all of them a patient hearing, it was no happiness to Gandhi to tell them that he could hear them very little longer. They had come with great expectations perhaps, but Gandhi had with great sorrow, to make it clear to them that he was called to undertake a task to which he and his country were assigned. "My responsibility is not so narrow that I should not feel for your distress at this time. I do not want my country's happiness at the sacrifice of any other country's happiness. But what I am sure you are told but, I am afraid, your distress is not largely due to India. Confessions have been that for some years and the bright past only at the last stage." He said at Lymington Garth Village. "There is no happiness at Britain alone, as distinguished from other foreign lands, says the 14th March when the time was upon. At a nation we are obliged to boycott all foreign cloth, but in view of an international settlement between England and India or in view of a permanent peace, I should not insist on such preference to Lancashire cloth to all other foreign cloth, in the sense that we may need to supplement our cloth and we cannot ignore—But how much reveal that the give you, I do not know. You must recognise that all the nations of the world are now on upon to you. What you have done, all other nations are doing to-day. Even India really would be producing more and more

cloth every day. Yes, surely, well not want us to export Indian textiles for the sake of Lancashire."

"I am pained, let me elsewhere," at the workshop must have. But there is no starvation of non-striker men in India, we have both. If you were in the villages of India you would find even danger in the eyes of the villages, you would find half-starved children, being orphan. If India could reduce them by putting life and food into them in the shape of work India would help the world. To-day India is a curse. There is a curse in my country which would make me as bad as the flies of these half-starved millions in order that the rest may live. I thought of a human method and this was to give them work which which they were lacking, which they could do in their cottages, which required no great investment or implements, and of which the product would be easily sold. This is a task which is worthy of the greatest men of Lancashire."

Lancashire's Case and Gandhi's Reply

"But look at those mills which were busy before only the other day lying absolutely idle. In Hindlip, Darwen, Great Harwood, Accrington over a hundred mills have had to close down. In the Great Harwood area nothing less than 17,458 houses are idle."

"We took special trouble at Calcutta in warning Indian leaders, we are warning exclusively Indian in India, and why should we not make them today and being about better relations between India and England?" said some of the employees.

"The lodged India during the months of 1917-20. We talked slowly but the point and end of it is there. We have always stood for a Moral policy. Why should the imports be allowed against us?" said some of the working people. Some of them placed their individual grievances before Gandhi. The most pathetic of these all was the following:

"I am a cotton spinner. I have been a spinner for 45 years and now I am without work. It is not want or distress that makes me. My estimate of myself is good. I have taken in my own estimate in my work. I am a recipient of unemployment dole. I do not think I am going to finish my life with any satisfaction."

At Horn Farm, which is a rest house in Tockley for the employees and the producers among the employees who might say to spend a weekend there, several thousands of unemployed people walked upon Gandhi with very nearly the same tale and the brethren in the rest house had a special service where they prayed for the will of God to prevail. It was impossible for Gandhi to describe his feelings. "I would be untrue to you, I would be a false friend if I were not frank with you," said Gandhi and pointed out his hand before them for those questions of an hour—how long how anxious with others and perhaps were in his life. Unmistakably asked up, how he had earned the names of such others everything else, how he had returned from working turned to the world, how he was led to place the opening wheel before the country and how the world conditions had driven them to the present state of things. "I strive with Lord Jesus to 'March for the liberty to human labor and human cloth. He suggested that I might give up the boycott for three months as a gesture and

these means is, I said I could not give it up for three months. You have three millions unemployed, but we have nearly three hundred millions unemployed for half the year. Your average unemployed earns 30 shillings. Our average income is 2 shillings and six pence a month. That means we were so poor that he was falling in his own estimation. I do believe it is a degrading thing for a human being to earn less and to live on debt. Whilst conducting a strike I would not leave the workers remaining idle for a single day and get them to break the chains of debt and work in public streets, making my own contribution to get them to that work, because, however, what a misery it must be to have 300 millions unemployed around millions belonging degraded everything for want of employment, devoid of self respect, devoid of faith in God. I dare not tell before them the message of God. I may as well place before the dog over there the message of God as before these hungry millions who have no home in their own and whose only God is their belly. I can tell before these 300 millions of God only by taking the message of social work before them. It is good enough to talk of God whilst we are making bare either a new headland and looking forward to a new horizon, but how can I so talk to God to the millions who have to get without two meals a day. To them God can only appear as bread and butter. Well, the peasants of India were getting their bread from them and I offered themselves spending what is said that they may get better, and if I appear today before the British public as my brother-in-law because I have come to the side representation of these half-starved, half-clothed, half-educated millions. We have proved that we were back in the presence of God's creation. I tell you it is impossible to do as whilst millions are starving at your door. Even in your money you are comparatively happy. I do not grudge that happiness. I wish well to you, but do not think of prospering on the backs of the poor millions of India. I do not want to believe an eternal life at all, but I do not want to depend on my country for my food and clothing. Whilst we may derive comfort by taking our Government money, I must tell you that you should cherish the hope of reviving the old Laxminidra. It is impossible. I cannot religiously help in the process. . . . Therefore, I have suddenly stopped teaching and I am judged by artificial measures for a while and have to breathe again, must I, for ever, depend on artificial respirators and refuse to see my own hand apart? No, it would be suicidal. I must try to strengthen my own lungs and live as my own creature. You must pray to God that India may strengthen her lungs. Do not withdraw your money to India. Think of the world hunger that are possibly working against you. Run things in the day light of human."

When the Mayor of Dorset he said

"They tell me what I am to do with a fifth of the human race living on the verge of starvation and devoid of all means of self respect. It should occupy the attention even of unemployed Laxminidra. You have told us of the help Laxminidra gave us during the famine of 1920-1921. What action can we make for the black-out of the year? I have come to give you this week. But it is

so without giving it, it will not be through my fault of mine. There is an intention in me. I claim fully only with the intent of month. Why not then with Englishmen with whom we have long fought, for good or ill, for over a century and amongst whom I claim some of my dearest friends? You will find me no easy proposition, but if you will accept my advances I shall go away, not in bitterness, but with a sense that I was not pure enough to find a lodgement in your hearts."

Wholly Economic

The talk with the employers of Dorsetshire was most friendly and seemed to be a most disinterested appeal. It is these few Quarterly Journal brought out the economic aspect of the foreign cloth boycott.

Q "Is it possible, Mr. Gandhi, to divorce boycott for a political purpose from boycott for an economic purpose?"

A "When the sole object was that of punishing Dominion in 1920, when people protested against all American or Dominion goods to those of British make—it was obviously of a political purpose. When British machinery was then boycotted. But now the original economic boycott remains. You may call it boycott but it is an entirely objective effect or a self-punishment movement. It is an appeal to go back to get better value, strike off others and save a living, however poor, not on debt but in the sweat of their brow."

Q "But the political aspect would be there inasmuch as you would give preference to post mills over all other foreign articles."

A "The boycott was not undertaken as hatred of the mills. In fact, it was the first consecutive effort begun with you control with the local millowners, and though the millowners are supporting our movement, they are not controlling and giving but we are trying to influence them. And when we go out to the villages we do not ask them to wear Indian mill cloth, we ask them to wear khadi or to make their own khadi, and every Congressman is expected to wear khadi."

Q "Whatever you may say, Mr. Gandhi, you are in the eyes of political power, which you are bound to get, and as soon as you get it these millowners, or the representatives of these mills, will hold you tight with and be a power threat to your villages that even the Laxminidra cannot touch."

A "If I can still bring them, and if such a situation happens, I make bold to say that the mills will be destroyed in the process. And, with our political power, universal cloth savings will come and it will be responsible for the closed doors to such the interests of poor villages."

Q "Don't you think people themselves will go back to mill cloth as the Laxminidra are going back to liquor?"

A "No. In America, Prohibition was a mighty weapon used by a powerful nation against an unarming people. People were accustomed to drinking. Drink was Laxminidra to India, mill cloth was seen as a friend, whereas khadi has become a foe and a passport to corruptible society. And whatever happens I shall fight on for the economic salvation of my people and that you will agree, it worth living in and dying for."

Q. It will be an unequal fight. The majority of common competition will sweep everything before it.

A. God, you see, has ordered defeat at the hand of Manasse and will sustain to the 'tilt. He will not suffer defeat in India.

Mr. Goss, the Chairman of the Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association, who started on a large part of this interesting conversation, agreed that the distress was more felt because they were thinking of a more commercial area. Whereas he said in this area of Madras, 50 per cent of unemployment was due to India, in his own area, Bombay, only 15 per cent was due to India. He also agreed that many of the mills had been closed down before the boycott of British goods was declared by the Congress and that a large part of the distress was due to world conditions and he also agreed that even a complete lifting of the boycott was not going to relieve the distress immediately.

Good Will

The unemployed widows that we saw Chaudhary, were in an Indian mood. On the contrary, they asked questions about the agricultural conditions in India, why the agriculturists had no work for one season in the year, why the standard of living was so poor and so on and so forth. The question with them, as they finally put it, was not of starvation but of lowered standard of living: when they could spend a shilling they have to be satisfied with one paise, and whilst many of them are now working at all, many had to live on their savings. The rate of their present debt is 17-1/2 mds, 12-1/2 for male 9/- for wife and a woman's and 2/- for each child per week. "Then," said Chaudhary, "in a famine, and for you, a commercial man, it should not be difficult to let open other industries and occupations. For one starving woman, I have no other comparison. If some of you experts can find it, I am prepared to subscribe it for the epidemic which is the malarialia. I am willing to let you do more things than this, that an independent India, as an equal partner of Great Britain, will give preference to Lancashire cloth, ^{and} ^{the} India made and which Lancashire alone has ^{the} ^{best} produce, over all foreign cloth."

Four months this, but as they had I spent an hour with them. One of them said 'Something good cannot but come out of this. And if nothing good, as well as come out, but good-will certainly in the competitive world. We understood each other now it is a privilege to have you. Mr. Goss, a highly large person up by considering him, another said, 'I am one of the unemployed, but if I was in India, I would say the same thing that Mr. Goss is saying.'

M. D.

Astram Bhagwanrao

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Measure, Being India

The Choice before Lancashire

In a previous article, I referred to the tendency that is being increasingly fostered in Lancashire to attribute all her misfortunes to the Indian boycott and to regard the situation, for her of the Indian market, through political disturbance, as her only hope for the future. Apart from the heavy lossessality of the supposed remedy, it would be worth while to examine here for the diagnostic itself is warranted by the actual facts of the case and whether, considering the vast total of effects in the long run, the remedy is likely to prove beneficial to Lancashire or to England.

That Lancashire has been forced to request aid, and that the Indian boycott has intensified the downward trend of her industry is also perhaps too true to set down the Indian boycott as the sole cause or even the principal cause of Lancashire's distress is to fly in the face of facts that can easily be verified. To arrive at a correct diagnosis of Lancashire's troubles, we would have to get Lancashire's perspective as perspective against those of the rest of the world and to determine how far they are due to temporary and external causes and how far to basic causes inherent in the origin and nature of the Lancashire industry itself.

In a recent survey prepared by the Cotton Trade (England) Bureau, of the general conditions which have been caused in the relations of supply and demand of textile products, the author of the Monograph sets forth an analysis from which the following facts stand out. First, that since the war the cotton industry all over the world has not grown so rapidly as the other industries and for the last two or three years it has experienced an instability in which profits have declined and lost time working has become increasingly difficult. Secondly, that while the world production of cotton goods has kept pace with the increase of population since 1914, the world's export trade in cotton goods has actually registered a decline of 21 per cent during the period ending closely to the continued growth of industries supplying their own home markets. And in this Lancashire has only shared the experience of the rest of the world as the following table will show:

	Estimated Exports of Cotton Goods							
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921
World	125	108	95	120	105	121	115	75
United Kingdom	100	100	17	61	30	59	30	30
Thirdly, that other countries have been able to increase their foreign trade at Lancashire's expense. It will thus be seen that the decline of Lancashire's industry has been as much due to world conditions for which we are in particular case be held to blame as to conditions peculiarly affecting Lancashire. Let us now enter into a closer examination of these.								
The table below gives figures of exports of cotton goods from the United Kingdom in various years, as expressed in millions of yards.								
Year	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18	1918-19	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22
Total all countries	5,412	4,521	4,517	7,323	4,179	3,948	3,763	2,938
India (exclusive of Bombay)	1,191	1,212	1,138	1,480	1,148	1,041	928	722
Canton and Hongkong	287	321	112	164	717	293	110	69
East of Persia	524	312	440	319	360	326	324	143
Central & S. America	798	508	543	495	448	470	402	252

Young India

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A Day at Canterbury

One of the biggest changes planned by Gandhi's new friend, Charlie Andrews, was the meeting with the Very Reverend Dean Johnson of Canterbury. We had looked forward to a day of peace and repose in the very beautiful Diocese, but we at once had an increased appreciation of the surprise the visit had in store for both Gandhi and us as the Dean himself. That, however, as Charlie Andrews drove us through. As though he was doing nothing striking, he sought to bring Gandhi together with the greatest influence in England and then drove himself away, was as the center of the road threw the road into the ground and afterwards walked a pace from a distance. I was tempted to show the Dean's meeting with Gandhi in a real sense the road goes into a tree, whose proportion is too early put in place.

"The presence was wonderful," said the Dean in his charming, easy manner, "why Mr. Gandhi should have come to Canterbury is a mystery but we do credit him as far as his visit was, they were in wonder that I told them that, again again from public, there is one great interest in common between Mr. Gandhi and me and that is religion. It is just to have a talk about things against that I was looking forward to a meeting with Mr. Gandhi and I am quite sure that we must meet again."

They had an intimate talk and then Gandhi had to appear alone on himself at three o'clock, so as to be able to talk and sleep at the same time when he had to stand in the deliberations of an important Committee. "With you as witness, Mr. Dean, I am going into silence," said Gandhi. "And now, back to the man who makes you speak," said the Dean, who had just asked him if he would like to attend the afternoon service. "I would love it," Gandhi had already replied.

So we attended an impressive service in the ancient Canterbury Cathedral "where through the longitudes of time and mortal flesh, the guiding authors made the work of justice." The Dean, at the end of the service, offered special prayers for the Indian delegates, in the Royal Table Conference setting of God to give India the national identity that England was enjoying, and also a second prayer to the Almighty to relieve the suffering of the Indian millions in China. There were no conventional or parish prayers in the visit was to me. We, who were accompanying Gandhi, had planned to leave Canterbury in the afternoon when we and

as we were preparing to go, the Dean in his invitation was calm and said "Yes, you cannot go. Every arrangement has been made for your stay, including that for your chauffeur and you must not go." I was in no particular hurry to go, especially when I saw that the Dean, far from being inconvenienced, would not really take a refusal. And in giving his hospitality he seemed to drive us in the way for both of us, and as he drove he talked, as to an open-air school, without the slightest reserve and with unassuming affability. It was a talk, as I shall measure all my life, but of which the of feeling and entirely sincere. And I will not be apt to regret it. It seemed a meeting of equals, as wide as his cordiality and calm, in my company the poor and oppressed throughout the world. "Here is one of the greatest spirits of the age," I said to myself, "and if England is great it is because of spirits like him."

"The Dean is not alone in the driving force," said I, "there that you are representing yourself as China." The little inquiry was enough to drive the Dean out. "Oh yes, I have been a student of China, but the intensity that has led him, China makes a study of it comparative and while planning a child and young Dr. Schweitzer, I have, with me, Dr. Gandhi, I hope will be there, Charles Andrews and I. The men who represent again the work in the British Isles, which has been the witness of people are collected and something like our meeting have passed. We should study the situation on the spot and meet the attention of the whole world, if possible, we do," said the Dean with much emotion.

"You will study the political aspect too," I asked. "Yes," said the Dean. "Liberty to me, does not mean my liberty. It means the liberty of all and everyone."

"You could not have been a better person for the moment," said I, and immediately the Dean proceeded to pay a tribute to Dr. Gandhi and Dr. Schweitzer. "Dr. Gandhi's is a name known to all in England. He was to be off to London to work for the oppressed there and for Alfred Schweitzer it would be a matter of the work he has been doing in the heart of Africa."

"He has just sent a copy of his latest book to Gandhi," said I, and the Dean said he knew the book. "Dr. Schweitzer gave a new name to the central concept of theological thought in Europe," said the Dean, "and though he would never be here just in the other

system, I think he was a really warmest. He is a remarkable personality. He made a deep study of man, especially of India, of whose work he was a devoted student, then studied religion and made his Doctor's degree and finally decided to go on to further Africa to serve the oppressed humanity there. His guiding motives were two: (1) to include back in the word of the Lord that in wise hearts his life shall dwell; (2) that he must do something to expiate the sin of our people—the tyrannies and brutalities we had perpetrated on them by the industrial drive itself, and was having demoralised them for years. His explanation could be enough for thought, and on these himself light by the rays of divine and deeper and death."

I mentioned Bernard Russell back on Chow from on his table and the Dean started off saying something about Bernard Russell which compelled him to say something about himself. "Oh yes, I have known Bernard Russell well. At the time of the Russian Revolution, I had been in Spain on Russia and secured the support of the then military authorities in Manchurian soldiers attended our meetings. I felt that what the Russians were doing was the right thing. They were told to have democratic religion and Christianity. I did not want it, for I saw quite clearly that what they did was more important than what they said. And nothing could have been more in the spirit of Christ than that fight for the poor and the oppressed and to secure that the execution of life come to grips with the Indian struggle. It is not for that words 'Lord, Lord' that is the true Christian, 'but he that doeth the will of the Lord'."

"You will be specially surprised, Dean," said I, "to find that the same view has been expressed by Noel and Dorothy Duran in almost identical language in the book called *The Challenge of Bolshevism*. He was delighted. He had just seen the book which I presented to him last. "I only wish I knew the way we have taught!" said the Dean with a sigh, and answered the German. "I saw them and knew them," said the Dean, "and still that we could not fight them." I mentioned Lord Haldane, and the Dean said, "He was one of the very few who knew Germany and the Christian. He was Scotch, very good able to serve. I believe on grounds of health the University here, he went to Germany and collected all that was best in the German culture."

But as he was talking about these and thinking upon his mind was with all the oppressed humanity in different parts of the world and said, "As we were making the first Pader during the afternoon service I felt that Mr. Gandhi must have often been in the situation graciously described there and must have always felt strong in the strength of God. I said I was thinking on him and he was deeply inspired when I told him that I had there said these things during the service representing Gandhi's state of feeling."

"But as for me, I am a man and a man, a very common of man, and the concern of the people."

"All they that are men ought us to come they should and their life had taken they would enjoy be

inward in God that he would deliver him let him deliver him if he will have him."

And then "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: For Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff comfort me."

And the Dean repeated them last verses as he pointed to the cross now going up before us. "Many have asked me whether I was going to convert Mr. Gandhi to Christianity," added the Dean. "To convert him?" I have said to them indignantly. "He is one of the most Christ-like men that I have yet come across."

"Some men say that," I reminded the Dean, "that the Church repels, but perhaps attracts, and these things may be the true spirit of religion."

"That is very striking. I wonder who has said it," said the Dean. But he kept on to add a protest. "And yet all movements for growth and reform must come from God and not from Him in the Church. The Church, in fact, is like the bark of a tree. The business of the bark is to protect the tendency to be constant in the movement of life the bark made such good to be cracked that the life was exposed, and yet the bark remains as the protection of the tree. I could not have been the belief that I am but for my being in the Church." And a relief he is as I have already shown. He knows the danger from the French Huguenots who were hundreds of years ago in England and watched self-destroying. "And as I am both a worker and a rebel," says the Dean gravely. "Two things in common with the Mahatma."

But he returned to the theme and said if he could think of a parallel of the Mahatma it was St. Francis of Assisi, and the mission of Assisi brought back to him the memory of his dear wife with whom he had spent some time before his death in Assisi and in Florence, the place of Bernardino. And as he spoke of his dear wife in words of affectionate admiration I felt as though I had been privileged to sit near a man who had realised that death is but a deeper life. "Death has not separated us," he said, "she is closer to me. I feel her radiating presence every moment of my life and I still daily live with her in the work that I have now before me exposed. And as I related to the Dean vividly recalling the beautiful picture of his wife's forehead, about the 18,000 members of Manchester the quiet and contented face with which she knew the full measure of peace, and her death, I repeated the words of the great hymn:

"O Death, where is thy sting? Where givest thy victory?"

And he recalled, too, the days of his youth when he had not yet been as young and he looks as a man, when he studied philosophy and deep theology and how his views were expanded as he advanced to guide him to go out with a mission to India? "Often then I felt like going up everywhere and going down to the East to live and dedicate my life to the service of the oppressed. My dear wife lived every moment of her life with them," said the Dean. The inspired and influential advice through presence. They said that my presence was necessary

in Copenhagen, which was the very origin of English trade in China, where I graduated from high school and came to America's contact with America, if possible, help in the formation of the problem. This was during the time of the war. (Such a story he added, "When the first war and he was just that of English enjoyed the game. But, he must come back again." The young people are taking me (Mr. Gaudin) called the Christian and what he did there. Well, I need to them, he accompanied me, back just in the evening and then there is the article and says, through the problem appropriate to working. But I said then, then they might say that the problem I shall always measure in of Mr. Gaudin, meaning, a book to look, go back of my working time for and feeling quite at home. I wish a picture would paint it.

"I do not know," he added, "whether the young people will support all that I have said. I do not mind so long as they do not put on my mouth things I have not said. In the Middle, the President was quite good to me. I do not know how they will stand me here. But I thought I would use the occasion for declaration to the British public through this. That is one the Royal Trade Conference talks, I at any rate, will not tolerate a role of the 'young lion'—the British public will not tolerate a rejection of America."

Indeed, Mr. Gaudin and I—perhaps—I will not say otherwise—on the very basis of the Queen's speech. As he showed Gaudin over the Great Church Cathedral, where was the history of every part of that ancient institution, he had the very greatest sympathy as a scholar that would be the true spirit of those coverage notes. "Thomas a Becket really died the knight. He related against the authority of King. That is why he came in several (perhaps) George Dyer there, right under the nose, as an old church where the French Prebendary, who had been persecuted in France, was allowed to come and worship in peace. There is the tomb of John. Victor who joined the Crusades and found the Sultan a very terrible man. You see the tomb of the Sultan on the tomb, and on the floor or on other hands to the tomb are defined as obliterated. I am glad the church."

At night he recalled on the day watching Gaudin's opening his school. "They say," said he, "Mr. Gaudin from machinery. Well, that is the most delicate piece of machinery I have ever seen, and I should have to carry myself with the idea that it might not of the hand." He had already told the Press reporters that "Mr. Gaudin intends to machinery and have much machinery. Machinery might not be machine man—that is not thing and machinery might not be just into art of employment and supervising him. It is because it has impractical nature of man in India that Mr. Gaudin who there is on back to the wheel."

At his old talking, his heart was again very back in the forgotten China. "I think, Mr. Gaudin, we shall have your thinking when we go to China. The spirit of service is revealed in all that the Queen says and does and perhaps the source of inspiration is in the bond to stand in the year of beautiful companionship.

that he had with his wife with us at his own dinner in the Land. It is in his spirit that he comes to this, to move and from his being. The best idea itself put into the mind of his wife. As he made tea for us in the early morning he said "I do not love the kitchen very well. I know the one in Manchester very well indeed, as I worked sometimes five times or more more times at night under my wife who suffer."

The Queen has a heart more of human and has often made us laugh at his capital and that of the many old Queen whose picture hang on the panels of the Treasury. But the picture of the Queen I shall always treasure it at the kindly light, looking over of apparent beauty and then bring in the eternal companionship of his wife.

H. D.

Protect the Handloom

I make my most earnest appeal to Importers, dyers and dealers in cheap Japanese cloth to observe here that because this cloth, dyed and printed in our Indian lands and to include Indian preference in, perhaps, the worst way in India.

My next appeal is to the public in India who have not accepted, even at home, to make coarse cloth of your better cloth. In creating khadi as become including ourselves. I have and samples in the Congress Textile Campaign Committee, of the system is another kind. The cloth that do this distance to Khadi industry happens even to have regard the Congress Committee and accept the advantage of being placed on the sponsored list.

The big combine of mills managed by Messrs. A and P. Millers based in the Madras Mills Company with 1,00,000 spindles, who supplied the Indian market with about 17 crans of pounds of yarn last year, have signed the Congress agreement. Besides the other conditions, they have definitely agreed to stop, from all working, and further to give up working our yarn close run and below treatment for working in India. These conditions are agreed to protect the khadi industry against economic ruin. With the coming on line of the Madras Mills, all the handloom of South India are, if the public will give necessary cooperation, to be at once completely annihilated with regard to yarn. There can be no difficulty then to show a right action against all attacks on the Handloom on the part of the promoters either foreign or Indian.

I appeal to the public of South India to spend to give up the more for the coarse and make the women to wear only Swadeshi yarn. The encouragement of that cloth makes progress up the market for foreign cloth and foreign yarn and the decreasing cost of employment of increasing numbers of our women. Every implement of the South Indian producer can be run by the Handloom.

On the other hand I appeal to the women not to go in search of Swadeshi yarn of the coarse but to be satisfied with coarse below 40 of which size there will be a plentiful supply. I appeal to them also to choose from women mill yarn below 30, so that Khadi may develop unhindered.

G. R.

Young India

Real Minority Protection

(By C. MURUGESAN)

I venture to think that common people, both Hindu and Muslim, do not understand the exact difference between just and separate electorates. Hardly any one out of the thousands that gather to hear speakers delivered may have what some students with microphones and other modern electronic aids offered some would respectfully name. Questioned about it they would, or must, say, give their reasons that just electorates would lead to a big Hindu league formed and in the interests of Muslims, whatever separate electorates would ensure the voice of at least a few Muslims.

It is not really understood among the common people that in both cases the return of Muslims is secured, and that the difference is that in the one case, only the Muslims are chosen the Muslims are represented, and in the Hindu chosen the Hindu represent the, whereas in the other, Hindu and Muslims are chosen and chosen as many Christians and so many Hindus. Ask any group of assembled people, would you like the Muslim representative to be chosen by not to have the authority and the backing of all the people, Hindu as well as Muslims, or would you like the Muslim representative to be chosen by the few Muslims, in response to a few people and be looked upon as an article by the Hindu representatives? If the question is clearly put, I venture to think that they would give no answer decisively in favour of the former alternative. For, much as they would like good men of their own community to be so the country, they would prefer them to have the authority of all the people and not represent only a section among even the Hindu of minority or Hindu electorates only.

What is said with reference to Muslims applies also to other sections apprehensions of the opinion of the majority. It is not generally explained or sufficiently explained as they are in the system, of just electorates a certain number of that people will necessarily find places, either because those places are deliberately reserved for them or that necessarily, so because majority itself for they are themselves a minority and want to be protected as well for their own benefit. Common people are led to think that a just and uniform electorate may wipe them out of all representation. It is not made clear to them that representation is needed whereas a minority has reason to ask for it.

Separate electorates ensure the realisation and force of unity. But at times it is necessary to recognise things and all the time from the world. What is the true meaning of protection of minorities? What are the limits of such protection consistent with democracy?

Minorities have created wrong all nations, big groups of people with a strong minority or persons affecting them from, which differ from the opinion of the majority is a minority and so protection. It is not only the states and relations of minorities that make up minorities. The need for the protection of groups and individuals against the mass character has always been felt, whenever the principle of democracy

has been accepted by Government. But it was never thought as Government that it involved Government under a party system of an separate electorates.

Democracy must necessarily mean rule by the majority. So long as we wish democracy, we cannot but consent to be governed by the majority. Minorities need at such stage accept the commands of the majority, if they wish to form one consistently and not rule with the majority.

So called Democracy not only means rule by majority, but means the providing of suitable machinery for relations of minorities, prompt decisions and effective action by the majority. We cannot be said under a democracy that it enables to the way of these things. It is not enough to profess an absolutely limited extension of the hegemony of all voices in the national government. The Government is intended not to let a party and a handful persons on the wall only, but to act. At some stage it is necessary to give shape to the will of the majority, and to secure the consent of the majority. The better that is performed, the greater the discipline and the efficiency. Imagine for a moment that the Government of India were entrusted to a body like the minority Representation of the Round Table Conference. Government would be impossible.

If democracy necessarily involves the effective rule of the majority, then what is protection of minorities? Is it simply a strategy, and a falsehood, just to lead the way to majority as such, and of the minority? Not at all. There is such a thing as protection is a real and valuable thing. In all good democracies there is a substantial measure of protection. But this protection means that, in limiting the field of influence by the mass of individuals of minority group like majority, in providing for relations of minorities necessary for the welfare of individuals or various groups, and for the effective representation of their government and finally, in the equality of law and the removal of disabilities. It does not consist in recognising the majority in rule.

The history of the British constitution has been most remarkable for the manner in which the liberty of the subject has been protected against infringement by the state beyond the necessary measure. In no society in the world is there the feeling of individual liberty in the persons which can truly claim one part but that in British soil. In other countries democracy has meant the history of majority rule, but in England the principle of liberty has been worked out a strong and durable tradition. That it is which affects practically in all other states in England. But the minorities do not seek to get separate electorates and to let Parliament with separate delegates, so as to offer the largest possible resistance to majority rule. They are satisfied with effectively limiting the authority of Government, that is, the field of majority rule. They are loyal to majority and most British rule, but in what? Then for and so further. That is the true protection of minorities.

Minority groups may have disabilities here of past history. These must be removed. They may have been oppressed by the strong. The law must be made equal and available to all. Their welfare has not been the concern of the powerful. The majority may not concern itself about them. So adequate steps must be provided for effective representation of minorities and the satisfaction of minorities necessary for improving their material and promoting their welfare.

This brings us to the proposal that there may be separate group chambers for a second chamber. If the second chamber is not to have powers of creating a deadlock in majority bills, but designated as one to provide for consultation of government with powers of vetoing matters, it would be a proper step to create such a second chamber, and give all minority groups, and special interests representatives in that chamber through separate electorates if desired. It would be a place where interests and minority view points can be brought out, and special measures initiated in most special work, which would otherwise be forgotten or left in adequate advocacy in the democratic chamber.

Representatives elected from separate electorates would share measures their complaints and initiate special measures. But the right of final debate and the responsibility for good government will rest with the chamber that is elected on the fundamental principle of democracy viz., rule by majority, which must be simple in form and purpose, and capable of prompt action. No union can govern itself unless the majority is truly and effectively liberated.

The minorities have every right to ask for protection in the Government, but they should seek this protection in the stable governmenting the interests of the people, not in the chapter concerning the minorities. Any other claim is inconsistent with democracy. The history of England is an ample and an impressive proof of the far greater efficacy and importance of the law governing individual and group liberties than mere electoral arrangements.

But beyond area laws governing the fundamental liberties of individuals and minority groups, there is a greater protection which the whole nation has been taught to realize and cherish now, this is the individual right to think through for oneself.

Federal Finance and Prohibition

Prohibitionists should stand in the Federal Finance Committee's Proceedings at the F. T. C. The worthy members appear to have got a certain strength, in which it is provided that except on articles "which are taxed for social purposes, as for example, alcohol and tobacco tobacco",—still be general revenue. This scheme that is said to have received general acceptance upon the old conference table which the Irish call is a general asset, and total prohibition is thereby rendered impossible. If the scheme on which the scheme is based is successful, it is highly probable that a good and substantial sum is calculated as available from Delhi and the provinces are asked to depend on it for their administration. The only way plan is to tack the revenue from Delhi as well as drugs to the other Government that is responsible for military expenditure, viz., the Federal Government.

If these measures in Prohibition do not turn matter, we shall have missed the only chance at the Round Table for a challenge on the Prohibition issue. It is true that the Fundamental Rights article in the Congress does not state Total Prohibition, but there is every chance of successful objection to its retention in such the article, being it said and altered, as the principle that the article should include only rights and duties of citizens and not matters of social reform legislation. The issue should be brought in connection with the allocation of Congress. The members would then come up full in the face and demand straight answers. C. R.

London Letter The Bitter Cup

By the time this reaches Delhi the readers will have had in substance of Gandhi's statement at the Minority Committee concerning his loss of the majority. That the thing was coming Gandhi knew very well. Spending a day before at the special meeting of the Friends of India where for the first time practically all the visitors was departing and we had papers in our hands as follows—Gandhi asked them to pray for India and her cause. "So far as known effect is concerned I seem to be failing. Visitors are being driven upon me which I am at a loss to bear. It is a burdensome task, at the end of which there may be nothing more to be done and there may be no result. But I dare not stop. My honest personal effort has been failed. The statement at the Minority Committee, presented to the same thing, appeared in the language of politics. The map of happiness was fairly full. To make it complete must the number of some of the members of the delegation, fully backed by the speech of the Prime Minister. Therefore, much the movement may prove, the truth of Gandhi's analysis will not be challenged seriously even by the people when some of the delegates refuse to represent. "Causes of failure were referred to the composition of the Indian delegation. We are almost all not shared representatives of the nation as groups which we are prepared to represent. We are here by nomination of the Government. Nor are those whose presence was absolutely necessary for an agreed solution to be found here. Further, you will allow me to say that that was hardly the time to summon the Minority Committee. It lacks the sense of reality towards we do not know what it is that we are going to get. It is better to a definite measure that we are going to get the thing we want we should include fifty three before we have a way in a vital struggle."

And in entering this protest against these remarks the delegates proved the truth of this. Who but the members of the Government would make statements like those made by Sir Michael O'Dea at Dr. Ambedkar? "We win the movement" said Sir Michael, "but the future of India lies with the British Government and unless we are willing to accept the submission of any nation. The Majesty's Government, on the basis of that Government, are the British who are in the last parties to decide the question and we are perfectly willing that they should be judges of the question." "The depressed classes," said Dr. Ambedkar, "are not anxious, they are not depressed, they have not shared any movement, for claiming that there shall be no connection between all power from the British to the Indian people. He evidently thinks that the statement of his community would be valid on the basis of the British Government that is the basis of the self government or independent India. With these statements of these friends before him, the task of the Prime Minister was easy. Nay, was not so readily accepted of the provincial meeting and the men that by the very plainest speech of the Prime Minister. The very accent and intonation, the repeated use of the words "honestly" and "believe me", gave him away. "But, recognizing I said to you on behalf of the Government, and supporting the

Prabhu said: "Take the broadest view to yourselves, why you have probably said that you could not go on making material money in a 'dark-hole.' Has this ever been seriously proposed? Indeed, in this very speech the Prime Minister probably said, 'If a Government produces its programme, well, that is as near a last word as the representatives of members will allow anybody to say a last word or anything.'"

But there is no cause for despondency. When you are prepared for the worst nothing can possibly matter. It was, therefore, that when trouble came to him, some subjects and some deeply hurt, he said "This is all in the good. We are meeting the parties of the wife and our cause is getting clearer every day. As for Dr. Ambedkar it is impossible to get angry with him or to be hurt by what he says. Don't you see our weakness (i.e. the loss of the Hindu Community) are increased as what he said the weakness?" Perhaps when all these controversies have ended, and into me composed enough to review the past disappointedly, the subject will be clear that no one could represent the minorities more than he who criticised his speech with that ungracious declaration: "What these people read more than eleven in the ignorance of a prosecution from court and religious prosecution. Cannot, what is often more powerful than law, has brought down to a degradation of which every thinking Hindu has cause to feel ashamed and to be ashamed. I should, therefore, have the most drastic measures enforced against all the stated persons to which these follow—~~representatives~~—of whom are subjected by the uneducated majority class. Thank God the conscience of Hindus has been stirred and undoubtedly will also be a cause of our final work."

The Silver Lining

"Well," said Gandhi, at the Friends of India meeting, "if I am expounding these studies and dealing dispassionately on the one side at least I am however seeking for personal joy outside the Conference, and the consistent Hindu must strenuously to understand the thing. Although I am no other stranger, they will not tell and will not to the cause. The cause and I are one, they know, and to they are one with justice and honesty and this applies to people high and low. And so I cannot myself that as long as my voice is useful and the cause clear and unobscured all is well."

An illustration of the kindness he is having I would take the matter in my articles on Gandhiji and the Congress. The good Datta is still full of the rest and says Gandhiji must regard the Congress as his English home and go there whenever possible. Among the thousands the best of them are already seeking to establish contact with Gandhiji. Mr. Dattatraya and Mr. Lala have already had long talks with him. Mr. Shree Desai had a long interview when he "talked about all points which he said he desired, and talked out of the means of getting out of the deep depression which the Western world is taking shape and shape. He discussed the question of the education of the child, talked with great attention on Gandhiji's view (his own) the past experience of a lifetime of the value of agriculture, and the great part it plays in the life of the child" (p. 9) of the child. "What is the cause of the

present depression, he said. 'It is agriculture and Gandhiji. I will mention of the various articles by the average but of this nature to the extent. And my Gandhiji's statement is important, and all the law the children should be encouraged to work in the soil to explore nature. It will be a working class and can be based on the Government, and it is really based on a life of the people of the country.' "What you think, said Mr. Desai, 'but these things have not worked. There are no Gandhiji's food for. The loss of an education, as a knowledge, teaching. They are based on system one of these days that taught is not going to secure us in our old property. They must make that many cannot but have to divide the work with them and so, such as they do it they will not be met according to their class.' "Then some professor," said Mr. Desai, with great simplicity, "is a great thing, I have no doubt."

The educational system are said and Gandhiji is already looking to go to Oxford, where the Master of Balliol has agreed to be Gandhiji's Honorary Tutoring, and Mr. Desai and Mr. Desai. The British professor of the London University came quietly in the other day, anxious to pay his respects to Gandhiji. "I am a lover of India and a great admirer of you, and all my good wishes are with you," said he. "Are you a great scholar?" Gandhiji asked him. He replied "But we without any Indian history," said Gandhiji, turning all his eyes, "to you to great a scholar as Mr. Tagore?" "Well, yes," said he, "I have faith in my capacity and if I had not it, I would not dare to occupy the Chair of Balliol. I have practically the whole of the last by heart, and have made a last-day study of the Upanishads."

Another speaker said a few days ago with a smile and a smile, "I am a great admirer of you, and all my good wishes are with you," said he. "Are you a great scholar?" Gandhiji asked him. He replied "But we without any Indian history," said Gandhiji, turning all his eyes, "to you to great a scholar as Mr. Tagore?" "Well, yes," said he, "I have faith in my capacity and if I had not it, I would not dare to occupy the Chair of Balliol. I have practically the whole of the last by heart, and have made a last-day study of the Upanishads."

is my reply." "Well, we have much to teach you in preparation," said Gandhiji laughing.

But there it is. The talk is looking to be more and more serious and a friend was telling me yesterday that though he had read Gandhiji's writings to find out the deepest side of the mind of man Gandhiji would really be. "The mind of the English man, apart from the Board Table Conference, is going to be reasonable," said he.

Foreign Visit and Welcome

The most welcome among the foreign visitors have been those of the friends, and ever since Gandhiji gave that beautiful message to America, we have been having hundreds of letters from America each week. The message of non-violence, based on the love of God, has touched the hearts of the people and through, and there is not a letter that has a reference to it. "You will receive many more than a half over the world," says a correspondent. "I heard a word of violence too some violence and general study of your talk. We need it desperately for we are going to peace and prepare for war. I would not see beyond of you. What you be in good as to want and for me the smiling instance. The world is still

one death of blood contamination and a little pain about I would like to remove the cancer in fact now I understand the use of the cancer (the cancer) that bring the cancer (cancer) cancer. The cancer. Last one I don't see and want to give to a professional person.

A friend never took a hint of "sensitive season" by, several public men and women of high rank. His friends would not easily concede it. In fact it was. He was immediately hurt and he said he was in the way of his life to decide. He went to America, had a talk with friends and was a little "not so" There were other big people from America who also visited Gladys and said that as the successful person of his people they prepared to do everything within to accommodate the first great change of manliness, and in case of falling, to take every opportunity, saying in quiet to his friends, to be the second person.

There have been friends from Ireland too, including that Quaker friend who leaves the Irish table without saying Ireland "We are in the same category as you," and an Irish friend "We are Catholic, you are still in the threshold and may have to go through much suffering. No please do come and visit a more majestic in the same plight, especially badly employed and neglected as here. I would give in lieu of the poverty of Ireland some the poverty of Dublin. In that Irish city, half there are no less than \$4,000 houses which can be described as no better than hovels. The surroundings are very poor indeed, and all that in spite of our great generosity. Do please come and visit our nation."

The German friends are all Dr. Werner Kuntze, Hansel a Nurse, is among a German society called "Tut", wherein he supports the philosophy and politics of non violence, and wants Gerdorf to be Germany as his apostle, though he is by no means overhauling with meager. But he thinks the war essential in the interest of the cause. Paul and Edith, Catholic, have a membership of two hundred children of different lands and most as a village near Potsdam. They "read lesson books every week and are now with you at all your little exercises. We try to educate our children by our own life in the spirit of our children. You will not have many wishes, denied to the negro for which you are the greatest instrument of God. We place our school at your disposal, during your stay here and we shall be happy if you are being with you your Indian fellow workers as well. We shall ask Dr. Haffner and other friends who are working for your cause at many parts of Europe, and Germany in particular, to come and meet you.

Here are several friends from Hsinchu who recently "let it completely sink in that in addition to the Indian and Miao groups that we could share Goshu we, as devoted Christians, want to get connected with the one who has been a Christian, from Christianity. We do want to see you. I would want so much for all our life. Would it be possible to see each other's contact with you first by reading your book? Can we meet you sometime, sometime, sometime?"

And how can I forget the great task that Madame Blomstedt and so, Gaudin? "We are members of

[illegible]

There are variations from Denmark, and France and even Spain. I was not sure that any of the Spanish were one nation. It all depends on how quickly we start get back to look that it is likely that some places in Germany and Denmark may be occupied with Volkswagen-Wagen, Holden's business-when finished to already make money to go.

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The Two Revolutions

October 1997

With the advent of Gandhi as the political field the moral, physical, and methods of political activity in India have been, so to say, transformed. Through his words through the more old institutions yet a new way they changed. Politics were considered an activity away from the rest of life. It was cut off from religion, morality and social life. It had a narrow connection with economics. It was not department of life that could be studied and professed apart from the rest of life. With Gandhi's life was one and, therefore, political activity was intimately connected with morality with social reform, with economics, and with religion work as general. All these moral and social upon one another. Sometimes for political action, it was necessary to lay the greatest emphasis on moral as moral as economic reform. Formerly, it was possible for a nationalist or Socialist, Hindu or Mahatma to be an exclusive ideologue on national, moral, and social or political. Such separation have happened in the past too. It was possible for a liberal to preach the ethics from the Congress platform elected from local to local or the liberal through national and Congress. It was quite possible for him to be a dual role leader with a hand in two or three other. The politicians on the scale of life was no less to the highest office in the National Assembly. All this has changed. Today for Gandhi, we have come to recognize that this may be no coherent, though had it is propounded by, our National and cultural ideologues. It proposes our weaknesses and vices. The last way or light it then would be for a person of self-purification and a reform of our institutions. The example for contemporaries could go on only by with the efforts to improve ourselves. We may not let our Gandhi was not the establishment of Swamy and the consequent production itself. We may, even now, pass a political compromise, which may be limited by religious

'Uncle Gandhi'

That is the name that Gandhiji has assumed from the little children in India. I shall describe this name, and give some more details of an impression which is sure to open to your knowledge. The child who has given Gandhiji the pet name of 'Uncle Gandhi' is a boy of three in the Children's House attached to Roorkey Hall. Every time the children visit Gandhiji, he has been in their days and their dreams. 'Now, tell me, mummy, when does Gandhiji eat, and who does not he want them?' and so on, and so forth. One day the mother said, 'No, look here, you mustn't say 'Gandhi,' but 'Mr Gandhi.' You know Mr Gandhi is a very good man.' 'I am sorry, mummy,' says the little one smiling innocently, 'I will call him 'Uncle Gandhi.' God has already met with the answer then, and he is called 'Uncle God,' but that story I shall save, for it is no part of my story. So the same night on, and on his birthday the little child says, 'now so 'dear Uncle Gandhi' birthday presents in the shape of a top toy and a comb, and wished "you had a birthday cake with song and a ball on it. Please will you come here on your birthday and we will have food and play, exactly about 'dinner' and 'supper' as a mother 'and little children'.

But there is one who does not belong to the Children's House but is growing up under his parents' care. She is just four and this is how she tries to keep the memory of an evening with Gandhiji green. 'I have a hope to play with you,' said her father to Gandhiji on his birthday. 'And what is it?' asked Gandhiji smiling. 'Well my little Jane comes every morning to me, like me and wishes me up and says, "now don't you let her, for Gandhiji told us the other day never to let her!"' There too where you, these parents lovingly smiling, how happy little beautiful happiness as they long to bring continued only moment to say 'good morning' to Gandhiji when he goes out for a walk, and the parents, who have been so early since, are hard put to it in waking up early and with the little ones early. Perhaps, some little ones will grow up like steady rebels as before and prove a handful to the parents, of the latter refuse to grow with them. That I am thankful to mention in the air, but on the cold rock of fact, will be apparent from what the little children have related.

Here, for instance, is an entry written on the birthday by a small girl (I forget her name, but I know she is four this last).

"St. Francis of Assisi was called the little poor man of Assisi. He was just like Gandhiji in every way.

"They both loved nature, such as the children, but not flowers. Gandhiji wears blue-velvet like St. Francis did, when he was so small.

"Gandhiji and St. Francis were men of rich merchants. One night while St. Francis was working with his followers, he thought of the poor Indians. He ran out and gave up his rich clothes and his money to the poor and started himself in old rags just like Gandhiji.

"St. Francis of Assisi's house of his followers. They made him of them, Gandhiji the very same thing. He gave up all his rich grey life to the poor Indian people.

"Gandhiji's people came from his little children to come to London. As he said to children who go to Roorkey Hall that he was not rich enough to buy them,

"On Monday he has a day's school for that of their religious. Gandhiji for his birthday presents had nothing like, candles and presents. He has no girl's birthday and even him."

Here is another by a boy of ten, represented as it is, without a change of spelling or grammar like the foregoing.

"Mr Gandhi is a Indian who was educated in a law school in London in 1890. He gave up this to help his country get better conditions.

"He has come to England for the Indian Round Table Conference to try and get back the right for India. He has been trying to get the 'Britishers' to let the 'Gandhians' come into their country. There are about 350,000,000 people who do not know what a good man is. He has given up all his belongings and is trying to get out of the poorest Indians. That is why he wears two-dots.

"He had a good a milk, fruit, and vegetables. He does not eat meat or fish because he does not believe in killing life. Gandhiji is a Christian Indian.

"Mr Gandhi spent his early years. He does not like's speaking every day in England and even when he was in England, he has not come back from London's visiting the cities with.

"He goes from Sunday 7 p.m. till Monday 7 p.m. and if the people do not want to hear him, when he comes to them, he goes to my house and the mother can hear him, but he said "One day he said he had had to do that myself." I have shaken hands with him. The Indian says for "Bhai" or "Gandhiji" or "Nandani."

W. A. J. Neville, 11 Kipling Road, W.10,
London, E. 3 10-2-41."

How real and true and profound, before the world has in the last days of the twentieth age, out and with Gandhiji 'every one of'!

I must say that this is the rough of what these teachers have taught them, and when they have learnt from a master with Gandhiji.

In connection with this, here is a picture of a school in the country, about 40 miles from London. I visited in company with Mr. Dandridge. "Now tell me," I asked them, "the name of the country I come from." There was a few moments' silence, but at last the five-year-old daughter of the teacher said, "From a sugar country." Her neighbour slightly older was shocked and whispered into her ear, "No it is dark. He is an Indian." In another class Mr. Dandridge asked where India was on the map. They showed India quite all right, but the teacher considerably added to their knowledge. "It is a country under our flag, and the government has come to demand rights for her people. Four things, they had no hand of "Gandhiji," but I discovered later on that the boy who whispered into the ear of the girl and corrected her was the son of a wealthy sugar-estate who made sugar-cane and has a great friend the Gandhiji.

The names of the Children's House I have given are a tribute to those in charge of the House, to who a specimen of the morning afterwards. Unwashed, open windows of children in England will have seen Gandhiji before he leaves the English shores. And who knows, it may be the generation with whom we may have to make students after all? They will be much better and more far-sighted people to deal with, than the present people that we the Indians that can say, nothing good of India, and so my wish that we had and had us.

Young India

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London Letter

The Parting of the Ways

Let not the hearing of this note make the reader thinking less important, when my last week's letter, which was not described as a definite parting of the ways. But we are well on the way to it, and before this letter is so good the daily press should have something more to say to us, for, those who stand on the side are now getting those who stand on the other side to come to grips with the fundamental issues and it may not be long before Gandhi decides whether he should continue to take part in the Conference or not for India.

It will be remembered that Gandhi's speech¹ concerning the failure of the negotiations on the Communal question marked the most important point in the proceedings—the first being the first speech in the Federal Structure Committee. This speech did indeed put the issue up of several high dignitaries, but increased them that Gandhi was an unswerving going to major matters. Even papers like the *Manchester Guardian* were not prepared to believe that the so-called 'Communal' Committee was unanimously established in the deliberations of the Federal Committee and that the Communal question had been given no definite programme previously. The whole week has been spent up to now to convince those concerned that he was in fact correct when he said it and that it was the duty of Government to place all the cards on the table.

Here is a series of Questions and Answers

"Q.," he was asked, "the Communal problem should not pre-empt over all the rest, why should you yourself have said, at one stage, that you would not think of going to the Round Table Conference, unless the Communal question was settled?"

"You are right. But you forget that I was taken down by the intense pressure of English and other friends in India who said that it was imperative that I should go. I was also persuaded that, if only to keep my word of honour with Lord Irwin, I should go. Now, here I find myself face to face with men who are not nationalists, and who were indeed only because they were Communists. Therefore, though I said that it was a matter of honour for me to go and to have been able to come to a decision, the principal question was the very competence of the Committee itself. It is too small for itself. There are men who claim to represent Communism which, if they were in India, and if a referendum were to be taken, would show them."

¹This speech is published elsewhere in this issue.

Q. What about the Communists? Dr Ambedkar was very severe on you and said that the Congress did no right to claim to represent the Communists?

A. I am glad you have asked the question. I do not mind Dr Ambedkar. He has a right to say what he says, an every respectable man, and I would keep on saying if they do so. But I may inform you that Dr Ambedkar speaks for that particular part of the country where he comes from. He cannot speak for the rest of India and I have numerous telegrams from the so-called "nationalists" in various parts of India warning me that they have the fullest faith in the Congress and denouncing Dr Ambedkar. And this confidence has a reason. They know the people that the Congress is doing for them and they know that if they cannot succeed in making their voice felt I would be prepared to lead a campaign of civil resistance on their behalf and against the Hindu orthodox opposition, if there were such an opposition against them. On the other hand if they were to be given special treatment, as Dr Ambedkar seems to be demanding, it would do that very Community increase issue. It would divide the Hindu community into social groups and provide another opposition.

Q. I am your guest, and I have no doubt that you can legitimately speak for the nationalists. But you seem to ignore the fact that everywhere all the world over men are being represented by their own people. The divided Islands of the world would truly represent the working men, but they would have their representatives from amongst themselves, and the great struggle has against you is that you are not an nationalist?

A. I know it very well. But the fact that I claim to represent them does not mean that I should think of representing them as the legislators. Do so means, I should have their own representatives chosen from their own class on the legislature, and if they are left out I should provide for their claims, except by the elected members. But when I am talking of representing them, I am talking of the representation on the Round Table Conference and I can assure you that if any one in India challenged me about I should gladly face a referendum and successfully.

Q. From this point of view it would be interesting to hear you about the Mussalmans too. You do not say that the Mussalmans here do not represent their community?

A. Well they are not duly elected, and I may tell you that I tried to win as many of the real successful Mussalmans to stay away. There is a real struggle

of the Indian leaders—Mr. Khare, Mr. Dasgupta, in your opinion—when I come to know only through the mouth of the one today staged against the Congress, and who are opposed to any Communist solution of the problem. Personally, I would give the Communists all they want and I have been making up my mind whether it is possible for the Hindu and the Sikhs to go with me, but I have failed. Do you think I would have failed if the Sikhs were united by the Sikhs and not controlled by Government? Minor Tan Singh would have been here, I know his name and he has his 12 points to go against Mr. Jinnah's 14, but I am quite sure I could have been done, so he is after all a coward in some. It is necessary that we should be in a definite settlement in the present emergency. It is, therefore, I said, that today already handicapped us, do not hesitate to come by saying that the solution of the Communist problem will provide any, because in the Communist quarter, I tell them that we know what we are going to get, so that on that basis I might endeavour to bring about unity even in the present dissented group. I at the last Gandhi's side have something to say. It would be useless coming to the law and help us to arrive at a solution. For I could tell them that they were doing a process going to justice. But in fact, I was going to present them with. And when I think we are solution I have suggested various cooperative solution, like, judicial reform, etc. That is the solution, I am a slave to my hands, and it is because I know Lord Borne is a fool that I want. But I am sure that it is an impossible situation.

Q. Is it your responsibility? You think you should not have done?

A. Yes, quite, and I am not going to give up my office until the last. As for my role I do not at all feel sorry for having come, for I know that indignity, and all the Conference, the work that I am doing is really satisfying and I am establishing contacts which I shall treasure.

Q. May I note at this time you do not much much respect in the Communist question?

A. I have never said so. I say that the question has been raised to paralyse the mass mind, which needs to be specially explained.

That is really not our task but has been coming into, and I am glad to say, so I have done before, that he is responsible in getting the important people to come to grips with the main thing. For instance, the proposal of the Federal Prince Sub-Committee is not the answer to the report Government and that shows the Government of the Federal Committee is a most arbitrary move, and by proposing to refer the report back to the Committee Gandhi has opened the dialogue, especially the Federal Committee, so the main thing and challenged them to state how far they are agreed and to what extent they are prepared to go.

In short, there has been a definite clearing of the atmosphere and I think a definite step forward in a way that the way has been taken, if I am to judge from the talks that Gandhi is having almost every day with the Secretary of State.

No Moslem Solution

For perhaps the most sharp comments were asked at the American Journalists Conference

in New York, in which they had visited Gandhi on the 19th, about the question of talks. It was on the subject of talks that the question should have been put by someone I believe, most, but, as you I told Gandhi, I thinking about it, described it as a delicate matter. He replied that for some minutes with them as to how possible had negotiated him and how to you indicate a compromise but could not give his life. The top of tomorrow, he said, would be his, when in the words of a journalist in India, they deliberately calculated their talk with "a little bit of ambiguity." He commented that the words of truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and answered questions as they were asked. One would have thought they would not, questions of a general nature and of universal interest, but they were too full of their present immediate surroundings to want to be let out of them.

Q. Are you hopeful of a successful outcome?

A. I am, on principle, I mean here, hope, but I am sure that I am no more a pessimist than I was in Bombay. There are numerous difficulties. I know that the Congress demand against a Hindu two legs in the atmosphere that is hard to meet here, though I think that is more two legs.

Q. Is there no way out of the difficulty?

A. There are many ways, but whether they will be adopted by the parties concerned, I do not know. It has been said that the solution of the Congress and Gandhi depends on the solution of the Communist question. It is not true, and I am afraid it is the very possibility of the question in the present form that has made the question more difficult and given it an altogether added importance, and because it has been made the before the parties concerned feel that they are going to be done as high as possible. And then, we are moving up a ladder down stairs and the talk of joint business more and more difficult. But I, for the sake of me, am up this question as well between the two questions. India will have freedom whether the Communist question is solved or unsolved. No doubt we would have difficulty than the settlement of freedom, but freedom itself cannot be held up by the question, for we may get freedom as soon as we are weary of it and being weary of it makes matters though for it, paying a high price for the rule goes of freedom. But of my business, whether it we have not paid the price, even a solution of the question would be of my help to go. If we have settled enough, not without sufficient sacrifice, no agreement or negotiation would be necessary. But who am I to determine that we have settled enough in the hope that we had settled enough I must have and I am not at all sure that I have here, for I feel that my work has outside the Conference and that is why—in spite of my maximum engagement I agreed to come here for this I regard as part of my work.

Q. Does not the General Committee make you much difficult?

A. It need not, if British statesmen wished that the General Committee would be more difficult of that was a war between Gandhi and India, however involved, they would not allow the present situation to hamper the solution of our problem. They must realize that in some India demand is not granted, there is a hard to be a three systems, and all the

Young India

Europeans to the Rescue

(By G. RAMANUSWAMI)

The Madras Chamber of Commerce is an association exclusively of members of British nationality. There are a few honorary members who may not be of British extraction, but they are not entitled to vote. This such a Chamber of Commerce should adopt the following resolution unanimously at a special general meeting is a remarkable fact:

"The Madras Chamber of Commerce is of opinion that the business in the Indian Trade and the Export and Import Duties imposed by the Finance Member in the Bill to Supplement the Indian Finance Act of 1930 are not only detrimental to the trade and industry of the country, especially at the present time, but are also calculated effectively to disturb the progress of industry and thus deprive the provinces situated under these duties and the Chamber strongly urges upon the Government of India the necessity for meeting a larger percentage of its increased deficit by more drastic retrenchment in its Civil, Military and Railway Expenditure."

The Chamber would further emphasise the fact that in spite of the derivation of responsibility to the Parliament from the introduction of the Customs, the cost of the Civil Administration of the Central Government has increased during the past ten years by nearly 40 per cent. (from 941 lakhs in 1921-22 to 1326 lakhs) and would urge a searching enquiry into the expenditure on:

(a) Departments dealing with subjects which have been transferred to provincial authorities, such as Labour and Industries, Medical Service, Public Health, Agriculture, Education, Forests, etc.

(b) Special Departments such as the Yarn Board, the Imperial Research Council of Agriculture, the Department of Commercial Telegraphs and Cables, Railway Board, the Railway Sales Advisory Committee, with a view to determining whether during the present financial stringency they should be abolished, incorporated with other departments, or reduced to a skeleton basis.

(c) The greatly swollen expenditure on Roads.

(d) The Post and Telegraph Department with a view to placing it on a more satisfactory financial basis.

(e) The High Commissioner's Office and the Secret Department in London.

"While realising the importance of national defence, the Chamber would point out the fact that the cost of military services is 32 per cent. greater than it was in 1913-14 and would urge the necessity for further reduction of expenditure, especially in regard to Army Headquarters Administration."

A few weeks ago the European Association at Madras adopted a resolution regarding that instead of supplying per cent. one munition and chlorine per cent. retrenchment, war management should lead to a policy of supplying per cent. two munition and chlorine per cent. retrenchment. We would improve the figure on one

part. But for paragraph 5, the same. The Chamber of Commerce meeting is open for some months since, the necessity for meeting the deficit more by more retrenchment than by new taxation. The Chamber's consideration of economic Military Expenditure is specially noteworthy. It has also pointed out that the introduction of reforms, instead of retrenching expenditures, has increased the cost of Administration in a most important manner. While war taxation has begun to be reduced steadily, the proposed reduction in military is yet in the region of thought. We do not suppose that it is possible to give effect to cuts in military for the present.

Natural Justice

The Government of India some time ago withdrew the salt revenues from two taluqs in Madras District in Andhra on the ground that the salt was removed to large quantities and delivered to traders in distant villages. The basis of the withdrawal of the privilege from two taluqs in Ramnad District, the mode of withdrawal being the first source of salt supplies of almost all the revenue. The privilege being restricted to two taluqs out of many was apparent and illogical, it is not so easy matter to spread a correct and complete knowledge of the situation among the people concerned. But every citizen is having legal rights in their districts and taluqs regard for the conditions is related to them. August 29th Ramnad District has been in correspondence with the Salt Department to revoke the grant of the right of salt supplies, to be issued for distribution among Congress workers and others for being employed and handicapped among the villages concerned. It was only on October 15th that he sent a reply to the Home Secretary agreeing to various suggestions made by him in regard to these taluqs and regarding revoking other points among them. In the course of correspondence with the Salt Department, the Collector of Madras Salt Revenue pointed out the alleged manner in Madras District that no mention was made at any time about the abuse of the privilege in Ramnad District. When therefore, the communication was received cancelling the privilege in respect of Ramnad District it was a complete surprise.

The communication makes no mention of any other ground such as that the salt was used for trading outside the neighbourhood or that it was taken for commercial use. The order is made to nullify or remove removed to distant villages. In former case allegations in which the absolute withdrawal of a most valuable privilege is based upon its duly granted and subjected to conditions and good conduct. Even if the prosecutor and the judge think in one and the same manner naturally, it is surely wrong to deprive one with justice and the opportunity to deny the facts before with a generous verdict.

Once a right has been conceded by government to a party it is less than that of other rights. It may be subject to condition and a breach thereof may enable government to withdraw the right. But the breach should be proved and should not be assumed on the mere statement of it. What is all important is that the rules of natural justice should apply where no specific procedure is prescribed. The measures of leniency in nature and especially in this case against the allegations, whatever the Tribunal may be.

J. C. K.

The Congress and the Minorities

The following is the full text of Gandhi's speech to the All-India Committee.]

From "Congress and Family," it is with deep sorrow and deep lamentation that I have to announce that today on my part no agreed reference to the communal question through original conversations among and with the representatives of different groups. I apologise to you, Mr. P. N. Mitter, and the other colleagues for the waste of a precious week. My only consolation has to be the fact that what I accepted the burden of carrying on these talks, I knew that there was not much hope of success, and still more is the fact that I am not aware of having spent any effort to reach a solution.

But to say that the conversations have to our utter shame failed is not to say the whole truth. Causes of failure were inherent in the composition of the Indian delegates. We are almost all and almost exclusive representatives of the parties or groups whose we are presumed to represent, we are here by nomination of the Government. Not one Hindu whose pleasure was doubtless necessary for an agreed reference to be found here. Further, you will allow me to say that the very kind of the men to nominate the Minority Committee. In fact the cause of reality is that we do not know what it is that we are going to get. If we know it is a delicate matter that we are going to get the thing we want, we should have made it known, but we have to wait in a cold struggle, as it would be if we are told that the gaining of a world depend upon the ability of the present delegates to produce an agreed reference of the communal struggle. This reference can be the cause of the coming catastrophe, and its finalisation is only because no differences have happened, if they have not arisen. In reason of the former statement, I have not a shadow of a doubt that the working of communal differences will work under the watch of the men of freedom.

I therefore venture to suggest that the Minority Committee be allowed to work and that the High-Commission of the Government be allowed into shape as quickly as may be. Meanwhile, the national work of overcoming a free solution of the communal problem will and must continue, only a trust not help or be allowed to block the progress of Christianisation leading progress must be derived from it and concentrated on the main part of the movement.

I hardly need point out to the committee that our failure does not mean the end of all hope of arriving at an agreed reference. My failure does not mean that my own defeat, there is an such word in my dictionary. My confidence purely means before of the special effort for which I promised to ask for a week's adjournment, which was to be accordingly given.

I propose to see the future as a stepping stone to success, and I assure you all to be likewise, but should not allow an agreement that, even when the Round Table Conference reaches the end of its labours, I would suggest the addition of a clause in the agreed Conference approving a period of time that would examine all claims and give the final decision on all the points that may be left unsettled.

Now and the Committee think that the time given for finding agreed conversations to be wasted on

the time altogether wasted. You will be glad to hear that many friends, including all the delegates, have been giving their attention to the question. I have done I would mention Sir Godfrey Coburn. He has produced a statement of understanding of the People which, though it has not found acceptance, it is my opinion, well worth studying. I am asking Sir Godfrey if he will kindly deliver and circulate it among the committee. Our Sikh colleagues have also produced another, which is at least worthy of study. Sir Robert Carr produced last night an important and well prepared to set up for the Punjab two Legislatures, the issue is really the Minority side and the upper assembly involving the Sikh side. Though I am an believer in a bicameral legislature, I am much attracted by Sir Robert's proposal, and I would derive like to present it further with the same end with which, I probably shall, be followed and contributed to the national deliberation.

Lastly, as to work as the only reason for my appearance at these deliberations is that I represent the Indian National Congress, I must clearly not think in private. In spite of appearance to the contrary, especially as I heard, the Congress claims to represent the whole nation, and must therefore the divide in three, among whom are included the members of the Congress, who are more important than I myself, as this is a way the more substantial and neglected classes known to the Indian Nation.

Now as the Congress parties is a party shall I am reading the Congress resolution, the Congress has, since its inception, set no great store on its final. It has understood to have three common leaders. The following Lahore resolution was the outstanding point in its advance towards deliberation.

"In view of the issue of the Lahore Report it is necessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress, believing that in no independent India communal questions can only be solved by strictly national basis. But as the Sikh is, particularly, and the Muslims and the other sections in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal question proposed in the Lahore Report, this Congress among the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no action thereof or any future deliberation will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

"Hence the Congress is protected from taking final any communal reference of the communal problem, but at the same time in the history of the nation it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest the solution by the Congress a solution, through communal or agreement, yet as easily national as possible, and generally acceptable to the communities concerned. The Working Committee, therefore, after full and free discussion, unanimously passed the following scheme.

"1. (a) The right to the constitution relative to fundamental rights shall include a guarantee to the community members of the protection of their culture, language, script, education, profession and practice of religion and religious observances."

"(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be included in the Constitution."

"(c) Protection of cultural and other rights of minority communities in the various Provinces shall be the

Union and be within the jurisdiction of the Federal Legislature.

"3. The Transition shall be extended to all adult men and women.

"4. The working Committee is committed to this Resolution by the members of the Karachi Congress and cannot entertain any alternative resolution. It was, however, of unimportance to some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that it never meant the Transition shall be automatic and so automatic as to depend on the absolute will the proposer or the population of every community.

"5. (a) Joint elections shall have the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

"6. That for the Hindus in Sind and the Muslims of Aomra and the Sikhs in the North West Frontier and Punjab and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 55 per cent. of the population there shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population, with the right to elect additional seats.

"7. Appointments shall be made by one party public service commissions, which shall guarantee the maximum qualifications and which shall have due regard to the efficiency of the public service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all the communities for a fair share in the public service of the country.

"8. In the transition of the Federal and Provincial schemes the process of minority communities should be recognised by convention.

"9. The North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of Government and administration as other provinces.

"10. Sind shall be considered into a separate Province provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the proposed Province.

"11. The future constitution of the Union shall be Federal. The transitional process shall rest on the following four pillars on further examination it is found to be against the best interests of India.

The working Committee has adopted the foregoing scheme as a compromise between the proposals based on unbridled communalism and national communalism. Whilst the latter has been the working Committee hopes that the whole Nation will endorse the scheme, on the other it wishes that who take corporate view will consent to let the Committee will gladly, as it is bound to by the Lahore resolution, accept without reservation except any other scheme if it commands the acceptance of all the parties concerned."

That is the Congress resolution.

It, however, is evident scheme is impossible and the Congress scheme proves unworkable. I am not persuaded from listening any more reasonable scheme which may be acceptable in the present concerned. The Congress position on the question, therefore, is one of greatest possible accommodation. Where it can not help it will not obstruct. Therefore to say that the Congress will whole heartily support any scheme of private federation. It seems to have been disappointed that I am opposed to any representation of the Union divided on the linguistic. This is a minority of the truth what I have said and what I stand upon is that I am opposed to that special representation. I am convinced that we can do better as good and may do much better but the Congress is

winded to such function. Therefore, nothing of them can be placed on the floor, and it is impossible to imagine that with nationality, but dispensing members of these voters can be helped by the others. But when these people stand more than others in the legislatures in provinces from racial and religious perspective. Cases which is also more powerful than law, has brought down a degradation of which every thinking Hindu has need to feel ashamed and to be ashamed. I should, therefore, like the most drastic legislation rendering invalid all the special provisions in which these fellow-members of what are only posed by the so-called superior classes. Thank that the conscience of Hindus has been stirred, and surely ability will rise to a state of our racial past.

Is it Corroborated?

The millions of Muslims leaders and leaders of the Depressed classes and others in the Congress give for a regional national scheme, and that kind stand were ignored the all provincial Hindu, show that entire Gandhi and the Congress are every working towards by about eight of millions in those of Muslims or by some means. What then is the meaning of the national acceptance of the conference proposed? Why is it so difficult to secure leaders of Muslims, to get them for working? Why do the Congress say only in favour of a few Hindustani elements, while Gandhi says no, standing at the approaches to the north? The officials are crowded with a simple explanation forwarded to them by the tribal king and the leaders. "It is all impossible." In the district minority is so important that it can be so easily control or forgotten! If so, the Government can be easily reduced to a poor play. If it is not so important as that, then how is it that when such a weak and oppressed community in the north-east can have their Hindu and light Congress, controlling in their light, when they are placed for obviously wrong and unworkable scheme of representation, the district minority is not willing to fight and oppose the Congress scheme? And this, when the Home Department, the Reserve Police, the Local Revenue Officers, the Magistrate and in fact all the arms of a powerful Government are only too willing to meet the slightest call and come to their rescue for protection, influence as well as defence, in the north being given.

Further, can it make people that to work to explain the Government to assist it to others on the basis of nations. The success of the policy and the propaganda against Hindu cannot be explained away by a theory of unworkable accommodation on the part of the Congress. What is left to be an obvious form of compromise or less or really the worst thing of the policy. This feeling is perhaps further in the Hindu mind as yet quite understandable, and they call it weakness. The Hindu mind has understood the representation to disadvantage. But it cannot understand the Hindu share and progress left alone all drinking away in confusion. That is the condition of an agitating social tradition, and cannot be called by the ordinary Westerner. Hence he seems to believe as what we tell him that we have not understood the conscience of the non-Hindus.

These Pictures (By C. Ramaswami)

A crowd and a number of depots going according to a programme in the Madras Government based on money, but April and May of this year, compared with the same months in the previous year. This was enough to make any Finance Member feel and know, the the day as it came the dismal results of the totally broken economy in August and September enough to drive any Government mad. Before the middle of September, that is, before the worst "flood" and one-flood came, let all figures that could not be disposed of, something must be done to create confidence in the minds of the Europeanised man. All departments are busy doing but cannot consider to create the confidence. The Planning activity of the Congress has got to be broken and a number of people a number of kind of things all over the country. Men, women and child a complete bander day and night long. The result is to drive with the same two people like a problem. I shall not give any other information some share in the same problem. Even the Madras Government's Temporary Programme last year—they spend money like a 3-month and have been all the working. It must have contributed in share in the development of popular feeling.

24. All nations and communities are busy adopting Total Abstinence. "If the Indians need not drink, if the other high nations do not waste their money on the Tolly shop, why should we not stop by. After all 'high' and 'low' can be got over with a well liked piece. If we get over poverty, we have done half the business in this world. So the 'low water' drink, or have been taught to drink. Is it impossible to make them to think this way and make their choice? Is it to be the reputation and the man who does not drink interesting liquor are automatically high state. It may be all expensive but it is there.

Finance Department, therefore, has turned to carry over all such expenditure? "What are the consequences doing? Do they not know that there is a lot of corruption and immorality and opportunity in these state parastatals? And your Total Code please, and do your work!"

"But we have really intended to make another, and even without a complaint from approved parties. They want to be more obedient to the state policies." No, this will not do. The right to drink must be protected!

Also that any honest government, be it any one in Europe, should then have to serve. Dependence on so well made is a dreadful thing. It is a tragedy that instead of training as the education of an art that says body and mind, instead of leading a helping hand to the struggling area that makes us too cheap shops, our government should have to do it a madman and then to squander. Plough has been used by hand labour and the water have been used to blood.

A third one is the two parties against the other day. I don't know why he said there. He has say that without any covering letter. But have the state's authority and the will of the Madras Government's Defunct General Programme Board. Devoted powerful person both of them, now represented the policy of

the state, to sell, and children and women by night, and in the early shop and crime on the left. The other night have got the picture at the gate of the shop and the Finance Member of the member. But it was done on 20-1-51. The other picture also a double scene, shows how the liquor-man says "your money or your life." But on the other hand, drink takes money and life and soul, all together. Also that a picture of the money man go to Government and thereby create a mixed interest in the whole business, and they must not stop, instead of celebrating, that has been in control. This was done on 20-11-50. In 1950 August-September, such pictures, with the aid of the Government or it would be impossible. As Temperance has started all the trouble of reduced income, first was a reduction of all with the Temperance Board. The poor drunk picture was in control. But the Finance Member, I can imagine, is enjoying the the picture of their individual picture. You cannot if all, so you must be out out first. And the Madras. Collect all members and members but the having found money with money of love.

The Right of Peaceful Picketing

This night that was passed for us by Gandhi in the India Conference has been vigorously and continuously renewed throughout the Southern provinces. In spite of all impediments and difficulties offered on the part of Government as well as the liquor dealers, the results have been most encouraging. The bill in words of the recent conduct is a measure of the liquor-dealer's estimate of Indian business. They are short-sighted and are able to make the feeling in the country and therefore may that also be taken as a reliable measure of the degree of income obtained in our work.

Out of 1,000 tolly shops in the presidency of Madras, I was reliably informed, that about 1,000 were still working until the last week of September 50 per cent of the shops in Tamil Nadu were not yet engaged to business. The shops that have been sold all so far have been given away for around people trading about Rs. 15 lakhs, that is to say, less than half of what the tolly business in Tamil Nadu were sold for in previous years. We should remember that due to the result of tremendous official activities. Taking rough estimate, out of 100 tolly shops in Coimbatore as many as 100 persons yet destroyed. So also in North Arcot of 400 shops, more than 200 are yet destroyed. In South Arcot out of nearly 200 shops more than a hundred are still collapsed. On the other hand, in Diamond Harbour though all the shops have been destroyed, they have helped only two lakhs capital to spend an average of 4 lakhs in previous years.

The work has not been uniform all over. On the contrary, persistent effort in some places have resulted in the general atmosphere. If the entire country are uniformly taking up the work what can be achieved of men and women make up their minds. In a certain table only two out of six shops tolly shops could be properly disposed of. In another table, there were no lakhs whatever in 25 out of 31 shops.

I calculate that with reduced tree-cut and reduced roads, the total capital revenue will be affected up to the Tamil Nadu is concerned in the extent of from 21 lakhs to one-crore under tolly shops.

London Letter

(Continued from page 294)

Swami Prasad

As the reader has already seen a capital feature of all meetings addressed by Gandhi is his invitation to the audience to ask questions, to which he gives his answers. "His questions will embarrass me and the friends you are the ones we can count on and the latter opportunity you give me to explain my case" is a particularly attractive statement in every meeting. I shall tell some of these questions and answers for the comfort of "Young India." The reader will notice the nature of a Group of self-sufficiency meeting upon him went and more and there is not a meeting where he does not share with his friends the subject he knows from the experience (Day of the evening story).

Q: ("in the National Labour Club Reception") Are you not indicating a tendency to belittle "Nationalism"? And do you not think it would be a dangerous shift to sacrifice a million lives to make us slave freedom?

A: I do not think it to be a dangerous shift to sacrifice with our life, and those persons here will be startled by a nation that is living in compulsory disarmament, India, you must remember, is wedded to non-violence and therefore, there is an opinion of taking someone else's life. We do not consider our lives as cheap as to be given away for nothing, but we do not consider our lives to be dearer than liberty itself, and therefore, if we had to sacrifice a million lives, we would do so tomorrow, and that alone would say nothing for "Well from my children." We are ready to risk our liberty; you as the other land have been an Imperialism model case. You have been at the helm of uncounting Englishmen and as the late General Dyer put it in saying it a question by the House Commons. "Yes, I did this in justification deliberately." I am here to say that General Dyer was not the only one capable of meeting to this Englishmen. We can reverse the process and sacrifice ourselves in the attempt to save our liberty. It is up to you, those who are trustees of the honour of the British nation, to prevent this disaster if you can.

Q: Would you not be making a mistake in giving you independence?

A: I think you will if you give independence to anyone. And please, therefore, remember that I have not come to beg for independence, but I have come as a result of last year's suffering and at the end of that suffering, last time when we left India in order to see whether we have now sufficiently improved the British mind with our suffering, so that I can go away with an impeccable conscience. But if I go away with an impeccable conscience, I shall not go away with the belief that I have received any gift from the nation. There is no such thing as a gift of independence from one nation to another. It has got to be gained and fought with one's blood and I feel that we have already spent sufficient of our own blood in the process which has gone on deliberately since 1918. If it may be that in God's Grace He remembers that we have not suffered enough, that we have not gone through the process of purification. Then, I am here to testify that we shall continue the process of self-sacrifice and if last year's suffering will want to remedy it, India as a gift.

Q: Lord Irwin is reported to have said on a speech at the Central Hall that he knew you would not want an unqualified independence. Is that true?

A: Well, in the first instance I do not know that Lord Irwin made the speech which is reported to have been made. I never met with the Lord Irwin. That would be a question well addressed to him. But I never told Lord Irwin that I would not give us complete independence. On the contrary, as far as my memory serves me right, I told him that I would push for complete independence and, for that alone and alone nothing India through depends on a British agent rather than English agent. Complete independence is an issue National Government.

Q: How do you reconcile complete independence with the retention of British troops?

A: British troops may remain in India and that would depend upon the arrangement that the parties come to. Thus, for a limited period, would be in the interest of India because India has become associated and it is necessary to retain some portion of British troops or some portion of British officers under the National Government and in the employ of the National Government. I shall defend the partnership and get behind the retention of these troops.

Q: Do you envisage a Viceroy when you speak of an independent India?

A: Whether the Viceroy remains is a question to be decided by both the parties. Speaking for myself, I cannot conceive a Viceroy remaining. But I can conceive a British agent remaining there because that would be no more intimate which the British have brought out before them which I personally do not wish to destroy and to order to represent those interests and if there is also an army consisting of British troops and officers I could not possibly say "No, there will not be a British Agent." And since there are also the Princes concerned I cannot conclude for what the Princes will do, not, therefore, I do not expect that under the scheme I have in mind there will be an Indian agent, there will be a Viceroy or a Governor-General. But I would defend it as a partnership having the condition that it is to be terminated at the will of either or both at absolute equality. I am writing on a date from which I have to go and away from.

Q: What are the concrete aspects that such a partnership would embrace?

A: The concrete aspect that the partnership is going to embrace is in order the explanation of the scope of the work. It falls because here there this scope of explanation, under which also has passed by so many years, it would be up to India to see that there is no further explanation. And partnership would be of mutual benefit. It would be a partnership between two cases the one has long been known for its weakness, poverty, backwardness, untried powers of organisation, and the other as ancient race possessing a culture perhaps wanted to show a contrast in itself. A partnership between these two peoples cannot be at all a mutual gain as I am in the favour of mutual.

The Week-End At Cheltenham

The week-end, arranged by Charles Andrews, here done in Goring, an hour and a half away in a fast atmosphere. The first week-end was at Cheltenham,

one of the ancient Cathedral towns of England, situated seventy miles South of London, on a spur of the South Downs. Peace, quiet, lovely weather, and fresh bracing winds. The visit to Chichester was really fruitful because of the contact established with three of the important men in England—Bishop Bell of Chichester and Canon Campbell, and Mr C. P. Royle of the "Manchester Guardian."

Geoffrey had long and pleasant talks with all the three who were glad to understand the latest situation from Geoffrey at first hand.

The Bishop is rather more Christian than we have met before. There is no predominantly religious "air" about him. He talks most intelligently on any topic that you care to discuss and with a detachment that often surprises you. He seems to have made up his mind about everything and though in disagreement with you does not allow you to feel that he does so. (Just a momentary parenthesis in regard to talking with representatives with affairs of the State. One might almost feel that his last visitation has resulted, but one immediately passes over remarks—There is a deep understanding all opportunities in everything that he says or does, and his life is so simple that as Canon Campbell said of him "one Bishop would be as happy in a hovel as in his Palace." He was for many years vicar of Oxford and was a student at the same College as Lord Curzon. He has conversations with you and a host of others who come, and I may say that not a minute of the time spent with him by Geoffrey was wasted. "I am not prepared to believe that the Conference can speak to the ministers' conduct" said he to me with considerable confidence. A number of clergymen asked Mr. Geoffrey a number of questions but eight or nine out of them said that he hoped that the questions would be solved or that Mr. Geoffrey said that he was determined to solve it best. I think he will do it. His optimism is not of an empty kind. And the Bishop added "I have had some very pleasant talks with Mr. Geoffrey and have understood him as much as a layman can understand, but I fear that he is more suspicious of some people than one ought to be. I am quite sure that the fact that there would be change and civil war in India if the English left the country are exaggerated and the work of grey men, but I may assure you that they are genuinely felt, and I wonder if something cannot be done to rectify a balance in the future, compromise calculated to delay their work."

He has had long talks with Geoffrey and if anyone outside the Conference can exercise influence on the minds of those concerned he is sure to do so.

"The supposed meeting happens," I said, "the war will surely lead to a deeper understanding between India and England, and will be very helpful to the position as far as their response is concerned."

He was sure about the first part of my statement but not about the second part. "Why should not the war lead to anything more? And if it does not, the future is uncertain. What can we do in the meanwhile, though we know that something ought to be done there?" I told him that in case something happens in India, or the absence of a settlement, something must be done here. But I doubt that we would be equal to it. I wonder if the public would know

exactly what to do. "We may do it," says another, "but the tragedy is that they don't as should be expected."

"What are the outstanding problems to-day?" I asked and he immediately named Albert Schweitzer and Herman Kantel. He was full of Dr. Schweitzer's latest book and said: "He is a great moral force. When I met him for the first time in France I was surprised to find on his card 'Doctor of Medicine,' 'Doctor of Theology,' 'Doctor of Music,' and after having had all these distinctions he decided that his work lay in the service of Africa and danger and death." And the most constructive type of danger and death," said his host, "in being out the human wilderness of Dr. Schweitzer's moral reality. Among the English people he named Dr. Maude Slaphin and Father Trenchard and many of the members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "Mr. H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw are people for whom the world knows we are thinking of," he said on invitation to add. As we talk in these men, my own anathema of Catholic writers (a book back then he was reading) "as a remembrance of Chichester." A Catholic gift from a Church of England man! But nothing anything from one who is free from any load of sacrament, not to say history.

Canon Campbell is a different man. He is in no way invariable and his learning and culture overflow like a mountain spring. He has read deeply and widely, as any great preacher of the future should do, and he has found some new meeting grounds in Eastern philosophy. Dr. Tagore's writings have left an indelible impression on him and he has not looked after a quiet contemplative life of his, though he gave little credit to the language by reading these contemporary men years ago. He was deeply interested in getting at the root meaning of "Gandhi" and when Geoffrey traced it to its source which he said was self-sufficiency and self-reliance the Canon was deeply pleased and said "That is the essence of all great religions." He is sick of the "so-called" parents of modern science" and feels that what we are suffering from is a mental malady as all our affairs. He has the deepest sympathy for the Indian Cause and was surprised that his meeting with Geoffrey meant nothing less than the quiet working out to which.

The visit to the remote, pastoral, Mr. C. P. Royle was in the nature of a pilgrimage, as Geoffrey himself described it. Having been in almost charge of the "Manchester Guardian" for fifty years, he retired at the age of 61 in 1910. He is now 65 years, but has the vigour of a young man of 25 as we could see from his face and steady step as he sat up and down his staircase to get his trousers. He is, however, his well-earned rest in his own's house at Bignor on the South Coast of England, which enjoyed a special celebration by the King having had his last conventional Queen. And there we sat down with his wife who is 57, with all her faculties unimpaired, and her consciousness unimpaired excepting for a slight deafness. She seemed to be interested in everything and regarded Geoffrey's visit as an important event in her life. "I have your biography on my shelves, I hope, and Geoffrey is here so we were having and this cordially said "Oh yes, you have."



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The Birmingham Visit Woodhouse

The last weekend was spent at Birmingham, in the midst of friends who were with us throughout the last Indian struggle and who specially desired Mr. Horace Woodhouse as a witness of and for the situation and, if possible, of peace. The visit was, therefore, in the nature of a pilgrimage, to see the world of Gandhi. And pilgrimage it was because that was so. For the Woodhouse Settlement is a place where international peace, brotherly and neighbourly are specially cultivated and promoted through the devoted endeavours of Quaker friends like Mr. Woodhouse who came out to India last year in those golden times bearing his wife, a devoted wife, mother, his daily life, as here like Mr. Jack Hayland who has done much to spread a correct knowledge of India, India, which he was a professor in India, and which he has been teaching children of some 15 native children at Woodhouse, and like Mr. H. G. Wood, their Director or teacher, who has lived in all Woodhouse is also a place of pilgrimage because it is an example of world peace and good in a time that the world is divided. It is maintained out of the endeavours made by Cadbury of the Chocolate fame. In fact, the original home is the house in which Mr. Cadbury lived and where his son now as Woodhouse. The spirit of the movement started by Gandhi may be judged from Mr. Wood's letter to Gandhi, welcoming him to the house from Woodhouse that reads:

"I am, as the French would say, delighted to find that a good engagement of long standing prevents me from visiting at the following at Woodhouse this morning afternoon, and beyond me of the privilege of welcoming you to the house of your many friends and visitors in Birmingham."

Many people in England do not understand you, what we do understand you or think we understand you, we cannot always follow you, but we thank God that at this crisis in India's history and in world-history, we have raised up a prophet with such gifts of moral leadership as you possess. We know something of the responsibility which you are now carrying and we shall be proud if it is your day to see Woodhouse friendship may help to enable the struggle you need for your great India. Our hope is that the history of the Conference in which you are engaged may come to such an understanding

between India and England, India and Modern, as shall hold the legitimate ideal of Indian independence.

We hope also for such a settlement as may further your own concern for the spirit of the world of the present in India. For the great challenge of your life and work is to work towards which we have no need and to which we believe deeply—this is the central concern which you bring to us of the people of Birmingham. Today, "Give us the strength now to do what we can."

And indeed the South's people may be said to modern in the life and thought of those who have challenged themselves to the settlement.

The Bishop's Visit

It is in the house of things that wherever Gandhi goes, the Church dignitaries visit him. His appeal to the British public is addressed usually to Christian England. "If Christian England could the supply of the wrong perpetrated by the British in India, it would rise up like one man against it," he said at the weekly meeting.

The Bishop of Birmingham has the unique distinction of being at once a doctor of divinity and lawyer. He is also a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was a contemporary of his Ministers at College and having known him well since the latter entered his cathedral in the Secretary of State for India, became something of a life and law problem. He has had one room of his and there has been a gift with a spirit of the world which is usually associated with a scientific mind, and has the courage of his convictions. Once a man has been converted, he is no more in the service of the cause. Gandhi had a very long talk with him on the Indian question. I will not attempt to describe the talk, nor its outcome as even proper. But I shall give you an idea of the meeting. The subject of the talk was not a thing, nor the subject and machinery which he said must be made to him was then raised, so that he may have all his own in the bulk of it. He said that Gandhi's mission to the Bishop, that he would and over the average man in one of his eyes, then gradually to the growth of the old ideas. "There always have been such for the world to do." But the Bishop answered, "Look here" and he, "I do not do much work for more than an hour a day. The rest of my time I give to the people's people." "I have

and Gandhi laughing, but if all become Satyagrahis, the Police would not have anything to say."

With Indian Friends

We spent about an hour with Dr and Mrs. Parthi, who had visited the Birmingham Institute to meet Gandhi at their place. Dr Parthi came to India thirty years ago, failed to make a living and settled for F. H. C. S. and by dint of sheer hard work made a name as a good surgeon. He has an English wife who takes enough interest in India to have a knowledge for being there to be of some service in India. But she wonders if it is of all India for people settled for a profession to break away from their surroundings and desire to settle elsewhere, no matter whether it be their Mother-country. However, the Parthi asked for a message which was given by Gandhi as a testimonial. "The English of India or the British take great interest for the most part in India, the business!" These remarks which have had to be of service to India, "For your advice," said Gandhi, "in the service of the country (instead of concerning themselves with G. & A. If you are a medical man, there is disease enough in India to need all your medical skill. If you are a lawyer, there are differences and quarrels enough in India. Instead of musing over trouble, pick up their quarrels and stop litigation. If you are an engineer, build useful houses suited to the needs and needs of our people, and get out of trouble and don't sit. There is nothing that you have learned which cannot be turned to account." The friend who asked the question was a Chartered Accountant and Gandhi had the same of Karamappa on his lips to tell it up to him as an example. "The whole Karamappa, also a Chartered Accountant like you, is doing. There is a dot and everything the accountants in India the accountants of Congress and its official organisations. Come to India—I will give you enough work and give you help—I mean you say which is surely much more than anywhere in India yet."

I shall not repeat here the questions and answers about the Round Table Conference, but the Indian friends were naturally more concerned about the topics than the general and I must reproduce what Gandhi had to say to them. "India will have to go through the day which before England has to be made to say 'we are sorry, we did not do what we should have done long before'. A strong nation would not succumb so easily as we might imagine. And in that world in non-violence I should not have Gandhi compelled to yield anything without a will. England must be convinced that it is glad to see us yield and for India to see her freedom, before she actually surrenders power."

"To common England," said Mrs. Parthi, "the one we think you should stay here a little longer?"

"No," said Gandhi, "I cannot stay beyond my place. I would come to have my followers here if I overgrew and the people would come to depend. The influence that I now exercise is only a temporary influence, not permanent. My place is in India, in the midst of my countrymen, who may be called upon to exert mental courage of suffering. In fact, the British people seem to expect to-day because they know that I represent a different people, and when I am suffering

with my own countrymen, I would be expecting to find some India in their words to heart."

"Sunfield" School

I must mention also the visit to Rastall (Sunfield) school for primary education. Rastall School passed away in 1915 but has followed the living to carry on his work. His son was to work for a deeper and more independence of thought, and to understand and appreciate the responsibility which for his country's contribution to the welfare of the world. He has carried on what Rastall called, "scientific education of humanity." It covered many branches of science, including a better science of the soil through a better understanding of the physical forces and the laws of vegetation. What we are concerned with here is his educational experiment. They take in their school the mentally and morally defective children, those who are usually passed up as hopeless. One of the boys we saw in the "Sunfield" School at Birmingham was a cripple having been the victim of a lightning stroke which not only lost the use of his limbs but of his brain as well. The scientific education is through an observation and understanding of the possibilities of the child in scientific science—such as the beauty of the sun and the moon and the stars, of the physical sciences, of painting, and music, which plays a very large part. Above all, I suppose, the greatest creative work is that of love which shows us to him the nature and the defects and the defects. We heard them sing later and their chants (which already reminded me of Vedic Chants) and German songs and they seemed to take in practically everything. Instead of leading away students, we heard a family of happy children, who, had we not known, would not be disturbed in his delinquency at all. In the evening they had a "play" in celebration of Gandhi's visit, but we could not go to it. This is an experiment in which we believed was, unfortunately, limited by the very little time at our disposal, but it is full of promise and deserves the attentive study of psychologists and educators.

The Meeting

It was a great meeting representing various organisations that there had in the Woodlands Hall. Gandhi was quite at his best, especially because all the questions came out of a pure spirit of enquiry.

"Whereas" and Gandhi addressing the audience . . . "In other places I have given as a matter of business, to define my message, I have come here as a matter of pilgrimage. I have come as a matter of pilgrimage because the Shakespeare it was that spent and said Mr. Thomas Alexander to me at the time when we were at need of a friend. . . . It was a time when news of Saurashtra could not be transmitted from India everything that was sent was delayed, the printed message was all in vain. It was then that the Friend's name in the audience that a message ought to be sent to India and Mr. Alexander was chosen for this purpose. Not only was one able to spare him but his wife, a simple Indian too. Now you will understand why it is a pilgrimage for me to come here."

"With regard to the work before me, I did not think I should take you time to describe it to you now. The real majority of the people now know what the Indian National Congress claims for the nation,

You know what manner we have adopted, perhaps, for the first time in history, in adhering to non-cooperation. And you also know how far this matter during the last year was able to live up to its creed. I repeat this to emphasize upon you the fact that if the work that is now being done at the Round Table Conference is to bear fruit I will do so only if the consensus of intelligent public opinion is brought to bear upon it. I have often reminded that my true work in England has always been the conference and in the understanding. In my few public speeches I have not hesitated to throw out a hint that my work was being done in the Conference, that it was reaching here and that persons like all those who had come from India and those who were representing British interests in the conference were being reached. That being my opinion, I cannot be too honest that "responsible leaders of public opinion in the British Isles should inform themselves of the true nature of the struggle that Indians are carrying on against heavy odds. For, unless you understand the true nature and the inner meaning of this struggle, you will not be able to bring effective pressure to bear on those who are conducting the affairs of the empire here."

"I have enough of the composition of the meeting to know that you are all earnest workers after truth and justice in its right, not only sympathy with regard to this but any cause that deserves the same sort of human sympathy. And if you will approach this question from this standpoint it is not likely that the differences of the Round Table Conference might prove insurmountable."

One of the questions that were put to Gandhi at the end of his speech was whether settlement was not mainly responsible by Indian representatives and, agreeing among themselves as the communal question. Gandhi while respectfully repudiating the suggestion said "I know you have been taught to think like that you cannot shake off the spell of that hypnotic suggestion. My view is that after years have passed India on the principle of "Divide and Rule". No other Government could do so in India unless the rulers were acquainted with communal things with the other party. We will continue to be divided as long as the wedge of language will maintain them, and make deeper and deeper. That is the way of the wedge. But when are the wedge and the wedge and the split parts will eventually come together and unite. Again, the statement of unity has been treated a kind of technical difficulty by the cooperation of the Conference itself and all the differences here are circumvented, even of those really existed. If for instance, Dr. Bhabha had been asked to show their suggestions it would have been Dr. Bhabha. Lastly, we should not forget that even if the present delegates had been elected they would have acted with a better sense of responsibility. We, on the other hand, we have in the conference of the United Provinces Minister. He is responsible to nobody, we have no constituency to appeal to. Thus, we are reminded that unless we agree among ourselves on the communal issues no progress is possible. In the very nature of the things themselves, each party is a different way and in every direction to the. Again while the delegates are asked were in present as agreed among

and opinion, they are not told what they would get if they agree and in the incentive that could have made agreement infatigable possible is killed at the very start, making agreement very nearly impossible. Let the Government declare that they are going to withdraw from India whether Indians agreed or not and you will see that we shall then agree again. The fact of the matter is that no one here that he is going to get and here Henry Wood is offered to simply a share in the power of the Government to exploit India and this sets up an apple of discord in our midst. Further, the Government having made non-cooperation-making dependent upon the attitude of the communal opinion every party is brought to push its demand as high as possible. If the Government at all meant because it would undoubtedly annoy my neighbors, we, in appeal a political interest to decide the communal question at once. If this is done there is every possibility of an agreed solution being reached without the intervention of the political interest."

In reply to a further question asking what would happen in India during the transition period if the British Government withdrew its function, Gandhi said, "There will be a British matter in its status body. However the police and the body will at once start reorganizing. It is imperative to expect that the British Government would be allocating its function if it withdraws from India. The only business that is a failing factor is of exploiting India. Let British come to exploit India and India will immediately revive economically." The question next asked was "Have the people of India themselves come to an agreement on non-cooperation?" "The Congress has come with an agreed scheme of communal settlement but it is not accepted here at the Conference the Congress is only one of the many parties that are said to be represented here. The people here, however, is that it is the only representative body speaking for the vast masses in India. It is for this reason, signals and independent organizations that have been functioning for years since the past. It is the only organization that has stood the test of varied suffering. It is the Congress, which stood at a distance with the Government and, say what you will, it is the only organization that will one day replace the present Government. My claim is that the scheme that is produced through a representative committee of our Hindu, non-Hindu and non-Hindu member of its cabinet would stand the test of any political interest as far as interests and persons is concerned."

One member of the audience asked the question whether the Round Table Conference had broken down and whether India should wait for another such conference. "I am not going up all night" replied Gandhi. "If I have secured all permission with the Round Table Conference, apparently therefore, I will certainly come back here, I may say I have little else to build on. But it is against my nature to rightly leave, away from an experience with which I have been acquainted. I do not know whether the next time when the conference comes there will be another Round Table Conference or not, but this much I know that if the Round Table

Young India

The Outrages

[By C. K. BHATTACHARYA]

On October 10th, Mr. L. C. Datta, the District Magistrate of Dacca, was shot at and seriously injured. Close upon this came the news that on October 13 at Calcutta, Mr. H. Williams, president of the European Association, was the victim of a revolver attack and seriously escaped death. These outrages, it may be fairly assumed, are political in character. They are not proof that the Congress has not only failed to convince the revolutionaries that their methods are wrong, but that at least some members of these gangs were in and against the Congress appeal but at least a sympathy of sentiment. This is tragic beyond measure. If the revolutionaries imagine that they are helping the cause in their own way, they are much mistaken. Two opponents can not help each other. There can be no conflict between non-violence and violence. Every member of this mob serves its ends when the Congress may have suffered. If these young men have made up their minds that Congress and Gandhi have had enough time and should be given no further chance they might commit a few political outrages. But if they have any to make up their mind and would give Gandhi and his programme a chance, it is futile for the extreme to be indulging in these outrages at this time. The leaders of the Congress of all shades of opinion are convinced that these men, not only do not serve any good purpose, but positively injure the cause we wish to serve. Let some of the revolutionaries imagine that they are saving the Congress leaders from their adversaries. Every man, looking at them who fully appreciates the political angle behind such acts, feels that they are all so many trouble-shots to the Congress and not only at Mr. Datta or Mr. Williams. Both the victims have escaped death and so far it is a matter for congratulation. But while this there have fortunately ceased the work as far as the European nations go, they are waiting as far as the Congress people and the Congress plan are concerned. There are but good things.

All this has been put to him a heavy price of expediency, because we feel that any suggestion of moral result or of maintenance of the principles of non-violence will make an appeal to the young men that are indulged in these plans of wrong doing through the Executive action, or are carried away by the sweeping delusions of political utopias.

We had hoped that the great campaign we were in, the great campaign that the nation underwent and is still in, would be the plan of non-violence, and the great hopes we would not come to failure, but in the interests of goodness all over the world that India is on the point of attaining the world as well as her own freedom of freedom from violence, might make that combined appeal to the young men who had put their trust in this method, at least for a suspension of their country and economic plans. From what we have seen it appears as if these hopes

cannot be fulfilled, as their passion has not shed the stain.

The Government know as their past only one point surely for all this, that of creating an impression and influencing people without this. They gained recently has been tried all along and has not succeeded. But this will not be admitted. It is now believed that a stronger dose in all that is wanted, and they have lost all time in practice it.

Madras Lathi Charge

The proposed poisoning of liquor shops in Madras. (Tamil Nadu) was suddenly and without warning disrupted on the night of October 10th, by the police who attacked the rioters with lathis and the beat out of going against current of them. The result of representations made to the Government of Madras has just been announced in the press. The Government have passed a resolution which that the action of the Police was justified as the poisoning was in contravention of the laws of the District. If the principles of natural justice are thrown to the winds, it is not difficult to arrive at any result that one may wish. As soon as the news of the incident reached me, I telegraphed to H. E. the Governor, challenging my equity, and asked to check by the decision of the President of the District Board of Madras as to the substance. The President of the Madras District Board is a European gentleman, a magistrate, an old and experienced, active in Madras, and a friend of the Government. The Government, however, did not choose to accept my suggestion but contented themselves with asking for a report from the District Magistrate. The District Magistrate, too, did not hold any enquiry of which the Congress or the public or the approved volunteers had any voice or at which they were given any opportunity to represent facts or explain anything definitely against such action.

When I heard that the Government had called for and were considering the enquiry report of the District Magistrate, I sent a further representation against.

"I feel that if investigation means only getting the reports of the District Officers, and accepting them to be further not in consultation with accepting them as correct, when on the face of them there are obvious deficiencies, such as investigations cannot easily say one except the District Officers concerned, it is not satisfactory from the point of view of the injured volunteers or the Congress or the public."

And I added that I had asked by my letter to submit to the decision of the European District Board President upon a full enquiry and report in this connection the desirability of such an enquiry. But these representations were not heeded. Solely on the District Magistrate's report report, and without giving any opportunity to the approved party either to be heard or to the lower stage, or even to be made any point, the Government of Madras, have admitted that the poisoning was in contravention of the Public Peace laws and therefore, the Police Lathi charge was justified. This is a remedy of administrative justice. It does not satisfy the fundamental principle of natural justice. If this is the compensation that is to be given to the volunteers wronged out of the District Magistrate, it is equivalent to making it a mere stamp of waste paper.

C. K.

Federal Court

[The following is the speech delivered by Gandhi at London in the Federal Executive Committee of the Round Table Conference on October 1932, on the subject of a court of appeal on the subject of a Federal Court for India.]

Lord Charnock and Mr. Dalrymple, I feel considerable hesitation in speaking on this subject which has been assigned to highly educated by the order that the discussion last night but I feel that I owe a duty to you and a duty to the Congress which I represent. I know that the Congress holds some decided views on the question of the Federal Court, views which would be, I am afraid, very dissatisfied in a large number of the Congress here. Whatever they are, seeing that they are held by a responsible body, it is, I suppose, necessary that I should at least present them to you.

I am that the Government are bound if not upon other grounds, upon considerable amount of authority that the National Government will not be able to control its affairs in an impartial manner. The Government might also be entering the Government, the Congress, on the other hand, have the whole of its policy on trust and on the confidence that when we have come to power we shall also come to a view of our responsibility, and all the Government will have us. But should it prove otherwise, that too the Congress would not its highest order responsible because without knowing these facts we shall not be able to come to a view of our responsibility. So long as we have the central Government that we have to tell again that having power for our guidance and for maintaining the affairs in a critical position, in fact, in my opinion, there is no responsibility. One feels also influenced by the fact that we really are trying to discuss this thing without knowing what we shall be. I should give one opinion of Dalrymple was not under the control of the responsible Government, and another opinion of Dalrymple was not under our control. I proceed upon the assumption that I am able to enjoy responsibility to the last hour of the new Dalrymple will be under our control, under National control in every sense of the word. I entirely co-operate with Dr. Ambedkar in the difficulty that he raises. It is all very well to have a judgment of the highest tribunal, but if the way of that tribunal does not run beyond the confines of an one court that tribunal will be a disappointment of the whole and of the whole world. What is then to be done a compromise with that way? What Dr. Ambedkar said, of course, goes against — that the judiciary would be there — but it will be the Congress that will run the mill. Then, I would say, let the High Court also, or the Federal Court, be under the Congress. In my opinion, the Supreme Court had to be, if we are responsible, under the responsible Government, and therefore, the process of carrying out the will has also to be made good by the responsible Government. Personally, I do not share the belief that stands Dr. Ambedkar, but I think that his objection is a very reasonable objection, and that a court which gives judgments should also have perfect confidence that its judgments will be accepted by those who are affected by its judgments, and hence I would suggest that the judges should have the great of having rules as well as regular

method in carrying out its three judgments. Naturally the Government will not rest with the Congress, the Government will rest with the executive authority, but the executive authority would have to submit to the order that might be issued by the Court. Somehow or other we keep that the Government is going to give us every detail in connection with the composition of the Court. I respectfully differ from that view in its entirety. I think that the Government will give to the Government of the Federal Court, will define the jurisdiction of the Federal Court, but the rest will be left to the Federal Government in matter. I cannot possibly understand that the Government is also going to tell us how many years the judges are to serve, or whether they are to judge in terms of the age of 70, or 60, or 50 or 40. I think that there will be freedom in his terms as for the Federal Court, and hence, I propose a clearly defined, but what it may be such, that the Congress too will give us, to start with, the judges, and these judges will serve for a fixed definite period, so that the responsible Government might not have to change the burden of shifting the Federal Court or the Supreme Court, whatever we choose to call it. Of course, we bring in the Congress at the end of almost every sentence. I must explain that, according to the composition of the Congress, there is no question of the Congress, India is to enjoy complete independence, and it takes every complete independence, whatever the means necessary there may be, the supreme authority will be responsible for the appointment of judges and several other matters which today belong to the Crown.

It is a fundamental belief with the Congress that, whatever the means the Constitution takes, there should be got one Privy Council in India. The Privy Council is a body, it is a body to give advice to the people in matters of the highest importance, should be given in the expert people in the land, and I think that is impossible if the Privy Council have to be decided not have to maintain in the present position. Then, too I would prefer ourselves by support trust in the ability of our judges to pronounce who deserves and who deserves to be removed. I know that we are always very great make. The Privy Council have to be expert members, and an institution which gives answers very good counsel and support has a right of all the respect that I have for the Privy Council I cannot bring myself to believe that we can trust and be able to have a Privy Council of our own which will maintain national esteem. Because England can boast of very few members, I do not think that we can have an even less than three members. If we have anything whatsoever from England, we should have to start three members ourselves otherwise there is a great chance for the whole which is responsible to close to be. Therefore, I would not at all be free to believe that and confidence in ourselves at the present moment. Our beginning may be very small, but if we have some, that and some more to give decisions of Appeal and make in the highest degree that we have not got the legal institutions which the judges in England have, and very properly based it in the line of the whole world.

That being my view, I feel that the Federal Court should be a court of the widest jurisdiction possible,

and our doubts mean only that some before the administration of Federal Laws, Federal Laws of course will be there, but it should have the simplest procedure in its all the cases that may come from the best interests of India.

It is, then, a question where the subjects of the Powers will be held when they will come on. Subject to what the Powers may have to say, I would suggest, with the greatest deference and with equal limitation, that there will be, I hope, at the end of it, if we are able to make something out of the Conference, something which will be common to all India, to all the inhabitants of India, whether they come from the States or whether they come from the rest of India.

If there is something in common between all of us, naturally the Supreme Court will be the guardian of our rights that we may consider to be common to all. What those rights should be, I am hardly able to say. It is entirely for the Powers to say what they may be and what they may be. In view of the fact that they represent first and only their own States but have often on themselves the tremendous responsibility of representing their subjects also at the Conference, I would certainly make a liberty that I have against to them that they would at their own sound sense talk with some commonality whereby their subjects also may feel that through they are not directly represented at the table they will still feel adequate expression through those who Powers themselves.

So far as the salary is concerned, you will laugh, naturally, but the Congress does believe that it is an expenditure that for the Congress, which represents a nation of 300,000,000, to its side the English nation, which represents today grows to nearly India, who's average income is 24 per cent, can ill afford to pay the high salaries that are demanded here. I feel that it is a thing which we will have to reduce if we are going to have voluntary aid in India. It is all very well so long as the Government is there to represent us or that some people collect of Rs. 15,000 a month or salaries of Rs. 5,000 a month or salaries of Rs. 3,000 a month. I do not say so, however, that my country has such to such an extent that it will not be able to produce sufficient men who will be interested in correspondence with the laws of the nations and with every India table, table and well. I do not believe for one moment that legal talent has to be bought if it is to come forward.

I read the names of Mahatma, C. B. Das, Manabendra Ghosh, Subodh Tyagi and a host of others, who give such hard labor absolutely free of charge and would that country richly and well. The least may be that as my time that they did so because they were able to change poverty law, in their own professional work. I repeat that agreement, in the single reason that I have known everyone of them with the exception of Manabendra Ghosh. It was not that they had plenty of money was therefore free body of their labor when they required it. It had no connection with their ability to have state and luxury. I have seen them bring the life of poor people and to perfect themselves. Whether they be the president at the present moment, I am going not to put myself forward as a Subodh who, if they had not come to the national union, would they be

overpaying some of the High Court benches in all parts of India. I have, therefore, absolute confidence that when we come to frame our own constitution we will do so in a patriotic, sane and rational manner of the absolute state that the authors of India accept.

One word more and I have finished. Seeing that the Congress holds the view that the Federal Court is Supreme Court—whether you will do—will occupy the position of the highest Federal Court which we may wish to see established of India can go, in consultation, in my opinion, will be justice. It will have possibilities, so far as Federal matters are concerned, to the extent that the Powers are also willing, but I cannot possibly imagine that we shall have two Supreme Courts, one in order to deal with mainly Federal law and another to deal with all the other matters that are not agreed by the Federal administration or the Federal Government.

However, at the present moment, I suggest, to things go, the Federal Government will accept and I wish the minimum of subjects, matters of the highest moment will be extra-Federal. Why is it advisable upon these extra-Federal matters if not the very Supreme Court? Therefore the Supreme Court or Federal Court will exercise double jurisdiction, if necessary in the procedure. The greater the power that we give to this Federal Court I think, the greater the confidence we shall be able to create in the world and also in the nation itself.

I am sorry to have taken my share of time tonight at the time of the Conference, but I felt that, in spite of my great reluctance to speak at you on the question of a Federal Court, I must give you the facts that may or it is the Congress have been looking for a long question of years, and which, we might if we could, spread throughout the length and breadth of India. I know the terrible burden under which I am laboring, all the most distinguished lawyers are arrayed against me as the Powers also are probably arrayed against me as far as the nation and parliament at the Court are concerned. But I would be guilty of neglect of duty to the Congress and to you if I did not give you the view that the Congress and I hold so strongly as the member of the Federal Court.

Chairman We are so very much obliged to Mahatma Gandhi for so very kindly and so very kindly expressing his view. We are here in exchange given and in how expression upon them that is the object of the Conference. It is not allow me to say so, when you know what a time waste you are in your head in most here, and he will no doubt do his best to meet you. The delivery is to someone with a man who does not know what he wants. I am very much obliged to Mr. Gandhi for giving his view before us like that, it will always be my intention to try and go as far as possible to meet them, and indeed to be as possible to meet everybody's view. I am sure, we shall have their spirit of accommodation all round the Federal Executive Committee, Manabendra, but we express my personal thanks to Mr. Gandhi for putting before us in very friendly and so very cheerfully what his view upon this subject are.

Working Committee Resolutions

The following are some important Resolutions passed by the Working Committee at Delhi on 27th, 28th and 29th October 1931.

I. New Taxation

The Working Committee is of opinion that the financial policy proposed by the Government of India in introducing its budget by imposing trade and heavy taxes during a time of great economic depression, instead of taking adequate measures to bring about a drastic reduction of expenditure, may even do, in a further year of the worst economy for possible maintenance of the government to the Indian people themselves.

This Committee strongly protests in particular against the proposal to impose an additional duty on salt as a breach of faith by the Government of India in regard to the implications of the Delhi Settlement, if a complete and early relief of the burden on the poor is the object.

2. Currency and Exchange Policy

The Working Committee is of opinion that the monetary and exchange policy recently adopted by the Government of India is complete disregard of Indian opinion and at the behest of the British Government, making the rupee in the present sterling market of buying 8 or 8½ by own level in terms of gold, is considered solely in the interests of Britain so as to provide, here also, a back door preference for British imports into India, and is calculated to work against the interests of the masses of India, so far as it deprives the already too slender gold resources of this country and is bound to reduce India, both as regard to the early establishment of a Reserve Bank and the due Settlement of her foreign obligations.

The Working Committee wants the British Government that the responsibility for pursuing such a selfish policy should not entirely go to one shoulder, and that the numerous results accruing to India therefrom should be duly taken into account in the settlement of financial obligations between India and England.

3. Chittagong

The Working Committee, having considered the report of the non-official Committee of Enquiry on the happenings in the town and District of Chittagong on the 21st of August last and the three subsequent days, record their earnest condemnation of the brutal police and magistrates who, with the connivance of certain non-official Chittagong and Peshawar, inflicted terrible losses and suffering on innocent people in pursuance of a policy of terrorism.

The Committee adds with satisfaction that there was no failure on commercial fronts in Chittagong as a result of deliberate efforts to wreck one by the employment of terrorists whose activities were limited to give the occurrence a commercial colour.

The Committee is of opinion that the least that the Government of Bengal should do is to recompense those who have suffered and to punish all those whose responsibility for the incidents is established.

4. High

The Working Committee records its deep sorrow at the tragedy of the High Detention Camp for detenus residing in the death of two well known B. G. detenus. The Committee, while noting the report of the

Committee of Enquiry appointed by Government before especially its final report on these tragic occurrences, feels that the Government is specially responsible for the loss and wellbeing of persons now detained in custody by Government without trial, against whose detentions the action has not been planned, and without consent of their fundamental duty of Government must be met with professionalism of those who are guilty.

5. U. P. Agrarian Situation

This Committee has considered the statements of the President of the U. P. P. C. C. and the All-India B. G. C. about the agrarian situation in the U. P. and the resolution of the All-India B. G. C. asking for permission to offer Satyagraha to demand the present taxation policy of the U. P. Government end, in particular, the systematic collecting of land and revenue at a time when the agricultural are unable to pay on account of their economic depression.

The Committee notes that the agricultural of the U. P. have been subjected to a great deal of hardship and oppression, particularly in the region of the past few months, and that they have now to face a grave crisis. The Committee feels that it is the duty of the Congress to assist them in every possible way in relieving the economic hardship they suffer from. In the opinion of the Committee, however, the question of defiance action should not be considered by the P. C. C. The Committee, therefore, when the application to the U. P. P. C. C. and to the Govt. of the U. P. C. C. being of opinion that a long time has been allowed Satyagraha on the part of the agricultural, in terms of the India Agreement dated August 27, the Committee authorises the President to consider the application and to give such directions as it may deem necessary.

The Hill Abolition

The official committee consisting of Mr Justice Mulla and Mr. Gopal Das appointed to inquire into the shooting of detenus in the Hill Camp on September 18, resulting in two dead and in the infliction of injuries on several others, have, in a unanimous, well-considered their report. The summary published in the paper is somewhat strange. One thing, however, is clear, that dealing so well as the report with Justice and humanity have been found by the committee to be without justification. The case must indeed be very clear for an official committee appointed by Government to have to come to such a finding. It is stated that the British camp officials have been "incriminated from complicity in the shooting," so that it may be concluded from the point of view of those who are anxious to suppress the British rule in the Himalayas that a little thought and analysis must show the poverty of this conclusion. What is it that caused the deaths and their consequent suffer in the infliction of human life, to lose the sense of his play and in labour as he looked a moment towards three houses, without any justification, to see the language of the summary of the official report? They would not have dared to admit that the British drama but for the whole conference having been developed that was hardly as they part would be confined by the capital officers. It will not do to throw the blame on the deaths and such such heads of the sea. The conduct of the sessions can only be explained on the basis that they did, what their thought would place them about. C. R.

The Fundamentalists

During the last few days Gandhiji has expressed himself on all the crucial questions of the hour at one meeting or another in London or other places. I propose to put all that he has said in the form of answers to questions, in his own language. It may be regarded as a delineation of his position here which he will not likely under any circumstances. I have already given a long summary of what he said at Birmingham. This should be read along with that summary.

Q. Don't you think there is fear of the different communities violently quarrelling among themselves when the British withdraw from India?

A. I have compared the British rule in a wedge and so viewed the wedge is removed then the divided parts will unite. But even if we continue to fight I should think it a misadventure. A man who breeds an evil in his land as a man who does evil, if he is an enemy, and so if we are provoked from quarrelling at one another's faults simply because of the unimproved faults of their rule, the answer does lie in a changed life here. We should fight harder for a free, but we should unite better sincerely.

Q. Are you sure now that if you had the elected representatives of the people on the conference you would be united at once?

A. I am quite sure. We should then have gone by the decision of the majority. It is not so much the fault of men as the absence of responsibility under which they labour. Even these very people, if elected, would act differently.

"Would you not not only for having and balancing the budget?" asked a friend at the Birmingham meeting. "Would you not agree in the Parliament having freedom power, by our power articles including salt?" asked Lord Selsby. I compared the two answers as one. "The Parliament should have no right to tax salt. But when I wanted to remove the tax of taxing the poor would I think of balancing the budget by taxing salt, if you want to balance the budget who are not down the military expenditure? It would be a crime against humanity to add to the already heavy burden of the poor Indian taxpayer. You may as well not only not water and expect India to live."

Further parleys Gandhiji went down what he has often called the cultural questions of India in England. At a very influential gathering of Englishmen and Englishwomen, drawn from all parts of England and representing many institutions and many interests, he said: "Who is it that can say that you have preferred freedom to India? No or yes? The fact is that the Indian forces where the Indian people. A man of mine, Chhatralal Senapati, Pharoelal Mitra, Ramdas, Gokhale—who used to dine on you, who were proud of Delhi's control over all the business controlled by your domination—do you know that they are all agreed in saying that you have on the whole done harm to India? When you go, you will have left in an unorganised and uneducated people, and the studies of all who loved you will say: 'What have you done during these years of rule?' You must realise that we cannot afford to have dependence at your rate of wages, for you are no better than slaveholders, and a slave with no interest in education

is dry get head cannot pay thing wages. I cannot too often repeat that while your Prime Minister's wage is 50 times more average Indian, the Viceroy of India draws 1000 times the average income of an Indian. We are a weak nation you say. Well, we have most brave. The best Indian women, educated and uneducated—as trained or stout soldiers of the British—prepared India. There is no harm. We are not skilled in administration. Well, was it not Sir Henry Campbell-Swinton who said that good Government is no substitute for self-government? You, who are past masters in making mistakes, you, who in the language of Lord Selsby know the art of blotting through in essence, will not give us the liberty of making mistakes? We must complete freedom from above control. The ones who entered the road of democracy and thousands of men and women who are together of them opposed. We are negligent in giving this freedom, with your help, if you will, without your help, if we must.

And what is this language of the moderate question? I cannot for the life of me understand it. You call Congress one of the many organisations or the largest organisation. I say to you that the Congress is not only the largest organisation, but it is the most professional organisation, an organisation which alone has taught his freedom. It was at the call of the Congress that hundreds of villages were made swept out of darkness, swept with demands, swept as said for a long and hard work India confounded and said. Do you suppose we have gone through all this agony for a mere of perhaps? The Congress, says the Hindu, is a Hindu organisation. Do you suppose all that thought and want to prison and died last year were only Hindu? There were several thousands of Mohammedan amongst them, and there were also Sikhs and Christians, Parsis and all. Do you talk of a majority and minority community. The Congress alone is the biggest majority community. You want us to have regard to the claim of minorities. Do you want the Congress to parcel out India to small sections for Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians, and among them I suppose Protestants and Catholics, and Europeans, and among them also Protestants and Catholics, and then at many subdivisions of Hindus on your plan—Jains and Buddhists and Sramanists and Shinghis and so on? I, for you, will bring party to this lawless process of division. Is that how you propose to make a nation by your policy of divide and rule? The small minorities have a perfect right to demand full civic rights. But due to minority they to ask for separate organisations. They are not the fundamental by the open door of democracy. Why are Anglo-Indians afraid of their minority being anglicised? Because they are Anglo-Indians? No, they are afraid because they have no sacred India. Let them follow the example of the Parsis who have sacred India and who will not ask for separate organisations. That is because they know they will be in England by their right of service. Chhatralal Mitra's whole life was dedicated to the service of India and he has great daughters, all educated and educated like my English girls, are striving for the progress of India. One of them was the daughter of a physician and she died for disease by poisoning

cannot she topple the galls, No, it is the political system spreading the web of division among the Freedom Fighters and ruling their heads, Let Anglo-Indians too enter the legislature by the open door of service. And even so Anglo-Indians do stand a chance that Anglo-Indians will still share power in a country they have helped to improve and claim separate electorate is a quite Indian's legislature? No, I will never be guilty of parading out my country to these groups. It will be making them of vibration of a whole nation."

M. D.

The Birmingham Visit

(Continued from page 339)

Conference leaders there, a sentence will not be needed before India had passed through a very arduous rough more severe than the one it passed through last year."

"The talk of the improvement of India is being the result of British exploitation called another creation," but it is not what that the real cause of the agricultural misery or the poverty of the masses and extravagance of expenditure on the expense of marriage and funeral. Finally, you charge the British Government with extravagance. But what have you to say to the extravagance of the Indian princes?

"The Indian States" replied Gandhi, "it was a patch upon the English State and if we were going really the Indian States would deserve to be shot. But then, the British Crown would deserve to be shot a hundred times. The rule of money changed by the Indian State at least compared to the fact carried on by the British States through the purvey of commerce and mercantile creation of Land Revenue. I do not believe of Indian princes as history of such as organized associations of an organized and people's power. As for the prodigality of the Indian Princes, while I would have little hesitation, if I had the power, in suppressing them of their modest palace, I would have seriously been in deploring the British Government at New Delhi. The extravagance of the Princes was nothing compared to the excessive squandering of money of expense in New Delhi is really the waste of a country in order to reproduce England in India, when masses of people were dying of hunger."

An amusing question was asked by a friend who quoted a letter from the Manchester Guardian in which the correspondent questioned Gandhi's reluctance to speak for the independence to be brought to the present state which had kept that economy depressed so far and asked whether Gandhi himself was not a great hindrance in the way of a settlement. "I never have" replied Gandhi that I was a Brahmin but I do happen to be a Hindu, which is certainly regarded as a form of peaceful respect. But let me inform the audience that my economy recommended me when I came to England about 40 years ago and the words that I have been doing nothing so to be called a farmer, worker and asceticism. I was willing as the work for the education of "self-reliance" long before I was willing in my wife. There

were two marriages in our joint life when there was a change between working for the emancipation and commerce with my wife and I would have preferred the first. But thanks to my good wife, the work was varied. In my father, which is my family, I have several characteristics and a great but mighty girl bring in my own daughter. As to whether I am willing to a hindrance to a settlement, I confess, I am for the simple reason that I would not be satisfied with any compromise short of real complete independence for India."

The last question put to Gandhi was, as follows: "Nevertheless we have found it difficult to reconcile the typical form of vested interest that you have evolved, with an appeal to reason. What is it that makes you confident that that appeal to reason should be put aside in favour of more drastic action?"

"Up to the year 1885" replied Gandhi "I simply relied on appeal to reason. I was a very individualist reformer. I was a good abolitionist, so I always had a close grip of facts which in its turn was the necessary result of my individualism toward the truth. But I found that people failed to produce an impression when the actual numbers served by their ideas. My people were excited with a rapid will and they considered them—and there was talk of working, vegetarians. I had then to choose between slipping myself by violence or taking out more other methods of meeting the crowd and stopping the act and it came to me that we should refuse to obey legislation that was degrading and let them put on a full of their head. Then, came into being the moral equivalent of war. I was then a legislator, because, I implicitly believed that the law made of the authority of the British Empire was good for India and for humanity." According to England came after the outbreak of the war I changed him and later when I was forced to go to India as a result of the planter that I had developed, I led a non-cooperation campaign at the call of my life, and to the honour of some of my friends. The disillusionment came in 1919 after the passage of the Rowlatt Bill. And the refusal of the Government to give the simple elementary evidence of proved wrong that we had asked for, April 18, 1921, I became a real Ghandi. Since then the Gandhian has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by money alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings, not in the law of the people. But suffering is infinitely more powerful after the law of the people by covering the opponent and opening his eyes, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reason. Nobody has probably drawn up more petitions or exposed more false promises than I and I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done you must not merely satisfy the masses, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to the head but the persuasion of the heart comes from suffering. It comes up the most self-sacrificed by in men suffering of the burden of the human race, and the world."

London Letter The Situation

"I ask all Englishmen to study the case for India and if they find that my position is correct they must make all the assistance that can be rendered to make the R. T. C. proceed to a successful issue," said Gandhiji in the Church House at a meeting presided over by the Archbishop of York and attended by most of the important Bishops and Clerical dignitaries of England. "But," he added, "I am no lawyer, Lord Reading is making laws, and today we are in a worse position, we have even in the past been so, 'Is it not India going to get complete independence, or is it not India giving its full control over her defence, finance and external affairs?' we have not even discussed these things. We have been speaking all our time in a thousand things of a second day or even of a third day experience. The Government question, which is vital to her progress, should not have been used for that purpose."

"I am up against a brick wall," he said to a friend.

"Is it not unfortunate that though you represent a strong body of opinion you are not in fact the leader of a united India?"

"I am not. But that is because many of us people here. Don't you see it is a packed Conference? If we had been asked to elect our own representatives I should have represented that opinion for there is, amongst all of us, the great wish to see some support on behalf of the Government so when politicians say yes. Whereas, we have here today Members talking as if they were only a few weeks ago were utterable words of Indian conviction such as yours."

"Then what the 'Daily Herald' said is true?"

"No, I think the Prime Minister is right in saying that the Government are not trying deliberately to break up the Conference. But they might have to wait it up for the simple reason that they cannot, in all decency, justify the way, I'm afraid, of getting here. We have been talking and talking about India which do not touch the fundamentals. What is the use of discussing abolition of taxes between the Parliament and the Provincial Government, when we do not know what finance we will have, what authority we are going to exercise and what way we shall have to pay for?"

That, I think, describes the situation today pretty correctly. And he made it absolutely clear at the Royal York Conference too. He addressed members during the discussion on the Supreme Court at the Federal Structure Committee. He wanted them to get out of the law, trade—thinking always, in many of the cases, and on India getting heavy subsidies starting for poor as at the present day. The Congress can have nothing to do with any arrangement which, however inconspicuous in name, removes the British control and British responsibility in any shape or form. If they want business, they must look at the issue of an independent India having no way independent Court composed of judges whom she would pay according to her own power, and a real reform of the structure of her people. It was an important and lucidly pronounced, at Lord Reading was good enough to acknowledge it. It is being fully recognized elsewhere. There is a need to play the old and make people think—at least those who like Lord Reading the straight talking, there was "who knows what he wants." But, I am afraid, they are to be used in this with the British Machine are used. The new Government will have to make up their mind and give

their reply to an India determined to be free. Meanwhile, the propaganda is being carried on to discredit the Congress and the Congress representatives. Pandit Jaganlal Bhanu made a long talk denouncing the R. T. C. situation. Gandhiji in reply just says that the Pandit might unfortunately take whatever steps he felt necessary to meet the situation, no nothing was possible at this and I understand papers put at the scene, by his request of both and produce a sensation elsewhere, on that Mr. Gandhi is making journalistic to make a campaign of civil disobedience—quite as a job with the Pandit's idea that Mr. Gandhi was trying to follow the Gandhians in order to get their support in a non-cooperation campaign! The politicians in the country are busy telling me another the constant variety of means and the press too are busy for India. But the politicians and press do not make up the story. And Gandhiji denies all his hands and all the Congressmen in placing India's case before the people. At Church House he was privileged to address a gathering of influential men and women presided over by Lord Reading, and longer than the house had ever before witnessed. I may not refer to the proceedings, but I may say that on less an audience than Mr. G. P. Gokhale, who knows how to conduct a very well. He had to say, told Mr. Andrews that it was the biggest meeting that he had attended at Church House, and that what Gandhiji had said had created a tremendous impression.

The meeting at the Church House was attended by perhaps less than 12 laymen and other influential members of the Church of England of successful men with a genuine desire to understand and to help. I am remembering the conviction of that very important meeting yesterday, were important, amongst as it was more compact and composed of friends who were there with a genuine desire to understand and help. The meeting of the laymen were presided over by Lord Reading was equally important. Every one of the kind to have invited friends seemed to realize the necessity of England's eyes on India having faith in its unwilling people. "There is no other country in the world which is trying to achieve prohibitions by voluntary effort and in the face of opposition from Government, where vast masses of people are crying for prohibition and they are denied it and where there is even being arranged in all ways of business ways," and Gandhiji said they seemed to understand it completely, if I may judge from the attention paid to him at the end of the speech. "The problem of prohibition is incredibly simple, but for the practical question of revenue" and Gandhiji said they are here amongst it was for India to have complete freedom of choice if she should balance the budget and yet go to the complete prohibition.

M. D.

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The War Against Drink [By C. Ramakrishnaiah] Caste Panchayats

The end of the Drink traffic in India is very near. It is a matter for congratulation that among castes that hitherto permitted the use of spirituous liquors there is a strong movement to adopt the general rule in India against it, and in all parts of the country are consciously after matters is pledging its members to total abstinence. The Congress programme of pledging has inspired attention and interested public opinion against the evil. The campaign has become the daily absorbing thought of millions of men, women and children of all grades of society. In a land of illiterates, direct action is the only effective propaganda of abstinence.

Before in India has ever been abroad not so much by individual action as by group or caste activity. This is true regarding caste and abstinence from spirituous liquors and all other movements of reform as personal habits have always spread in India in this way. It is consistent with our social organisation and activities. Individualism does not thrive in our society, whether it be for good or evil.

The movement of Total Abstinence is especially strong among those castes subjected to an inferior social status. Apart from the appalling consequences of caste prejudice, and disabled features of race organs, their inferiority has been manifested by their beggarly poverty and debilitation. These classes are naturally the greatest victims of the licensed traffic. The economic advantages of a strict abstinence in Total Abstinence appeal most strongly to the leaders of these castes. No wonder that they have quickly responded to the movement and are most enthusiastically at work pledging their men to a habit which will at once free them from moral and economic degradation and give them, according to Indian psychology, a higher social status.

Government, by reason of its national establishment in the Drink business, is, whatever its declared policy may be, in actual practice, opposed to any movement that will actually end or so hopelessly restrict vice, reduce the consumption of spirituous liquors. This is especially unfortunate for the "lower" castes of our society. As long as the Temperance movement was a talking hobby of the upper classes, and did not effect any serious reduction in the social use of intoxicating drinks and drugs, the Government patronised the sobriety propaganda. But when it took form that threatened seriously to affect consumption, and revenue, it quickly began to withdraw its patronage and approval, and brought back all restrictions and practical obstacles in its way.

When the Drink traffic is restrained and backed up with Government control, and Government Revenue is added up with it, well known are sold by Government to the highest bidder, it is not easy to attack the Drink evil without attacking the Government. Government and government officials are served by the stock Exchange propaganda. Temperance propaganda really becomes criticism, attacking Government education and group pleading and caste organisation become coarser and debilitated. Reformers actively working among classes, influence the unwilling customers in the business, businessmen in the Treasury and influential debauchers of the King's purse. Most Indian reformers are satisfied by their wisdom and moderation, but economic workers are asked to give account for good behaviour.

When once there is a great popular awakening, however, while individuals can be threatened or corrupted into action, the rule of caste cannot be attacked. Prohibition is in every man's mind and as Government are not a power of prohibition.

Caste in India have been all along paralysed by Government to prevent internal authority. If Indian Prohibition shows the limits of their government and prohibit arrangements on pain of economic ruin, Government keeps short. If individuals are not aligned the use of common drinking water-places, places of worship and recreation were made and schools, the Government does not feel called upon or entitled to interfere. Persons during social intercourse with "untouchables" are treated with severe caste penalties, but the Government cannot and does not attempt to interfere or protect the individual against the tyranny of the caste. But when "low" caste pledges themselves to total abstinence from spirituous liquors, copying the principle of "high" caste and adopt measures to raise themselves socially and economically, Government is against the sobriety individual liberty against what it deems to be caste reaction. The way in which our reformers give a hint in this case is well known. An honest reformer, I can imagine, never says a Government official when he sees that a poor fellow is deprived of his drink on account of rules imposed by his people. It may be his duty and that of the reformer. But interpretation would give that, lack of it all, the reformer works successfully.

The law is well understood to be that, bearing legal or criminal consequences, caste and sub-caste as well as other limitations are desired to regulate the conduct of their members. From such prohibitions based on abstinence in legislation from the caste are really voluntarily collected in, as long as it is open to any offending member to choose to submit and remain in the group or prefer to leave it.

(To be Continued)

Is It Unsound Economics?

(By C. RAJAGOPALAN)

What cloth shall we buy? Foreign cloth is out of the question. No one would willingly buy it, dark and like country's gold. But as between "Sundaril" and "Khadi" where should a man and informed politician land his choice?

The question is, shall I contribute my mite towards the "Mill-Magnate" profits and shareholders' dividends or, shall I pay a tax for the relief of native-wide unemployment? Sundaril does the first, Khadi does the second.

In other civilized countries, save the people without a competency taxation to enable the State to give jobs to those unemployed. The Khadi plan for the relief of unemployment may also be described as a tax, but it is no indirect tax and a voluntary tax. The tax, as we are aware of universal use, tax, cloth, so that the burden is distributed fairly evenly. It is rational, and to give jobs, which is democratic, but to give work, which aims to moral fibre and dignity.

Relief of native-wide unemployment is a State duty. Khadi is the national solution of this Government neglected duty. Government wants money for its staggering civil and military establishments and therefore, puts a duty on salt so that everyone may be indirectly made to pay towards the expenditure. It looks as compensation on the ground that salt is an article of universal use and that the tax makes it twenty times dearer than it should otherwise be to the poor man. For the purpose of implementing the present inadequate savings and to relieve the unemployment during more than six months in the year, the Khadi plan is to levy a voluntary poll tax through cloth that all must use. This is the acceptance and the effect of the rates paid one has to pay for Khadi.

The Indian peasant's poverty is fairly widely known. But the burden of his indebtedness has now shifted on account of the fall in the prices of the commodities he is producing. His debts were incurred when the prices were twice as much. The interest he has to pay is calculated on a money basis. There are loans in the old money basis, for even though the price of every other commodity has fallen more than 50 per cent., the price of the Government securities' whose value is steady and refuses to go down. The Government is still spending extravagantly, still only talking of voluntary cuts of ten per cent. and the like, and has not refused but increased borrowings. Taking the present prices into account, we can easily see how the notoriously low average earnings of the Indian peasant have gone still lower. He is in dire straits and the only relief that can be used is to be operated on any large scale is the relief given through Khadi. It is, therefore, imperative and rational to stick the Khadi Tax.

The use of Khadi, in preference to all other cloth, will keep in circulation among the agriculturists all the money that the nation uses to buy its clothing. The hope that we may do to help the poor peasant is to keep the money we spend for our food and for our clothing in circulation among them. To buy sundaril is to abstract and divert the flow of money to the villages and to refuse to achieve daily freedom.

There is still talk of Khadi being an "economically unproved" proposition. And the poor man who sees that the price of Khadi per yard is higher than that of foreign cloth, or of the Indian mill cloth, takes this as evidence of his own personal failing in the market, and looks puzzled by reason. One might as well say that the salt we buy is economically unproved because it is twenty times its natural price. The only difference is that for the food salt there is no substitute, whereas, for Khadi there are many expensive substitutes and we are free to choose ourselves with them.

Millions hands to be employed and machines waiting to be produced, the formula of the machine, served well in the West as long as foreign markets stored off the problem of unemployment. But when foreign enterprises and exploitation of foreign nations made their limitations, the economy of large scale production has nothing to feed upon except itself. Competition Economics is in the threat of death. Investment and re-investment of surplus wealth for further increase went and is a dead-end. Capitalists have faced themselves at the mercy of the machines that they believed they owned but which in reality owned them and economics is in the melting pot in the West. Khadi is, not only not economically unproved, but is based on a far simpler and surer economics than the worn-out pseudo-economics of that name that has broken down in the West.

The Story of Two Volunteers

(By C. RAJAGOPALAN)

Karma or Hinge for Everybody

This is a true story. Not a word in it is fiction. Mahomed Karma is a volunteer in the Mahatma Picketing corps (Salt District, Tamilnad). All the members of the corps are honorary workers and so also a Mahomed Karma. His history is a romance of Hinge and I want to share it with everybody.

A brother by profession, a powerfully built man, another wanderer and gypsy, and a heavy drinker for the last two years, Karma's name had been a word of terror to women and children in his street. He is now a metal-shedder, a simple fellow among the volunteers, and a favourite with everybody in the town!

He was three years old when his father, Chota Khan, a Hindu policeman, died. He grew up under the paternal grandfather's care at Madras for some years and then lived with his sister's husband, Sharif Sahib, who was a brother in Mahatma. When Karma came of age, he opened his own metal-shed and did good business. He earned from there in four rupees every day like the other brothers in Mahatma. He was married when young and had a boy by that wife. She died two years ago and he took a second wife, his deceased wife's sister.

One day, more two years ago, when he was doing the "grand dealer" in the private granaries that he and his friends had opened, he had a fall. Next came he collapsed from a pain in the abdomen. He tried several medicines but the pain persisted. A doctor and police constable who was practising as a quack doctor gave him a purgative pill for the ailment. He had three or four motions in the quack's house at once. But none that did not cure him. Then a peasant told him that if he took a pinch of salt everyday, drawn from the same tree, he would be cured. This daily-salt-

totally new is a popular superstition and is practised for all sorts of ailments among peasants and halahar-bhiks.

Kamru tried this for a fortnight. He felt relieved for a few hours each time he drank the toddy, but the pain would return again. All the same he got used to the toddy all right, and he drank three and more every day. Soon he gave up the single dose and began to visit the toddy shop. Thus he passed through the common history of every victim.

Kamru's stomach gradually disappeared in course of time, but he became a hooked toper. He used to stop in the tavern from midnight till six o'clock in the night, dabbling off the time. He would sometimes dare all that he earned from his sweet-shop. His wife and child were no longer any more of his. His world came home drunk and beat them every day. What became home at night, his wife used to hulk under a cot. His little son would shiver through and shiver when he laid his wife. As he passed down the street, the women and children used to say "Kamru has come!" and beat their doors or faces. He was arrested twice and freed by the Magistrate, and he paid the fines by instalments. His business was gone very soon after he took to drink. His brother-in-law was looking after his family. He used to get no drink that his four, all sorts of diseases.

A month ago, when phising was going on, there was a meeting of the Members of Parliament at the Masjid when they all talked about taking the pledge. There were nearly sixty Musلمان Members. Many took the pledge, but some did not agree. The Chairman Sahib and another were very particular and answered another meeting a fortnight ago, and recently pleaded that not a single Musلمان of Parliament should drink, and that it should be recognised as a crime, haramah, if any of them visited the tavern. Kamru used to visit the shop through the phising was going on. But at this second meeting, Kamru stood up and gave it up. He made up his mind and he found it easy. No one can say what that may not do!

"When I took the pledge and signed, other haramah toper signed also. There is not one single Musلمان in Parliament drinking. I offered myself as a Congress volunteer that same day and I was taken. Ever since then I have been working under Congress. I do not even go to drink at all now. I go to my home and do my usual things. But even when visiting I feel I must hurry back to the Congress office. I have a disgust for toddy now. I would hang myself and die rather than drink again. I was a terror to my wife and child and relatives. Now they are all so happy!"

"Do they pay you anything in the Congress? Does your brother-in-law like your leaving the Congress for nothing and doing as business for yourself?"

"Oh, yes. He is delighted. He will do anything for my having been saved from the toddy shop. My wife is pleased that I am in Congress. I want no payment for Congress work. They will let me do anything. They don't object to my visiting the Congress, tell them, if only I don't drink."

Kamru reminds me that he has never felt the craving again to take the pledge at the Masjid. When other Muslims him, for he has kept the pledge and his life is as bright and joyous as that of a life long abstainer? The blessing of the Almighty is upon him.

"Will you start business again? Do you think you can do it if you have those little money?"

"Oh, yes. It is no secret. If I have twenty rupees now, I can start my sweetshop again. My brother-in-law will help me. Every man is willing to help. And now that I don't drink, I can make lots of money as he does. Within a year, I shall have a couple of hundred rupees ready."

"So you will never again drink?"

"Never! Why should I? Every man was disgusted with me before. Now every man loves me. I feel secure when I think of the toddy now!"

Nallawarant or How It Begins

Here is another story, also true to every detail. "My name is Nallawarant Poley. I am age 21. In 1911, I began to be a member of a class. My father was a clerk keeping accounts under Poon Munda Sahib who owned sugar house. I learnt some mathematics and became a first class clerk and driver.

"During the Mahatma festival at Naraula my friends started a place. My cousin Karamchand Poley took a leading part in it. This was in 1915. He as well as the other men used to drink before going. They said it was necessary for good reason. I had offered to join the temple and was taken. So my cousin proved me during retirement to drink a little. The toddy was brought to the shed itself, I used to return. But one night he pressed me very much and forced me to drink a bottle less my mouth. I drank but I vomited and felt uneasy. Again, on the second and third nights also, I drank under pressure. I was disgusted. I continued to keep away. For a month I avoided my cousin's company. But after that, we became friends again. He used to send me to the tavern to buy him toddy. I did this and every time he used to press me to drink also. I resisted for some time but then yielded.

"I soon became a regular toper, and drank so much as to be in almost constant pain. I was eating cakes and lived most with the toddy and spent all my time in the tavern. I was not going home for nearly except at night. Thus too, if I was very drunk, I would not get up at home but simply lie down to sleep.

"It is now that year since I was married. There is no prohibition in my caste against drinking though it is not considered decent. But now there is a pledge and prohibition, I have taken the pledge. All my people have totally given up drink except my cousin, Karamchand, who is still drinking. He is rather ashamed. He does not visit my house now.

"I am a full time Congress volunteer now. My mother here welcomed me, got it looked and does business in it. She also keeps a couple of cows and sells the milk. She earns enough to keep the family going. She is very happy, so also my wife, that I have joined the Congress. They are not anxious that I should earn money. When I was married, I was spending all the money at the toddy shop and coming empty.

"I am glad I better of toddy really. I used to drive the motor bus with that much weight. I am as much driven as I could do it. I have given up drink for ever now. I feel no difficulty whatever."

Nallawarant is saved. That his story shows how the Devil takes his way and enters souls.

Young India

Class 19 in Madras

(By C. Raghavadasaiah)

It is well known that one of the objects of the Debt Fund was the re-employment of village officials and other government servants. This was in consonance with the underlying principle of the Trust that so far as possible, the status quo ante should be restored and that no one should be the worse off on account of the emergency.

Only a very few cases came up for consideration. Most of the cases of re-employment of officials. People naturally expected that for the very reason the law came would be liberally dealt with. Class 19 of the Settlements apparently stated that local governments "will pursue a liberal policy in regard to the re-employment of government servants and village officials who apply for re-employment."

But all expectations have been fully disappointed. The cases that were sent up were the following—

1. Tannappa Tanna, a village headman in Maragupalli Division, lost his post because he could furnish note of bond to a Congressman who took it as a security given for some of the suit outpayers, or Vellamangalam. He not only lost his post but was permanently delinquent from any future appointment.

2. Sreenivasulu Tanna and his associates held the post of village headman of Vannagupalli in Tanjore District for many decades. He resigned his post on 25th April 1930 in token of sympathy with the Salt Satyagraha on the day that the volunteers marched past his place. He was told that he stood delinquent and he was delinquent from appointment.

3. Arumudula Muttiahai resigned his village headman's post in Nellore District. After the Trusts he applied for re-employment. He first got no notice that his application would be considered, but later he was told he could not be re-employed.

4. Narayana Pillai, a village official of Mayavaram Division, was compelled to resign his post because he gave a free paper document for suit Satyagrahis.

5. Narayana Sanyal, an Agent at court at Rameswaram, was dismissed because he gave water and refreshments to salt satyagrahis when they halted on their march.

Not one of these cases has been successful. Cases in token failed the provision that where the persons have been "permanently dismissed" Government is not bound to re-employ the same. Classes 15 of the Settlements is said to have been "specifically designed" to protect the interests of those newly appointed. The cases as to re-employment have been liberally settled. The provision is found to cover every case, and the same cases have disappointed like a stone.

Can it be contended that Government could not tell the new appointees that an object of the Trusts there who held the posts previously held to be restored, and that the services of those who were appointed during the emergency would, therefore, be dispensed with? Would there be any right or claim on the part of those newly appointed ones to hold the posts against the wishes

of the government? No restrictions were given to them by the local governments and no persons were made that the posts would be held no any longer other than the ordinary one, namely, during the pleasure of the government. There is really no case of injustice, which is the reason why and in the Court to dispute the principle behind the action. On the other hand, there is a complete failure of the expectations related to the Trusts that the local governments would pursue a liberal policy in regard to re-employment.

The last words to be, that though the Trusts provided a liberal policy of 'hedge' and 'hedge' on both sides, and a provision in the settlements, the local governments did nothing to see to that actual level. If they did, there was nothing to prevent them from thinking the same long/short for their timely service during a crucial time, and restoring the old appointments. This would have been an answer to the system, and would have been truly in consonance with the spirit of a great Peace after a great Storm.

We must be thankful, however, for small success, and as I have to return the public that as a result of some correspondence on the subject, I am in receipt of a letter from the Chief Secretary that "the Government have issued general instructions to the effect that when the only means for and re-employment village officer with reference to Class 15 of the Settlements with the Congress, April 15th March 1931, is that the post has been permanently filled in and has been should not be delinquent from other employment under the Government and that the bar order in such a case should be withdrawn."

Repression in Mysore

(By C. Raghavadasaiah)

It is a terrible blow to the part of the Government of Mysore that there should be an conflict between Capital and Labour which is broken up that order and peace should prevail. This, however, is not worth the statement if it is to be covered by a suppression of the part of Labour. One has a right to expect the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore to help the weak to get justice at the hands of the strong. If they would have it that Labour should get justice and fair treatment without the threat of conflict with Capital, they should take steps to see that for the recognition of Trade Unions, the compulsory submission of all disputes and for some independence and due protection of labourers in Mysore. Before doing this to such to suppress labour organisations is nothing short of tyranny and oppression.

Mr. P. M. Narayana Murthy, has been a resident of Bangalore and a worker among the labourers in that city for five years past or so more. He as well as the labourers among whom he works, have been struggling hard all these years to maintain the rights and rights of Labour as against powerful employers, both Indian and British. On 11th July last, Mr. Narayana was served with an order which was, on 11th September, has been regarded by the people by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore. This order prohibits him, though he is admitted to be the Vice-President of the Mysore Labour Union, from ever entering the labour area and pays him entirely within the Municipal limits.

"In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section 2 of Section 144 of the Code of Criminal

September 1950, the Government of the Kingdom the Minister of Mysore hardly deprecates the order passed by the District Magistrate, Bangalore under the said section on the 21st July 1951 directing Mr. M. M. Rama Sarna, Vice President, Trade Union Union and Congress Workers, Bangalore, Bangalore City, not to enter the area in the Bangalore City included within the following boundaries—on the North by the Bangalore Road, the Sankul Road, on the South by the Dr. Narasimhaiah Road and the Mysore Road, on the West by the Hill Tank Road Road and the Mysore-Bangalore-Madras Railway line and not to deliver any public speeches within the Municipal limits of Bangalore City, shall remain in force for a period of six months from the September, 1951."

It is easy to be persuaded that a labour union either is a danger to peace. In the opinion of some people, and a very large class of people, from which all government servants are recruited, every labour union may be a danger to peace. The preventive provisions of the Criminal Code place in the hands of the executive authorities very large powers which, if they are exercised as applied for purposes beyond their legitimate sphere, are nothing short of weapons of tyranny. There is little or no judicial check on the exercise of these powers and even when defiance comes up for review, the law is heavily in favour and invariable of their great other side.

The arrangements of the two or three mills that are carrying on business in Bangalore will no doubt be guided in the Government of Mysore by their deploring their weakness of their chief workers and their officials, but it is a disheartening policy towards the provisions of a model State. It is often urged on the part of Indian States that their subjects are not so advanced as those of British India and that, therefore, the time is not ripe within their borders for the liberties and institutions enjoyed or proposed in British India. The fact of the matter is that for this backward condition, if true, the Allied and State Governments are themselves responsible. Neither in education nor in cultural gifts of character or intellect are the people of Mysore inferior to those of British India. There is no reason why they should not enjoy to the full the same rights and liberties as the people in British India. We can tell the Government in no terms of political progress is less in Mysore than in British India. Assuming, however, that there is no game or policy to enable the interests of labourers adequately in Mysore on account of the backward political condition, that requires in all the greater if your weakness are deprived of their representation and the services of their Trade Union officials, and they are thus left entirely in the mercy of their employers whose discretion interests in a exploiting them.

The second way makes an impression on the authorities of Mysore. The police report officers of the State must not concern with the condition of labour in the State which for the education of a subject people. The people of the State are no less advanced with qualities and resources for political education than the people of British India. Representative form and measures have a definite place in the evolution of liberty.

Municipal Sweepers

(By C. K. Narayana Swami)

In all our Municipalities there are sweepers and scavengers, assigned to a standard of life too low for decency. But I am dealing only with one aspect of their life. Even a small municipality gets about six hundred to a thousand rupees a month to clean poor people. If we suppose it is what happens in this money on per day, as I did at the Municipality of—, we shall learn that nearly the whole of it goes immediately to people who have lost their money at dishonest games and to the liquor shop. Even at the houses where the money goes partly for persons addicted to only partly for casual enjoyment, it is used against either addicts or credit and is otherwise in regard to these dishonest people and other dishonest customers of that kind. The municipality has been a feeling that the pay of these sweepers should be stopped to them.

Why should not the municipality themselves run the liquor shop for these sweepers and scavengers? If a thing can be tolerated, it is more straightforward to take it over under their management. Let our municipalities that they will not lose by it. There is good enough business in it.

Another alternative would be to have the sweeping work on a contract on the municipality order itself. Let him take as much per month and let business will be to get the sweeping and scavenging of the town done properly. He has the gang of sweepers, and they work under him and satisfy the municipality. He gets the payment in lump and deals with his gang, giving them liquor and money for foodstuffs. Even this would not be bad upon the point of view of sound management. At present, the sweepers do not do the work properly, and thus men who do not get their money's worth of liquor for an equivalent on credit and running account are left full time.

If it is thought it would be improper to do either of these alternatives, it is equally improper to allow the present state of things to go on. What is very wrong is, it done by a public body, also tolerated.

Had sweepers and scavengers be considered always as hell? There are sweepers and scavengers even in England. During work they get an education and do their work. When it is finished, every one takes a bath for which soap and towels and arrangements are provided. He gets his pay and his breakfast has been a meal and goes into the quickly provided bath where he gets healthy refreshments and full drink of common sense. After bathing, he walks out with a smile on his face and like any other gentleman.

What is possible in one country is quite possible in another. These arrangements do not depend on the climate. They depend upon people's satisfaction of purpose, people's sense of duty. Let us not think that England was always like this, either in cleanliness or in other respects, for its advance of us.

In the year 1850, the works of Whitelaw complained that the stench from the London drainage was so bad that "I was constrained the death of some of the brothers." An official report of the year 1840 tells us that "were to withdraw the refuse covered the garbage there and left without a scrap of food which remained to rot under a thin layer of refuse scattered over it on the particularly

action. Krishna was not so considered to be the greatest man of science of all time, and he said that our knowledge and resources are like playing with the marks of the ocean. So much of the ocean is there vast and unknown. After getting a few shells thrown back and then upon the beach, we imagine that we have found all about the ocean. We must approach knowledge with a few cases of humility and reverence like Krishna. It hardly if we are humble that we can know things.

The modern disciples of Science do not at all understand Religion. I look upon both as the same sort of thing and, therefore, I use the mathematics in them. Do not imagine that to marry a girl at the age of ten in Hinduism or to share the head of a widow of widow in Hinduism. Don't imagine that to get a single strand of hair upon thread as your shawl or Hinduism or that to paint your forehead in a variety of ways in Hinduism. These customs are like the waves on the surface of the Ocean of Religion. Don't imagine that only the waves constitute the ocean. The waves may shift or stop but the ocean remains. Even if you changed all your customs you would still be Hindu, you would not become a Disciple of Christ or an *Adhikari*.

You are Hindu, Ram. What is it that we call and recognize as Hindu? Ram is not his hands, feet or head. Even if his legs cracked and his feet were disfigured, even if he should lose his feet or eyes or if any other change takes place in his body we have the same love and respect or reverence or hatred towards him. The way, we may say, consists of a group of feelings, thoughts and ideas, he is not the body. Even if the thoughts change, even if his character should change, we hold on to the man, his personality. He is, therefore, not even in the thoughts; he is somewhere behind the thoughts. It is he that thinks, reads, writes and acts. This is the foundation of all religion.

If you put a piece of water you will find the water drops, that water will produce another drop, that again will produce a third and so on, and we may say that even God can do it. If you add one and get it becomes two, can God change it? It is only if it you understand this that you can understand what I consider the essential of Hinduism.

Every had thought in our mind is a painful ripple in the Universal spirit, so yet in a different way in a mark on the heart of God, and that is why many imagine that God is shaking them whenever we think any bad thought. Just as we do not see his lower legs "vibrations" vibrations started in America can be counted here even if there is no vibration across the "water," we may imagine that there is an all-pervading substance which carries the shock of every bad thought though we may not see it. Do not imagine that "vibrations" means any positive vibration of some European called Maxon. It is only a discovery of what was going on from time immemorial. The vibrations were going on from eternal time back and men of Science had discovered them now day.

Imagine a dead man who sees the whole beautiful world but have nothing. He suddenly discovers his own. He finds that every all over the world and he did not know it at all so long. Suddenly, there is a darkness of the soul which darkness in three perceiv-

ing the vibrations of good and bad thoughts. If we were relieved of the darkness of the soul and suddenly began to feel the vibrations of thoughts pervading the whole world we would, then wonder how there was so much evil going on in the world and we did not prevent it. Just as sleep is a blessing,—when we are tired we go to sleep and are happy for him or her to have hours though we may have many reasons for sleeping,—even during the other twelve hours,—we may say that God has blessed us with the darkness, so that we may live in peace in this world which is full of evil thoughts.

As there are some people who fight a lamp and send it to the wall, when all the world is asleep and when they should sleep also,—there are a few mad people who want to find the truth of soul vibrations, even though God has blessed us with a world darkness in that respect. This is religious speculation and philosophy. Follow the same road follow who fights his lamp or light. He waits for some time, then he gives most of the whole business, puts out the lamp and goes to sleep. Suddenly, a man may give that of religion and go to sleep. For there are a few people like those who stay the *Upanishads*, and live those who are carrying an invisible cross on the *Vani* as well as him. Both belong to the class of mad men, who fight their lamps at night and go to bed thinking with knowledge and doing for it. It is their work that we call Religion, their work that we call Science.

Just as the very simple idea of sacred natural atmosphere called by Krishna, *Guruvana*, was the basis of all the complicated calculations and features of science until recently, so also the *Ekavak* doctrine is an extremely simple thing as understood and yet is the basis of all the complicated ideas of Hindu Religion. It is only very simple things that are the foundation of all things. The doctrine of Ram is that whatever we do, immediately an effect is produced. We cannot escape it. Not that we will be punished later on or get heaven or hell, but an effect is immediately produced.

Action included thought and word, as well as what we externally call action. For instance, if I am suddenly possess a thing and feel pain, which have also it would be if I get it, it is a kind of that, just as there are others. Body and different kinds of that, so also this thought is one kind of that.

There was a French philosopher who wrote, imagine that a man reading some ideas in France could get the property of a wealthy man in China, who was not a relation or a friend or even known to him at all,—and to tell him needed to what he got a letter to France, and there was a guarantee that nobody could have anything about it. It would be absolutely correct, yet useless to produce the result. Who was there, the French philosopher asked, who would not prove that letter and get that inheritance? Though absolutely not, that was a wrong view. Another French philosopher immediately wrote an answer to it that even under such circumstances a man will give some money to print the letter and tell the man. The man which in our most valuable possession would be spent by that very thought of killing the man in China, and not all the wealth would be compared too enough. Even though nobody

and know it and as physical harm will come to you, still your mind beautiful and gracious goodness is seized by an evil thought like a thief in a dark place, and therefore you shudder from it.

It is well-known that if we deliberate in regard of women, we are likely to catch disease. The teacher of Kaira says, "Even though you do not catch syphilis or any other disease, there is a disease which you certainly catch by your bad action. What is that disease? When you do a thing you are inclined to do it again. We prepare and shape ourselves more easily and readily to do it again. Whenever thought or action we go through once, it gets a little firmer occupation. I do not need that it is difficult to forget language, but once I use it, the second time it becomes easy for me, I use it, the second time it becomes easy for me, I use it, the second time it becomes easy. There is not a child but if it does a thing once, it is easy for it to do it a second time. Once I think a bad thought or utter a bad word or do a bad action, my character, more subtle than a woven loom, whose shape the slightest thread again has been altered, by that action. Our character is a delicate living thing. It grows through severity. Once you do anything it becomes and returns the impression at once. The right-hand evil that you do leaves its ugly and visible impression behind. You cannot go back as when you have thought or done.

Let this unchangeable law of cause and effect be not a law of hopelessness. You cannot withdraw effect from cause, but you are free to think and act again and have your character into shape again. This is the true teaching of action contained in Karma. It is not fatalism.

Death is not a wrong off of the state as that we and those or larger were. After death we continue to work on opening balance. This is the Hindu belief. The shape which one has given to himself in this life or the start with which the soul proceeds on the next journey. One character as we build it with our thoughts and actions is not only our present greatest possession, but it is also our inalienable inheritance. We live for all time, every one of us. We claim our present now and then, but they the balance is carried forward to the next page.

Some of you are Hindoos. I want Hindoos to understand Hindu religion correctly, and even to be proud of Hindoos in a way as the great sages of the land of their birth. If I were a Hindu born in Arabia I would be proud of Mohamed and of Islam. I would be happy with prophesy with words of Mohamed. I would consider my duty to study Islam, my first duty, if I were a Hindu born in Arabia, similarly, if I were a Hindu born in Palestine, I would consider the religion of Christ one of the first things to be understood and accepted, and I would give my time to spend large sums of money in order to protect the churches of Christ, just as today you find the Christian Brothers spending large sums of money to protect Hindu and Muslim monasteries and temples. I want you all therefore to understand the doctrine of Karma as Hindoos. Even Christians and Mohammedans should understand it, as I will, provided they are Indians.

The Finance Bill

"The Mr. Finance Bill is in the lower chamber. Officers of the top have been subjected to an additional heavy income tax. In view of this and other factors, the Government have gone to the Congress that it is not best to ask the higher grades to be subjected to more than a total tax per cent and in their pay." This is what Mr. George Schuster said in defence of a bill on all salaries down to Rs. 50 per month as against the proposal for enhanced rate in higher salaries. It is a broadly drawn statement, but not more revealing on that account.

Mr. George said that a tax per cent that not would bring in more money than a graduated scale rising to 50 per cent for higher salaries, because salaries above Rs. 1,000 per month were only about seven per cent. Why should we stop at 50 per cent? Why should not there be subjected to a 50 per cent cut for that matter, and a series of a series offered? It is not as if the office cannot live decently on Rs. 500 a month. There is nothing impossible or impossible in a step of this kind when the Government are faced by emergency. Many extraordinary measures are generally offered when an office comes on process, or when trouble has to be faced in private life. Hindoos in public service ought to be as less extravagantly maintenance than in private life.

Referring to the opposite Low Commission, Mr. George Schuster said that "Government must definitely cut their loss" against any withdrawal of them. Mr. George had the authority to say that the removal of these commissions regarding him passages from India in England and back for European officers and their families, and leaving travelling expenses incurred by European officers and their families, for high class medical treatment and such like, would be "discriminatory action of a most unfair kind." George added that the aim of the present "discriminatory." He similarly said against expenditure against women for being based on lowest paid on working conditions, on pensions, leave-pay and allowances paid out of Indian revenues to private living abroad. He urged a deal of bad law as well as bad reasoning.

Mr. George indicated a suspicion of his own present intention to suggest reduction of expenditure previously authorized and claimed that the present proposals were more saving, being about 10 per cent of the "controllable" expenditure in various services. The measure of his saving, is however, far more obvious in the percentage of income in the hands of British.

C. R.

Abraham Bhajanavali

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London Letter

As We Were

Another week has gone by without any progress so far in the Indian question is concerned. But even then the situation has eased and the old Government is in power once again with an unexpectably large majority, they cannot plead procrastination. But, who knows, the very procrastination may prove sufficient preparation for them and they may still find time for India.

So far as our country is concerned the change in the Government does not make one iota better or worse. Let us not forget that the worst system including such changes as women's seats known before in the history of India—were perpetrated during the Labour regime. What worse can happen under the Conservatives? A liberal era of suspension? It would be ever so much cheaper and more straight forward than a cowardly tariff change.

The quantity situation, as the "unity lost" situation, as a body put it, and the financial crisis in England and France have a meaning which is easily summed up by Sir William Lyster. "It is no longer possible for any dealer coming to work the problem of export need by an open action. Creditors continue most doubtful whether they are willing to receive payment in the form of goods or whether they prefer to settle down debts. If every country simply takes its own business to create imports it will gradually strangle exports from every source and finally end in the paralysis of all international trade."

Another writer analyses the situation thus in a way which holds well substantiated very well. "Governor John Bull still has his equity as threatened with any fundamental change; he has even believed that some greater loss is at work to maintain his strength, to outstrip the Bank of England (which is his in the Book of Ages) and, therefore, to destroy a system which determines his existence and material security and all his hopes of material advancement. John Bull sits in his close night and once again leaves the world asleep."

India will not give the German lesson. John Bull, when the next crisis in India comes—or it is destined to come again—will be made to recognise a fundamental change, if only we have the will, and then he will leave the world asleep by asking his subjects to make peace with India.

In the meanwhile, Gandhi is trying to keep the issue as cheaply as he can, sometimes implying his preference with references here of hunger and begging the necessity of burning away at a blind wall, while sometimes he indicates himself without reserve.

"Why do Hindus want your independence?" Was a question put by some of the students at Oxford, America (what part of England?)—Hindus they are foolish. They can take the work out of the hands of Ministers by immediately giving them separate electorates and leaving them wondering whether there may not be after all something sinister in the separate electorates."

"Why are you so understandable to those who drink?" asked an English student.

Answer—"Because I am charitable to those who prefer their coffee to the effects of the wine."

So many are puzzled and surprised that he can keep his temper in the midst of outrageous suggestions having from morning until midnight. And good women sometimes hardly get the question "Do you ever suffer from nerves?" asked Mrs. Herbert Miles. "Ask Mrs. Gandhi," straight away the reply, leaving her staring at her answer with awe, "she will tell you that I am on my last extremity with the world but not with her." "Well," said the Miss, "My husband is on his last extremity with me."

"Then," retorted Gandhi, "I am even. But Mrs. Miles has helped me herself."

"Is not the Gandhi a married man?"

"We were doing many things in the middle ages which were quite new. But if most of us have given them up, why accuse me of my weakness? However serious the world may be, I am not ashamed of asking thereby they get sent to the common at my impoverished villages. During the war you produced potatoes and indispensable Indian of Lipton Club (which used to attack sleeping with the soldiers with their mouths and throat). Was it not involved? Well, I found the married folk from the Indian of the Lipton Club."

But after enough when the occasion comes to show up and handle into a blow, even like the last Independent movement which sprung up so suddenly and so unexpectedly.

"What is the chief obstacle in the way of India?"

"It is the unwillingness of the British officials to part with power, or the incapacity to trust power from unwilling hands. Well, you had worry that I have not given you the expected reply. I want you to understand that we can want power itself if we desire, and if the hands which have to hold power were willing our demands would soon disappear. You say the British are imperialist politicians? Well, I have had the inability of moving the Government of India of doing like a matter and of moving the British Government with having appointed a period conference. We have got our national solution solved at by the Congress with enlightened Ministers. But, if unfortunately some Ministers decline to represent a majority, are not satisfied, and because of that the Government will say that they would hold on the change they have shown stand on, I say that we shall undoubtedly strike a blow in India both the side and the situation." And then at the reception of the Government of India League.

"The best way to let Englishmen in villages from India and let her manage or otherwise, her affairs as England is doing. For a India, Englishmen are the pillars-keeping in the pillars the rules of good behaviour and let us our real pillars down. Well, we shall have to make success of ourselves, and you too. The best thing for you would be to and this practical introduction. God willing, we are going to take our freedom from unwilling hands. I had thought we had suffered enough, but I feel that our courage are not used and not enough to make themselves felt and I shall have to go to India and ask my countrymen to go through the fiery ordeal in a more intense form than last year. Chittagong and Hyderabad began fight to me morning me to return to India. [Sgt.]

could be potent and represent my anger I do sometimes become extremely angry with myself but I also pray to be delivered from this devil and God has shown me power to suppress my anger. But anger at my anger I shall not suddenly leave England. I shall wait, watch and pray. But, if ultimately the R.T.C. breaks down, I know what we shall do. I know that we shall not be found wanting and then I will be ready here to come to our help.

The Week-end at Eton and Oxford Among Future Empire Builders

We went for two week-ends to Eton and Oxford, spending at various schools and houses and even at Eton, visited at Etonage and Down and Christ Church Houses, was, as usual, responsible for their speeches to Eton and Oxford and all the rest of the successful week-end went on to Eton.

The invitation to Eton was, I must confess, most packed. Eton is never so busy a stronghold of Conservatism, as under Impediment, where the sons of the upper middle class have been "to have a man's part in building the earth, ruling by word and deed and building the Empire" is one of the words of Her Papillon. The ex-teacher of the Eton Public School has been for "two and a half centuries past and present of England's progress and prosperity" is the motto of Eton to have given to England three Masters like Clarendon, Salisbury, Bunsford and Balfour and to have sent to India Siraj-ud-Daula, Wodehouse, Dalhousie, Curzon and more and as many Governors. Their Eton masters are regarded with pride as having "helped them to administer the affairs of the great dependency in some cases at the risk of some actual cost of their lives." These Masters like Wodehouse, Roberts and Balfour were all Etonians and the Etonians are proud that "wherever the flag of England has waved it helps these brave Etonians have laid down their lives for their country." "Everyday at Eton, says" on Eton schoolboys, "is learning a great man and learning material for the future history of the country."

When the English report also one is entitled to say that Eton is not like a house so very busy for the schoolboys to provide the effort among the boys to create a rebellion against the Empire, like Gandhi, and for the Hind. Master to put him up to his second century, 100 years old. We have been grateful for the invitation and for the Hind Master's great knowledge, I think it is but the truth to say that the invitation was meant to be for the boys a further lesson in conservatism. The Eton boys have the advantage of a library, well-stocked with some 15,000 books, but the Indian library has been in the traditional Indian library and perhaps this was one reason to be an object lesson to show that the Indian of yesterday at governing India which must still remain a dependency. We were among 10 boys who form the Club and under their table a speech before them Gandhi invited them to ask him questions and have a hour to learn that No law. They had but one question, or to be precise, two questions, to ask and it lasted so though they were forbidden to write out of the channel words. "Hi Shastri All gave us the Hind. case. Will you give us the Hind. case?" said the Chairman and when Gandhi asked

them to put questions, the very question was repeated by one of the boys. What a contrast to the past that had here who bombarded Gandhi with questions about his laws, his dress, his methods, and his language! That those poor fellows are to be an Empire builders.

However that may be, Gandhi took up the challenge and gave them an answer for which they were not prepared. I am giving here a brief summary.

"You occupy a big place in England. Some of you will become prime ministers and generals in future and I am anxious to enter a or learn whilst your character is still being moulded and whilst it is still yet to enter your hearts. I should please before you make facts as opposed to the false history traditionally imparted to you. Among high officials I find ignorance, ignorance and absence of knowledge but knowledge based on false data, and I want you to have true data before you. As I think of you, not as Empire builders, but as members of a nation which will have control, exploring what systems and become the guardian of the peace of the world, not by force of arms but by its moral strength. Well then I tell you that there is nothing like a Hindu case, at least as far as I am concerned, for in the matter of my country's freedom I am no more a Hindu than you are. There is a Hindu case put up by the Hindu Mahasabha representatives who claim to represent the Hindu mind, but who, in my opinion, do not do so. They will have a different solution of the question, not because they are wrong-headed but because it only seems. I call that destructive hatred, and am pleased with their that, remembering so they do the great majority. They must step out and give to the smaller communities what they want, and the atmosphere would be as clear as it is by nature. What the real mind of Hindu feel and want nobody knows, but judging as I do to have solved ancient times of these years, I think they do not care for their fatherland. Hence, they are not troubled by the question of law and order in the shape of ethical and administrative points. The language of conservatism is confined largely to the cities which are not India, but which are the sleeping giants of London and other Western Cities which conservatively or unconsciously put upon villages and towns with you is exploiting them by borrowing the conservative spirit of England. This conservative spirit is of no importance before the great question of Indian freedom of which the Hindu spokesmen are religiously ignorant also. They forget that they cannot give for long with a disconnected, shallow India-concern or conservative reaction, but it is reaction upon the law. Freedom of India is opposed to the disease which for the time is troubling some portions of the community, and if the constitutional question is satisfactorily solved the constitutional language will immediately vanish. The moment the stone wedge is removed the Hindu movement are bound to unite. There is "freedom" on Hindu case, and if there is one it must go by the Hindu case, and if you make this question it will puzzle you heartily and when you go into the accompanying details you will, very truly, prefer to see as discussed in the Times."

"To me taking you Gollis, and when I say that the commercial questions don't get settled, but should not worry you at all. But I am not taking things as they are, much bigger picture—Has the millions of people make up their minds to adopt non-violence and have they adhered to it? Really, not even to the second extent, even following the law of the people, but only more or less going. These masses as commercial questions are the question is a basic question. But study more having done their love, without having any one, in the course of their country's freedom. Study more in the past, more following the law of the higher nations, the law of love so that when you give to ourselves you will have improved your feelings. It can be no pride to you that your nation is taking over now. No one should a thing without thinking himself had no single key member or individual without himself having got a subject matter. It is a most useful connection, a most important connection that is existing at present between England and India and I want you to know our mission because we are deeply united to our freedom which is our heritage and we are deeply united to it by virtue of the persons and relations we have maintained. I want you, when you grow up, to make a unique contribution to the glory of your nation, by emancipating it from all any of exploitation, and then contribute to the progress of mankind."

The other question was what would happen to India with the impending present when the Englishmen return from India. Ghandi assured the young men there was no danger from the present but if they can work they were under no deal with the Englishmen, that their very existence would prevent them from doing any mischief, and the India's glory would be, not in driving out the English, but in converting them from exploiters into friends, winning them to protect India's honour in their old spirit.

I do not leave what happened the next week on the platform but, I am sure, that the intellectual shock given by the visit should make its mark. The living contact made collectively more than knowledge by history and words of misrepresenting other call away in the ideal realm of altruistic action. To give an instance of such experience. With India's India down and disapproval were the same of a shock to some of the Indian men. They were not prepared to believe that she was an Englishwoman. There was better criticism when Madam explained that she was not only the daughter of Admiral Stairs but her great uncle, Dr. Edmund Warner, was a distinguished British and sometime Head Master of Doon, the Madras who terrified. She thoroughly answered all questions with the result that after a couple of hours, being that her questions and she was finished.

Oxford

When at a very important meeting in London Ghandi stated that liberty in India only British rule was, but time to go British days, some of the people were shocked at what they thought a mischievous exaggeration. But when they think of King for hundred years old, of there all kind of the Oxford College down at her feet as 1851 & 18—India, India and the very Oxford despite the power of being the most ancient and long of rule to find out in India,

because of a quarter of a century that since then were nations, very different a meeting like the one in India or India, was not just in the able to study the new form of Oxford's mission. There is a little more India rule when there is a sense of learning, a self-motivated force in India, not the study to study efforts, and when in India, every village had a university and every secondary school school. There are India's land, gone was wisdom. If there had been allowed to grow and enriched with data, we might have had not India and India and India. That is a feeling that as India cannot help having to be made these ancient institutions, with a history almost as old as that of the country itself.

Oxford Conference

The visit to Oxford was an important event, as there was nothing but positive attention and a sincere desire to understand and get at the root of the Indian question. The Master of Jesus, Dr. Lushington, who had, while in India, collected the evidence by Ghandi to spend a quiet time under his roof, arranged the visit, directly with a view to give Ghandi the benefit of a peaceful weekend, but more with getting him to break with the traditional Indian in Oxford. Ghandi was free of all care of the people of belonging to a ruling man (he had to do a lot) and accepting India's freedom as his heritage, he had no anxiety in getting friends interested in the Indian question. There were several meetings and conferences. At the Master's own house there was a meeting of about 40 Indian friends, and there were three conferences outside with the conference. Mr. Thompson, the editor of the "Driver Rule of the World, and who is his 'discontent' has translated England attending for her side in India, had invited friends like Dr. Gilbert Murray, Dr. Gilbert Murray, Prof. S. Campbell and Dr. Datta to have a quiet long chat with Ghandi. The largest among the Oxford Jews and fellows had also a similar Conference which was followed by one with the members of the Raleigh Club, composed mostly of Christian students, some of them Carol Mander scholars and all were students of the Empire problem. Last, but not least, there was a meeting organized by the Indian leaders of India where a number of English students also had been invited.

The discussion at Mr. Thompson's house covered a large variety of subjects and pointed upon the fundamental principle. Sir Gilbert Murray, who, it will be remembered, wrote very appreciatively of the use of non force in Indian India, said in the Oxford journal some 15 years ago, seemed to be very much puzzled over what he thought were most dangerous manifestations of non-violent revolution and revolution. "I had myself earlier in greater disagreement with you than even Mr. Winston Churchill," he said. "You were co-operation between nations for the subjugation of the nation," and Ghandi, "I want it too, but co-operative possession from nation within of co-operation. If I can to help in winning or retaining peace and good-will and moral disinterestedness then I would have plenty to do so and I cannot do so unless my country has come to its own. At the present moment the very movement for freedom in India is India's contribution to peace. For so long as India is a subject nation, will only she be a danger to peace,

but also England which exploits India. Other nations may tolerate today English imperialism policy and her exploitation of other nations, but they certainly do not appreciate it, and they would gladly help in the process of England becoming a greater and greater menace everyday. Of course you will say that India has not become a menace herself. But let us assume that she will behave herself with her degrees of independence, if she achieves her freedom through it, and let us have some experience of being a nation in exploitation.

"The question about my taking in the form of revolution is largely answered by what I have already said about anarchism. But my movement is conditioned by one great and absorbing factor. The right of opinion says that there can be no convenient relation and there has been none hitherto in history. Well, it is my mission to provide an answer, and it is my dream that my country may win its freedom through non-violence. And, I would like to repeat in the words which I have written recently, that I will not purchase my country's freedom at the cost of our violence. My struggle with non-violence is such an absolute thing that I would rather sacrifice rights than be deflected from my position. I have not abandoned truth in this connection, simply because truth cannot be imposed through by non-violence. So, if you accept the non-violence, my position is clear."

Swiftness's objection, as the discourse showed, was more to some expected actual manifestation of an idealistic method than to the principle itself. While he was talking of "India" he was thinking of the personality of Col. Dwyer in India which had resulted in his death, elaborating enough. That led to a discourse which became almost hourly address and answer. But Gandhi's position at the end may be summed up in his words: "You may be justified in saying that I must go more easily, but if you attack the fundamental you turn to terrorism. And I must tell you that the boycott may have nothing to do with terrorism now. It may be a question of pure reform, so without being intensely concerned, we can refuse to purchase your cloth and make our own. A reform cannot always affect in itself. It is done not yet late from my belief as a reformer. Refuse to do too early as the ideal of the law. What is to make him or provide him with a liberator? You can only make yourself with a disciplined conscience, and then you all rule with the prevailing system of truth and non-violence. A reformer could not do otherwise."

We went on to the subject of the Jung, and India's capacity to govern herself, and so on and so forth. Would not India wait until she had been launched on the difficult task of self-government? If we read all the nations we have to be responsible for her love, and so may it not be that the answer you get is India says this better? The Indian Community said last year in a united voice that they did not want responsibility at the moment. How are we to solve?

To which question Gandhi gave reply, somewhat in this effect: "The longest street of it is that you will not wait so. Well, give us the liberty to make mistakes. If we cannot handle an affair today,

who is to say what we will be able to do in 10 or 20 years? You are decreasing the pace. Carelessly or unconsciously you adopt the idea of slavery. I am not for a moment in some sense from that point. Trust us to ourselves, I cannot imagine anything more happening than is happening today, a whole country trying to get on its feet at a small nation."

"And what is the idea of being responsible for the lives of your subjects? I have a notion to all foreigners to admit her military answer to India, and if some Britishers will come, will you protect them? If they will come, we should be responsible for their lives, to say after Government whom they save would be. The key to self-government is without doubt the control of the Army."

"As regards a united demand, I must say, what I have now said several times, that you cannot have a united demand from a united Conference. It is my own that the Congress represents the largest number of Indians. The British colonies know it. If they do not know it, I must go back to my country and have in contributing to justice as possible. We had a life and death struggle. One of the subjects of Englishmen tried to read did not find in reading. In consequence he opened the judges and appealed to the Congress to go to the Round Table Conference. We had long talks and conversations during which we reached the greatest platform and there was a unanimous order when the Congress agreed to be represented on the Round Table Conference. The settlement was proposed by Government more in a board than in a discussion, and after much hesitation I agreed to come, if only to keep my word of honour given to that Parliament. On coming here I find that I had misestimated the forces arrayed against India and the Congress. But that does not dismay me, I must go and qualify myself and prove by suffering that the whole country means what it says for. History has said that success in the battlefield was the cheapest and in power. Well we wanted the success on a different battlefield. I am trying to teach your heart instead of your body. If I do not succeed this time, I shall return next time."

The result of the discourse was that Gandhi parted from the house with much more courage and spirit than he had found when he came, and certainly with much deeper moral understanding.

The Unapproachable's case

There was another after informal meetings when the whole Indian question was discussed thoroughly. I shall not attempt to cover the whole ground, but I will draw together some of the main characteristics of it. Gandhi's case related to concrete requests about the independence in one of the past points at all these guidelines and he is asked to explain by himself. I reproduce a part of what he has said in the Indian audience. Make, simplified by what he said about the main thing on other occasions.

"Hindus and Muslims are all well represented. The unapproachable are not. There is very little political consciousness among them and they are so heavily trained that I want to give them courage themselves. If they had anyone discussing their lives would be miserable in religion which are the strength of Hindu orthodoxy. It is the superior class of Hindus

who have to do justice for having neglected the interests of the poor. That justice can be done by giving moral reform and by making the lot of the untouchables more bearable by acts of service, but not by making the separate electorate for them. By giving them separate electorates you will deepen the gulf of distrust between the untouchables and the orthodox. You must understand I am against the proposal for special representation of the Mussulmans and the Sikhs only as a necessary evil. It would be a positive danger for the untouchables. I am certain that the question of separate electorates for the untouchables is a matter exclusively of a Native Government. The only thing needed is to get them on the voter's list, and provide for fundamental rights for them as the Christians, in case they are unjustly treated and their representation is deliberately excluded they would have the right to appeal. Indian Parliament which would give them complete protection. It should be open to their friends to criticise the treatment of an elected member and election of the elected man.

"Separate electorates to the untouchables will create deep hatreds in polity. The Mussulmans will never come to be Mussulmans by having separate electorates. Do you want the untouchables to become 'untouchables' for ever? Well the separate electorates would perpetuate the system. What is needed is destruction of untouchability and what you have done is, the law passed which has been imposed by an unscrupulous 'bribe' class upon an 'unhappy' class will be destroyed. When you have destroyed the law dividing, in whom will you give the separate electorates? Look at the history of Europe. Have you got separate electorates for the working classes or women? With self franchise, you give the untouchables complete equality. Even the Christian Mission would have to approach them for votes.

"Now, then, you ask, how Dr. Ambedkar, their representative, have got separate electorates for them? I have the highest regard for Dr. Ambedkar. He has every right to be better. That he does not break our heads is an act of self-restraint on his part. He is today in very much sympathy with someone that he cannot see anything else. He sees in every Hindu a demand for support of the untouchables, and it is quite natural. The same thing happened to me in my early days in South Africa where I was harassed not by the Europeans wherever I went. It is quite natural for him to see his world. But the separate electorates that he seeks will not give him social justice. He may himself succeed in power and position, but nothing good will come to the untouchables. I can say all this with authority having lived with the untouchables and having shared their joys and sorrows, all these years."

Peace in England

It was essentially a peaceful meeting and they asked all variety of questions. Some of them were characteristic of the Indian mind in England.

"Do you still believe in the good folk of England?" was one of the questions which elicited a reply that they will remember for all time.

"I believe in the good folk of England," said he, "in the sense that I believe in the good folk of Indian nation. I believe that the vast total of the

struggle of mankind is not in being as there but in life as is, and that is the truth of the debate. If untouchables, working of the law of love. The fact that untouchable persons share the same values is greater than the difference being, untouchable have greater than untouchable and because as I have said of the poetry of love, you should not be surprised that I trust the English people. I have often been better and I have often said to myself 'What will this country do? When will these people come to accept these poor people?' But instinctively I get the reply: 'That is the heritage that they have and from Rome.' I must comfort myself in accordance with the doctrine of the law of love, hoping and awaiting in the best way to effect the English nation."

Individualism

"What is your view about the individualism of India?"

"Individualism, I am afraid, goes to be a curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another cannot go on for all time. Individualism depends entirely on your capacity to exploit, or foreign markets being open to you, and on the absence of competition. It is because these factors are working here and here every day the English find the number of unemployed is mounting up daily. The Indian boycott was but a flash-in. And if that is the state of England, I must wonder the India cannot expect to benefit by untouchability. In fact, India, when it begins to exploit other nations—not at most it becomes individualism—will be a curse for other nations, a menace to the world. And why should I think of individualism? India to exploit other nations? Don't give me the tragedy of the situation viz., that we can find work for our 300 millions unemployed, but England can find work for its three millions and is faced with a problem that India the greatest benefactor of England. The future of individualism is dark. England has got successful competition in America, Japan, France, Germany. It has competitors in the Empire of white in India, and at there has been its weakness in India, even as there will be an awakening in South Africa with its nearly white resources—natural, mineral and human. The mighty English India goes against India the mighty race of Africa. They are white in race also all, you will say. They are certainly white, but as struggle and in the process of a few years the Western nations may come to look at Africa a changing ground for their wars. And if the future of individualism is dark for the West, what is yet to be dark, will be India?"

"I. C. S."

"What do you think of the I. C. S.?"

"The I. C. S. is not really the Indian Civil Service. It is the I. C. S. the English Civil Service. I say this knowing that there are Indians in the Service. What India is a subject matter they cannot but serve the interests of England. But regarding India secure freedom and supporting the Englishmen are prepared to serve India, then they would be truly national servants. At the present time, under the name of I. C. S. they serve the existing Government. In a free India, Englishmen will come to India either as agents of adventure, or from passion and willingly agree as a small salary and get up with the signs of Indian climate, instead of being a tyrant to your

Indians rather than their constituents? They would not try to live there as white Englishmen and Europeans even the English do. We would have them as licensed residents, but if there is even a hinting down to land it was no land before us a superior race, they are not wanted."

Dominion Status and Independence

Q Do you say that you are completely in for independence?

A, If we are not, we will try to be. But the question of Dominion Status and mine, for the simple reason that those who have talked us of independence have to consider it first. Supposing you repeated all your speeches, not one captain your representative by having us alone.

Q But why not Dominion status? The fact is that the English understand what Dominion Status means. They don't know what is independence, whereas Dominion Status means very exactly what you want. Why not accept it, if it is offered, as the Indians accepted the Five Star status of their own nation. Don't their government mean anything more than that?

A I found the same in me, but we maintain the complaint and if I find that Dominion Status that you present is the same thing as independence, I shall accept it at once. But I must throw the burden of proving it on those who say that Dominion Status is the same as independence.

Empire, Partnership and the Common-Wealth Question

The talk with the members of the Indian Club was most absorbing, because on the average, were all students from the Dominions, interested with the Empire idea and keen students of politics. Every question was thought and in the end and I am tempted to transcribe a large part of the talk.

Q How far would you not take off from the Empire?

A From the Empire entirely from the British nation not at all. I I want India to grow and not to give. The British Empire is an Empire because of India. That Empire would go and I should like to be equal partners with Britain sharing her joys and sorrows and equal partner with all Dominions. But I want to be particularly an equal partner.

Q To what extent would India be prepared to share the members of England?

A To the fullest extent.

Q Do you think India would make her fortune dominantly with England?

A Yes, at least in the nearer future. But if she discovers that the partnership is like one between a man and a dog, or if it is a contract for subsistence of the other man of the earth, she would dissolve it. The man or the woman great of all nations of the earth and if a contract for subsistence I have patience enough to wait for again rather than catch up on second partnership.

Q How would you distinguish exploitation from trading with a nation?

A There are two tests. (1) The other nation must want our goods which should be as soon as dropped as a spent bit of.

(2) The trade should not be dictated by the navy. And while in this, sometimes I may say that when

you realize what wrong has been done by England to nations like in India, you will not say that India is a slave nation with any kind of goods. Things in English hands, which are wanted for goods today will have to be wanted for money, and you will have to make in this way goods over the world as beneficiaries of other nations.

Q How far is the British attitude towards the common question as dictating in your path?

A Largely, as I should say, but not half. There has been a tendency to unconsciously that policy of divide and rule working here as in India. The British attitude have sometimes coincided with our party, sometimes with another. Of course if I were a British official, I would probably do the same and take advantage of Dominions to accomplish the rule. One thing of independence that is the fact that we tell every nation in the world.

Q You think the British Government should suggest a solution of the commonwealth problem?

A No. But I am the only party to say so. It is a beautiful thing and we're in the Congress and I can be party to it that I have suggested in political opinion. There are again arguments as to the role of Government in Government of India and provincial Government disputes, though all Government policies are shaped by political considerations. As far as, each party through talking of justice, fight the of substance, which shows that there is a great deal of sympathy and it is a question of degree who is wrong and who is right. The Indian Tribunal was certainly to be tried to negotiate between the various classes.

Q Could we tell us anything about the provincial?

A There may be one Hindu and one Muslim member of the Indian High Courts or judges from the Indian Committee of the Free Council.

Q Would that decision be accepted?

A There can be no question of accepting the decision of a Court I may confess that there is a trick in the back of the suggestion. If Government will play the game and adopt my suggestion, the whole atmosphere will change and before the judicial Committee comes into being the committee will come out with a solution. For there is sufficient material in the substance already made to satisfy the princely minded, and such one knows the there is the new class.

The Leaders

But I must bring to a close the Oxford Impression and the Oxford talk. We returned from Oxford with the happiest of remembrance, the cover with them being of our hosts Dr. Lindsay and Mrs. Lindsay. It happened that Gandhi, during one of these talks, had occasion to refer to General Dyer and the crowing lion. The audience was so sympathetic that the whole atmosphere was a thrill of interest among some of them. At the end of the meeting Mrs. Lindsay came to Gandhi and modestly said "We will send us out before this time, Mr. Gandhi if you think that will be sufficient response." "No," said Gandhi, "you need not, I do not want anyone to do it. You or I would do it step down voluntarily. But let us try to bring an English girl to stand up for India. She would give us a kick and she would be perfectly justified. I simply wanted

to give you an instance of high-flownness. The only expression that is needed is for Englishness to remain as serious, not so serious." The Master of Chelmsford was not satisfied with the latest work. He wanted Gandhiji and the whole crowd of us to stay with him longer. He was, who has thought and written on the problems of democracy, he is especially sensitive about the forces of a free India and is most anxious to avoid a catastrophe, if at all possible. But should a catastrophe arise, and should it prove of the character of exclusive self-sufficiency, as my campaign led by Gandhiji would be, I have no doubt that Dr. Lushington's sympathies would be wholly on our side. As we were staying in bed after a visit about the house he pulled out a book from his cupboard, 'Maidenhead' and read out to me the following magnificent passage about John Brown.

"Sometimes there comes a work in Time laid,
Sometimes the work is done by something else,
Sometimes an image that has stood so long
Is again employed as the prime else
To march against an undebated force
That suddenly will not turn at any name
Call of the moment, call it God or Fate,
Call it Mankind or mankind's law
That force shall win and move."

And when it moves
It will employ a hand and actual sign
To batter one law as actual wall
And change the actual nature of things.

John Brown

Was such a man—representing to the times
Destiny as the stars, and if you like,
Heaven and Heaven as such a time.
He had no gift for life, no gift to bring
Life but his body and a willing wedge.

But he knew how to die.

Well if the Master of Chelmsford has room enough in his philosophy for John Brown, surely he has room enough even for Gandhiji who has perfected John Brown's methods.

Col. Maitland

Col. Maitland about whose Gandhiji behaved as soon as he came to England, found Gandhiji not one day, called on him and pressed him to stay for hours near Reading. "My wife has some beautiful flowers and fruit and vegetables for you. You must pay us a visit," he said. Fortunately his place was very near Reading, which we had to pass through on our way from Ely to Oxford and Gandhiji agreed. It was a great joy both to the Maitlands and Gandhiji to meet after seven years, and Gandhiji graciously said "But for your husband's difficult operation I should not have been here to greet you." For me, it was a privilege to see Col. Maitland in the evening of his life, doing research work as enthusiastically as a youth of twenty and absorbed in a wonderful variety of sciences. He is an expert geologist and has a beautiful garden with all kinds of flowers and fruit trees on which he makes all sorts of experiments. He is equally interested in dancing and in his research into the music of Mesopotamia among others he has made various experiments on the music that the Jews use. He has spent days on end on experimenting on the music that produces the finest notes, recorded or doing so, but found that it was not an extensive

proportion. His problem has now gone, his household open, house quiet and is absolutely untroubled in work. "Mr. Gandhiji, you do not look at all older than when I saw you in Poona," Miss Maitland had said. "Well I may say too that Col. Maitland did not look older than he was in Poona. Perhaps he looked younger, as he was now free from the demands of office and free to follow pursuits after his own heart. How I wish all would make us such a man of their time after retirement as Col. Maitland is making."

What Friends in England can do

It was very good of Mr. Harcourt and Kathleen Mason to have thought of having a reception in Gandhiji's honour after the Constitution of India League. Mr. Harcourt secured enthusiastic support of the League in India. Thanks for having and asked Gandhiji to tell them how most useful they could give that support. Gandhiji's own message was—spread correct and accurate knowledge of India and let it explain the false history on which British public was nurtured. The way in which the British press were deliberately passing a picture of independence was, and suggested that he himself observed by its broadcast in Chittagong and High and the attempts on the lives of Minors Wilby and Dyer. Whilst the atrocious death in Chittagong and High, which made the oil and oiling point to leave the colonies and started him in righteous indignation, were only just mentioned in the British press, they were quite keen on showing that the deaths were a bad lot, that they are responsible for such attempts and deaths as he shot. "Now," said he, "both these attempts are defensible and dignified and for my great encouragement I do not mind their being made much of it. But if you make much of them, why not also make much of the famous propaganda in Chittagong and High? There is the incredible love of mass and effort. There are three points impressed in England, without fail, for an indefinite period. They are crushed and suppressed, none of them finally run much, and outside in acts of vengeance. His aim is clearly to explain these death cases than I for I have distance as when rules but actually start on my side because of interrupt my work. That they are on Congressmen is just but that is no answer for me. They are Indians and it shows that the Congress is not able to control their activities and cannot prevent them from they need never. But there is the other aspect of the case, which must not be missed. In a real sense, the India the Indians in that there are no few successful attempts, for, perhaps the those in Chittagong and High world. In our other country, give rise to widespread open rebellion. I want the newspapers to go in for the whole truth, instead there is a conspiracy of silence and content on incomplete accounts of activities."

The appeal went home and for Bhabha moved a resolution urging the British press to realize the necessity of publishing full and correct facts and warning of this suppression of India is a grave wrong both in India and England. Mrs. Bhabha made a stirring speech on motion the resolution and assured Gandhiji that should Congress in collaboration in India there would be a complete propaganda movement in England. The representatives of the revolutionary group

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Baroli Enquiry

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

As a result of continued negotiations between Gandhiji and the Viceroy regarding compliance of Section 11 of the Salt Act on the part of Government, several times all over the country, the Government came to an agreement to Baroli to make an enquiry in regard to collection of Land Revenue in those villages of Baroli Taluka and Taluk Mahal, which were owned by revenue officials, accompanied by a party of Police during the month of July 1931, when it is stated that some revenue demands, having regard to these material circumstances, were made from Baroli pargana and collected by revenue officers through the police. This matter was one of the conditions proposed to Gandhiji's agreement to attend the Round Table Conference in London. The terms of reference were "to enquire into the allegations that Revenue, in the villages in question, were collected by means of armed men received through the Police, in two streams, in some of what would have been denominated as the landed had been applied which was applied in other villages of the Baroli Taluka where collection were effected after 1st March 1931 without the sanction of the police not to interfere when law, if any, was required." Within the terms of reference evidence may be produced on any matter in dispute.

In accordance with the above agreement and in fulfilment of the terms of reference the Government of Bombay deputed Mr. K. G. Gidani, L. C. R. Collector of Baroli to hold the enquiry.

Mr. Gidani began the enquiry on the 5th October last and the people were represented by Mr. Bhikhabhai J. Dasa, the revenue collector of Baroli. Already an Khairat Khawaja and 71 witnesses had been called. The enquiry was directed towards one main question—

1. Whether there was Police coercion to make the people pay.

2. If so, how much of the payment was in excess of an agreed standard.

To arrive at the second issue it was necessary to have a well defined standard and the Congress demanded that that standard was the understanding that Gandhiji had with the Government that the Revenue collected by the Civil Disobedience were to pay only as much as they could without hardship. The standard put on all the evidence they had had their demand asked for other documents which were with Government officials. During the cross-examination the Council asked the Witnesses to submit to the Enquiry Officer the receipts of money produced by the Khairat

The Khairat Khawaja, the Minister declined to put in the reply and a request for the production of duly collected reports, between the specified dates at 10th and 11th of July, has also been refused. "Even the alleged report of the Taluk regarding service of notice was produced but not produced. The Council board is difficult to see what sort of a report would have been expected to be submitted and would have been produced and submitted that in justice and equity the Government, which is a party to the enquiry, should produce the report to produce in order to produce all the relevant documents in its possession and send an Amending order to support all the claims.

In first case, it was objected by the Khairat Khawaja that the production of the documents by the Government would not prove their case. On appeal the Enquiry Council upheld the right of every witness to get the opportunity to produce evidence documents in the hands of the Government, which is the principle of justice. "The Government had done this." Particularly noted it, he contended that in the collection that the fact that production of the documents might be the principle of justice. The Government's case was one of a matter that of the other side is so much "plain" involving principle of public interest as to justify the Government to produce. The Khairat Khawaja of Government may be tempted to take the opportunity, particularly in cases where the Government is the Government, which is the Government, that such an opportunity is a sufficient way production. In reply, it is held that the documents in production might have not been allowed to the Government of Baroli as of such a satisfactory situation but their production was only to be put before the Government, consideration of their policy in matter.

The Enquiry Officer, after consideration of a few days, upheld the Government's attitude regarding to submit documents in their possession. What is more surprising is that the Enquiry Officer, in his supplementary order, expressed his opinion as power which should have been asked to the fact of the Government that having heard all arguments and evidence.

The Council stated "The question of the production and possession of documents is not merely a technical matter though it has been made such as that way in the order regarding the standard to their production and inspection. It goes to the very root of the justice done in having an enquiry resulting in the establishment of truth. It is a clear intention to set up the spirit in which

spontaneous life upon which alone can be built up the peace of the world. That is why the *satyagrahi* are gathered together here to have the vision of *satyagraha* in the air of life and for all of us—students and those friends, this will be a memorable day in our lives. There is little English children, who have prepared themselves and waited for you, the living apostles of the new ideal that is to be. We all await from you discovery.

This had the immediate effect of creating all the seeds of Gandhiji's *harijan* work, humbling prostrated a mode worthy of the great seerage. It was at once a message and a charter for the parents and children in all parts of the world. I emphatically have to tell.

"Mother, you have established me with your words. It is precisely this, I must admit to me all humanity, that however rudimentary it may be, I understand as a response to love in every form of my being. I am prepared to realise the presence of my Mother, this is my conviction. Truth, and in the early part of my career I discovered that if I was to realise Truth I must obey you at the end of my life, the law of Love. And having been blessed with children, I discovered that the law of Love could be best understood and learned through little children. Were it not for us, dear spiritual pure parents, our children would be perfectly dominated. I believe emphatically that the child is not born unresponsive to the law of love of the form. It is possible would believe themselves, within the child is growing. Before it is born, and after, it is a well-known fact that the child would instinctively obey the law of Truth and the law of Love. And when I understood the law in this early part of my life, I began a gradual but definite change in life.

"I do not propose to describe to you the several phases through which the changing idea of mine has passed, but I can say, in truth and in perfect honesty, that women in this fact in the extent that I have represented Love in my life, in thought, word, and deed I have realised the "Peace that passeth understanding. I have killed many of my friends when they have agreed to me, given that they have agreed, and they have agreed under the cause of this position conviction. I have not been able to explain the same even by saying that if my friends heard that peace is not, it was due to my attempt to obey this, the greatest law of our being.

"It was in 1911 when I reached India, that I first became acquainted with your activities. It was at a place called Anand that I found that there was a little school being conducted after the Montessori system. Your name had preceded this, and acquaintance I found no difficulty in finding out at once that this school was not carrying out the spirit of your teaching, the latter was true, but while there was no *harshness*—there is too much of it. Every time, I saw that that there was a great deal of hard about it.

"I came to Anand, then, with some other schools, and the more I came to know, the more I began to understand that the Montessori was good and extended, if the children could be taught through the law of nature—patience, persistence with human dignity, an energy that governs the heart. I felt unconsciously from the way in which the children were being taught that whilst they were being rudimentarily taught, the original teaching was governed by obedience to this, *harshness*—I have since then, I have had the pleasure of visiting various schools of your pupils, one of whom had even made a pilgrimage to India and had received your personal message. I was looking forward to

meeting the children themselves and you all and it was a great pleasure to do so. When I met the children, I had taken care to bring with me about these little children. I had a description of what I saw here in Anandapur, where there is a school between which and then there is a difference. But I also saw that there were Indian women were standing to express itself. I saw the same thing here and it was a matter of inexpressible joy to me that from these children the children were brought to understand the nature of things, and from a response to the message from their teacher the children were brought after meeting up that yesterday school. It gave great joy to me all these beautiful rhythmic movements and, as I was watching these movements of the children, my whole heart went out to the children of the semi-civilised villages of India, and I asked myself as my heart went out to these children, "Is it possible for me to give them these lessons and the feeling that are being given under your system, to these children? We are conducting an experiment amongst the parents of the children in India. I do not know how far the experiment will go. We have the problem of giving that and adhering to these children of India's hearts, and we have no material means.

"We have to tell them upon the ordinary conditions of teaching, but when I look for teachers, they are very few, especially, teachers of the type wanted, in order to show the best from the children through understanding, through studying their individuality and then putting the child on its own resources, so it were, as is your lesson. And before we find my experiment of Anand, I was going to my thoughts of children—I know that they have perhaps a few more of teachers than you and I have. The greatest message is that we would like that they and families understand, we would have our own personal interest even, but from the so-called *harsh* children, I have never obtained a letter or a greater truth than when he and that without words out of the mouth of India. I believe it, I have stated it in my own experience that if we would approach India in humility and in reverence, we would have wisdom upon them.

"I must not take up your time—I have simply given you what is, of the present moment, inspiring me, namely the delicate problem considered as human sense of drawing out the best from these children of children of whom I have told you. But I have known all this can know—that what is possible with man or child's gift, even God and if we have faith in that Divinity which presides in the destiny of the universe of all creation, I have no doubt that all things are possible and so that first hope, I live and pass my time and endeavor to obey the will. Therefore, I repeat that even as you, and of your love for children, are endeavored to teach these children, through your persistent persistence, the best that can be brought out of them, even so, I hope that it will be possible not only for the children of the meeting and the world to do, but for the children of parents to receive training of their own. You have very truly reminded that if we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against evil, we shall have to begin with children and if they will grow up in that natural confidence, we must have the strength, we must have to give to them the foundation, but we—shall go from love to love and peace to peace, and all that the concern of the world are covered with that peace and love for which, unfortunately as incomplete, to the whole world is required.

Young India

What the Millions Want

(By C. K. NARAYANAN)

Mr. L. Villiers, gentleman, has accepted additional and adventurous assignments as second of the secretariat in the life of a meeting of all of the members of the Congress Association, to give out that in spite of everything that has happened, he was one of those who still believed that Lord Irwin's policy of peace with the Congress was the right policy. To repeat that, I am not surprised. Mr. Villiers said, "Of the thousands of letters addressed me, that policy is at the heavy price that has policy has yielded. Mr. Villiers made some interesting attempts one of the effectiveness of letter of invitation with that of the civil disobedience campaign. Referring to it, however, he said, "It is not any more of the letter of invitation of the letter. Tomorrow is not the end challenge to the Government. The end challenge has been and may again be civil disobedience. At least Mr. Villiers proceeds to describe the remedy, namely "celebrating again and another campaign."

Mr. Villiers is now the only one who says that the end challenge to the Government is civil disobedience. But, if he had done things, he could have seen that the end challenge is that of civil and justice as against Hindustani and exploitation. It is the moral position that is, at the end of the day, the cause of strength and the cause of civil suffering offered by the oppressed in Hindustani, and on the other hand the cause of law and justice and the country and living language by every that appears on the part of the oppressor.

Mr. Villiers really is still in peace with Congress. It is well known to us that the British Government has no objection to any political movement on any issue or policy of peace, provided the main course of its employment is attended to calculated institutions. If that is understood, he stands up for civilisation strength and maintaining order.

Mr. Villiers seems all these when it says peace, that, if the Government is prompt and strong the moral effort in this country, who are asking better than that they should be allowed to live their daily lives as peace, will ensure their loyalty to the cause and that, to the standard of Government. The outcome according to the President of the Congress Association are only open to form an independent body for British overpopulation, and will be happy only if Indian civil.

The Congress of India will give a great shaking last year. It seemed for some time that was impossible and the body of a new thought. For the unqualified line of action has been to an angle. Britain is under the rule of law, as we have been only suffering. But the ruling class of Britain has recognised an authority and is upon a recognition of power and after. British always have that a new subject to develop some of the (1) to form of other parties and preferred to live with (2) who would deliver the goods on behalf of British. (3) it says to be one to get the Government, who are the British ruling class to take up and tell him they

need to be, because of this, India only with a lot of the best of the world, it will do.

This is the usual work in the London programme. The India. One of these things may happen. We may have considerable financial assistance such as Gandhi will ask us to accept and live in peace with Britain. Or we may have a recognition of the conflict between people and Government. Or the British matter will not be left undecided and the general campaign may continue.

Whether in the event, the immediate duty is outside of our control, the duty of achieving foreign rights. Therefore it is not a part of the national law of the world, that simple economic considerations lead to the state condition and a the political motive for emancipation from foreign rule. The consequences of economic and political should not be seen for success or beginning as a result of the building up of political force. The economic implications of the nation should be stopped as it is in our power and is our end. Nationalism is not a thing that can rest for politics. There is no other course open to us to solve the problem of our people, that that Indian policy must be carried out in India. Otherwise, our people will be working, and living death will be the result. That of the nation, it is with really to live, we must strive to take foreign rights.

Just as we have without any or without the keeping of the individual life, industry is the basis of national life. Every one of us, whether he was with it or not, must now be economically aware. His message cannot be left to the hands of the hands and hands of the hand, as the necessary first and to ensure healthy national life. Let us see whether they are, and will be a declaration of war for this.

Proposed Duty on Raw Cotton

Next to the motion proposed to be made in the day on this, even before, of Sir George Edwards's motion in the assembly, India is so open to various objections as the budget (1) per cent (2) import duty, on raw cotton, which contravenes the elementary principle of taxation that while heavy duties may be imposed on the imports of manufactured goods, no restriction should be placed on the imports of raw materials. It would be perfectly all right to claim that raw cotton will benefit the Indian farmer, as the other crop will only benefit the price paid in world markets for the exportable surplus. Again the imported cotton is being shipped being used for exports along from 40% onwards, whereas, the 10% duty on cotton, like Harrow, can be used to spin 20% 30%, 40%, and, therefore, there is no direct benefit to the Indian farmer. The only result of the duty will be that the Indian manufacturer of their things will be handicapped, and an indirect benefit bestowed on Hindustani, as evidenced by the Harrow House in the House of Commons. Indeed, not possibly the "house" as a motive for the British Government to India, but as pointed out by Sir P. P. Chandra, the Government of India proposed to put a raw duty on the imports of Egyptian raw cotton in 1929 in order to provide for the manufacturers that India out of such cotton as is competitive with Hindustani. Let us think, that the duty, instead of as it is now at present, will bring all this duty on the cotton which has not commenced.

W. G. D.

(After following for a month's time
 Of whistled whistles only) the message
 And glorious work of the pathfinder !
 —Gave all that man's high heaven-quest the loss
 Of much-calculated loss or more—
 When dawned the man who bled for the cause
 Time fully paid, spent that knowledge and
 Self-power, and brought it to his heavenly rest
 When light and shade ceased, when sweet death
 Lingers—and standing on its path in life,
 Like struggle when very sweetest tidings came
 That they were here for materiality.

Our train stopped for Nalanda, Tiplia, Sita,
 Panchpura and Naria, and Gaudara, when he was
 asked a question as to the future of Indian education,
 minutely related to the modern white education of
 England and America.

With Cambridge Professors

If the Oxford professors were treated with the
 politeness of the Congress, claim to represent India,
 the Cambridge ones were worthless. India seriously
 wrong herself with her learned and the learned.
 Why talk of independence and rule England up the
 wrong way? Has India not to take down nothing
 but home? Look at China with her ancient Govern-
 ment, is not India under British rule ever so much
 better than China under self rule? If British
 soldiers will not serve under a soulless
 Government, why not in the interests of peace
 accept a temporary stage? Is the objective so
 desperate that of complete control cannot be achieved
 India should sacrifice a million lives? And so on and
 so forth. These were the aims of the University world
 gathered together under the roof of the Master of
 Pembroke to understand the Indian case from Gaudara
 and to see how and in what extent they could help.
 There were professors like Mr. W. H. Barker, whose
 studies of Ancient and Medieval policy are well known,
 men like Mr. James Dickinson, whose study of the
 Eastern question, public sentiment was, in India
 then, as familiar with its theological studies like
 Dr. John Murray and Dr. John Thayer was also
 Mr. Evelyn Marchant of the ' Spectator ' eager to let open
 something which may be acceptable both to England
 and India and to avoid a clash between the two.

With all deference to their studies, and their knowledge
 of India, and above all in their earnest desire to
 understand and help, I am afraid no one, whether in
 Oxford or Cambridge, seems to appreciate the truth of
 Henry Campbell Swenson's great maxim "Good
 government is no substitute for self-Government." They
 discuss the necessities of the position and the expedi-
 ent of cooperation in all other matters, but no one
 appreciates that this Indian talk is the starting point
 of all these discussions. Hence and this, I shall discuss
 what Gaudara had to say to the learned gentlemen present.
 The ground has been cleared over and over again, and
 I shall be brief.

Partnership

"The partnership has to be engaged upon. It
 should not be 'voluntary' or glacial change.
 This means that the present relationship must
 be completely transformed though the transition
 may be indirect, and that something should be wholly

and solely for the benefit of ourselves. India by herself
 has no capacity to exploit the nations of the world, but
 with Great Britain's assistance she can do it. Now
 the partnership must mean that exploitation shall cease,
 and, if Great Britain should not desert India, India
 should serve the transition. All that is wanted is a
 fundamental change in the British policy of exploitation.
 Foreign travel themselves know that the link is strong
 over guarding the numerous highways and all her
 national commerce.

"What about the South African movement? I
 would not prefer on a transformation of British's
 relations with them, as a partner provided to our
 partnership. But I should certainly strive to work for
 the deliverance of those South African races which,
 I can say from experience, are ground down under exploita-
 tion. Our deliverance must mean first deliverance
 that, if that cannot come about, I should have no
 interest in a partnership with British since it is a
 link of benefit to India. Speaking for myself, I would say
 that the partnership, giving the promise of a world not
 free from exploitation, would be a great privilege for
 my nation and I would maintain it but only that
 India cannot tolerate herself in any shape or form in
 any policy of exploitation and, speaking for myself, I
 say my that I am the Congress should adopt an
 improved policy I should sever my connection with the
 Congress.

"But would not the Congress be satisfied with a
 status equal to South Africa or Canada, for the time
 being at any rate? I see the danger of saying 'Yes.'
 If you describe a higher or superior status towards
 which we have then to work I should say 'no.' But
 if it is a status beyond which we have not to aspire
 I should say 'yes.' It should be a status which the
 English race in the end should understand to be a
 naturally different status from the present. I would,
 therefore, not accept a temporary period during which
 we may have to be satisfied with a lower status. The
 Congress will not be satisfied with a state lower than
 the last.

"But what about the French? They do not want
 independence? I know they don't, and they cannot as
 they are the stronghold of British Government. But
 there are others too who think that they cannot live except
 under the protection of British arms. For me, I should
 accept any thing short of a complete control of the
 army. If all other forms of the last were to accept
 a compromise on the army question, I would say I
 would rather try out, but would not make a mistake
 a call to the people to follow. If there were such
 a large step taken which would ultimately and quickly
 lead to the final thing I would welcome it, though I
 would not submit it.

"But, if you say the British arms will never serve
 under the national Government, it would mean to me
 a total absence of any connection with Great Britain.
 We do not want, we cannot possibly tolerate, an army
 of occupation. The subject of Indian independence can serve
 any good purpose amongst us until the last moment the
 connection with the British, and therefore doubts about
 our capacity to live over change will be postponed as
 we are expected to-day. The real independent Government
 can come when England's hands are freed India and

her ability. China can be got over only when Britain has a strong conviction that it has done wrong in India and thought wise, by way of making the wrong, keep British eyes on the disposal of Indian resources. Now we admit that British policies may be so to place under the Indian policy of Indian resources. Well, I ask you will be taught that during the First War there came a time when British goods were destroyed in England as much as British soldiers as losses in British Germany were, Indian resources too were so. The Indian situation would certainly change everything with the Commander-in-Chief and other military experts, but the land resources and responsibilities will certainly have to be the Indian's. "Let the Commander-in-Chief see to it that it does."

"The idea of any paying for freedom by blood sacrifice, no. Well, I urge them to know the conditions of life through and through know that life is being by blood. The Last sentence mentions make certain finally takes any of the number of the parents' children. It is an unbearable upon through with the present in passing. In order to get their children right, a human right is not the words. It is the United Government understand human, as I want. Would they keep the through children to help us, a help to our interests? If no, we would have them and pay them, according to our means. But, if the position honestly told us that we are incapable, and the world should not be returned, then, if God will it, we must go through the surgery. I have no belief of things of other people - blood flowing, for I know that the party of violence is doing out. But I have talked of Chicago talk of my own blood, your voluntary act of self-sacrifice to save the situation. It would be good for both to go through that surgery if a need. Personally, I do not think there can be such commercial rate as you put. When you cut out of the population of both in word and the state is reduced only to the two per cent when procedure. I would want that bloodshed as it is consequence both this also questions both which nation to glory with it. Two of minor nations that both a long earned in death by having to pay the phenomenal expenditure for a longer war of aggression and the most expensive and source in the world. Even Japan, which is named as the best, does not pay for her army to the extent that we have in the

"My quarrel with you is this: I know that every honest Englishman wants to see India free, but as it is not enough for them to feel that the moment British arms are lowered there would be a chaotic and intercommunal strife I feel, as you feel, that my conscience is that it is the British government that is the cause of British distress, because, you have ruled India according to the principle of divide and rule. Because of your frustrated intentions you feel that the better does not beat the evil. In the release of things it cannot but hurt. It is not that you are in India in response to our invitation. You come because that there is still a disunited country and everyone says 'we do not want foreign rule.' And why the overwhelmingly able have we world free without you. Go to the pre British period. History does not record a larger number of Hindu-Muslim riots. In fact, the better

of my own taken above a darker second. The fact is that the British were not prepared to govern costs, though they are powerful enough to punish the guilty and the innocent. My hope of no fire in the case of some Americans. As for the common, the world around left the subject unthought. They were a people ignorant of the danger. If to avoid the kind of phrase, which after all may be a cleaning process, we should have to introduce an army of doctors and deliver themselves to pay for them, we would be better have the cleaning process. Take the uneducated for example of signs and signs, think we submit to the service of slaves and bartermen at the expense of millions of wages rather than fight the house straight and take the rule! Further on, we are not such a nation of shallow cowards, who would always run away from risk. Better that we were wiped off the face of the earth than remain alive enslaved by foreign tyrants. No, you must find us to have been the pride of our species and to deal with ourselves, the rule, which has saved of many empires, and showed a nation and a civilization accompanied by our as earth, need not be content and have nothing more.

I later simply collected several loose left ends from four paragraphs. And then there were too many other questions discussed, but I have mentioned the main thing which was the subject of discussion. The Soviet side gave enough to give a patient hearing and promised to carry on the discussion with a view to being able to suggest a joint solution, which could be presented to the United Nations.

There was the eternal blindness and sympathy as in Oxford, and the jumps to understand and help, apparent in the mind of everyone. I am tempted to cite one instance. The question of John's entrance to be treated as a daughter or a daughter-in-law was being discussed. Some of the friends and they it should not be difficult for John to be satisfied with what is called Domestic Science. Miss Nicholson said "What's the question except, in the nature of things, is John Canada or South Africa. How are you treated by us 'daughter' sisters? The daughters are married first. They have grown out of the mother's family. How can John be described as such a colony or a Sub?" And Gooding gracefully said "Miss Nicholson, please leave the story."

All the Indian Major, I must assume that the most intelligent questions were asked by the English boys, rather than the Indian boys. The ignorant questions were common to both. The educated questions came up the King Charles Road, and ended from Gouding. The following striking statements: "Don't think that people's lot amongst the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses in India. Had it been the case I should not have been here to represent the highest aristocracy in India; let the stupidity be confined to the present company." The boys, moved with laughter, as Gouding capped the last remark with the explanation: "Present company meaning us that is, us here, but the Indian delegates at the Second Table Conference, including of course myself." An ignorant question from the English boys, was: "Why does not the untouchable caste population go to the houses and get some sanitary? instead of to water supply?" Even the Royal Commission on Agriculture did not suggest this remedy.²

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London Letter A Pitiful Exposure

"At the present moment the Conference seems to have failed and there seems to be no ray of hope in the unresolvable phase. The sense of your great mass who tried their best to avoid a catastrophe. It may feel sad if the Conference ultimately ends in a failure, as I fear it will. There will be thousands upon thousands ready to go through the fire of suffering, and will not quit before the deepest oppression. We are convinced that the experience that is coming will be ten times as fierce as that year's. But I shall pray that humanity may be spared that exhibition of brute power."

I am quoting these words from Gandhi's concluding remarks at the Westminster Lecture on the evening of the day on which he made his final memorable pronouncement at the Round Table Conference, which is being reproduced in various elsewhere. The speech was received by an audience composed of various persons professing almost to represent an agreement between Mohammedans, Impressed classes, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Congress, claiming to represent to one part of British India. There was something pitifully pathetic about this supposedly national character of the national representatives of their respective communities. There were undoubtedly local patriots present & the Indian being Sir Sir Uday Singh, so much so he called a speech a speech and described the attempt as effect as a severe conspiracy to divide immediately after a victory. When Gandhi rose to help truth and exposed it as the damage upon the nation, it passed by his head. But he not only lost the speech, he exposed the widely shared claims of the speakers of the subjects to represent the communities for which they stood in speech.

It must have been an argument for the Prime Minister. The New Statesman about paragraphed Gandhi's language when he at today's time it says: "No one representing a national centre, Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, came to get his name to participate in the national question, when he does not know whether anything is going to come out with regard to the main problem of the future Constitution." It adds: "There is no real reason to let the Conference fail. If a policy of faith is adopted it will be done deliberately, because the National Cabinet has decided that such is the best course." It is interesting that Gandhi's confidence efforts to inform the Hindu public from Ahmedabad, at least the most thoughtful of it, of what the Conference seems to be a party close within a few days as

one can scarcely realize that the obstacle was offered by the delegates themselves.

The Prime Minister got up a halting lecture at the close of a plan that the delegates had not been discussed because a suggestion had been made by the National Congress Committee against that consideration of them should be postponed. There was a chorus of protest against this statement and he had immediately to admit that the suggestion was made by a member of the Committee. If indeed he wanted, as he did this morning, so a statement report by the delegates to him to settle the question, he should have sincerely listened to a unanimous report to postpone consideration of the constitutional question. One cannot think of a more pitiful exposure of the indifference of the Government's position than was made this morning by several factors, including the Prime Minister's own statement.

That, however, is another issue not there. The last stands that we are on the brink of a big catastrophe of which the horror only those are victims who have suffered upon themselves the weight of suffering participation by voluntary suffering that got, as Gandhi said to an interviewer last evening, "there would be marvellous recollections of civil disobedience on the failure of the Conference to the Constitutional issue. There can be no other way. For if we do not get it to-day, it means postponement for an indefinite period. There is not much ground for hope, though I repeat say I have given up all hope of a solution being reached in the immediate time. And I, for myself, shall not rest until every weapon has been explored."

The Obstacles

It is, who thinks Gandhi's speech will clearly set what are the immediate obstacles in our way. The Government would not admit, one obstacle enough—we have all been steeped in its law since that time past, but Government presented the ground for our defiance and took steps to perpetuate the Government by all the largeness of a powerful party selected to concentrate power. The Congress is the nation, and the only majority Government, committed to follow the goods, and the Government should have treated with the Congress after hearing all other critics. But, obviously, Congress has not been able to inspire Government with its importance and its claim to speak for the rights of the country. "I shall then go back and demonstrate by deed of more suffering that the Congress alone represents the vast masses of India."

But the real and ultimate obstacle, as Gandhi explained to the students of the London School of Economics, is "the colored and appalling ignorance

of the best of Englishmen these conditions in India. We are supposed to be surprised before admission of the many good things that the British had done for India. It is not only the official mind that thinks so, but often circles of reading public opinion think so." There is another thing. Long ago the late Scotchman's Magazine had described a particularly British trait. "I am almost being asked by Englishmen, why, if there were such poverty in India, there were no revolutions, no looting of windows, no riots." And the present day Englishman has come to his pretty much of the same mind. He is also in vanguard the one-sided method. Well, his party needs a much more effective demonstration than last year. The slogan of large farmers and landed estates has been so thoroughly worked up that it has become an accepted belief with so many Englishmen that India cannot live without the protection of the British rajahs. To a certain extent, it is the pride of the ruling race which arrogates to itself certain privileges, while it denies to the ruled the most elementary ones. On walks or even street, on ship or shore, in railway trains and houses and on the pages of newspapers you find appeals to the British public to buy British in the production of everything foreign. But they exclusively Indian, is evidently a sublime and dangerous cry in India. A lady, in an exceptionally well informed position, recently questioned the right of a people who were fighting against one another to think of liberty. "Who must deserve to be free" is the problem cry.

And I shall not discuss all the varieties of ignorance of facts or knowledge of false history, and the propensities of the ruling class. They are inevitable in those who regard themselves as conquerors. It is only he who has been under the lash who can understand war is a matter of peace. J. Derris, the Irish patriot, in a meeting Gandhi was religiously addressing, yet the Indian lover's came pointedly: "You are asking us to study Indian conditions. Well, it does not require any study to accept a subject right to freedom. It is an inherent right." And Gandhi with polite to it by saying that it is not only our birthright, but that we have earned it by right of suffering.

But, evidently, the British public needs more attention to the steps of voluntary suffering. He has not a few thousand thousands by now and has tried to do it with their hands, but with the best of intentions in the world the British rule in India has been a curse and we must get rid of it. The education has not been without effect, but it is a slow process, and unfortunately slow when the people in India are dying to government death by inches, as is evident from reports from Bengal, U. P., Madras, Pondicherry (Gandhi) has said from one platform, after another that, the practice of a police force is infinitely preferable to the death by inches that the workers are suffering. "I cannot live without occasionally thinking of these differences. The only restriction is that we shall not and can begin with the flag of our opponents and we will not descend to attack. We have heard our best. We are fighting with our hands to the wall, and there is no rest for us unless that freedom that the villagers of India is won.

The Young Communists' Catechism

Mr. Stalin, who has, in his capacity of the Soviet Union, been for philosophical reasons no less than their practical, such as their young children, explained to Gandhi the other day, a group of young Indian Communists headed by Bala, his personal son. Naturally, the son made, by Gandhi, to provide over the bloodless revolution that she had accepted.

Earnest Seekers

These passages were all more or less taken from their number twenty and were decidedly so. I think, they all greatly loved Gandhi and could not understand how, with his genius for social justice and success for the poor, he could possibly help sharing this doctrine. "We have often experienced a difficulty in understanding your language," began Bala, "but, you see, not only speaking a subject but the English language too and we, very often, find that when you mean one thing, people understand it in a different sense altogether. We have, therefore, come to see whether we cannot discover a common ground behind our apparent differences." With this they took up a formidable array of questions which they had left with Gandhi a few days back. Some of these questions and Gandhi's replies will be found approximately below.

Position of Privileged Classes

The first question was:

"How exactly do you think the Indian Peasants, Landless, labourers and unemployed and other privileged are treated?"

"In the present moment by exploiting the masses," was Gandhi's reply.

"Can there change be effected without the participation of the Indian workers and peasants?" they next asked.

"To a certain extent, yes," Gandhi replied.

"Have these classes any direct participation to live more comfortably than the ordinary worker and peasant who does the work which provides their wealth?"

"No participation," replied Gandhi categorically. "My idea of society of it is provided to replace that while we are here equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have got the same capacity to it, in the nature of things, impossible. For instance, all cannot have the same height, or colour or degree of intelligence, or character, or the nature of things, some will have ability to work more and others less. People with ideas will have more, and they will use his their talents for the progress. If they value their talents highly, they will be performing the work of the State. Such people exist at various, as to other men. I would allow a limit of wealth to some men, I would not remove the talent. But the bulk of the greater numbers must be used for the good of the State, just as the workers of all nations are of the labourer to the common body land. They would have their earnings only as workers. It may be that I would feel necessarily in this. But that is what I am willing for. And that is what is needed in the Declaration of Fundamental Rights too."

Class War

"This led me to a discussion of the 'class war' as a means for bringing about the desired transformation of the privileged classes."

"I think you think that the Peasants and Workers are *bourgeois* in carrying on a class war for economic and social emancipation so that they can be free men and live all from the fruits of supporting peasant class in society."

A. No, I myself am carrying on a revolution on their behalf. But it is a non-violent revolution.

Q. Do you understand that the intention of class in the U. P. you may understand the position of the peasants, but you do not realise of the two the system.

A. "Yes, but you can't do everything at one and the same time."

Q. How then will you bring about the hastening? Is it by pressure?

A. Not merely by verbal persuasion. I will demonstrate on my own. Some have called me the greatest revolutionary of my time. It may be later but I believe myself to be a revolutionary—a non-violent revolutionary. My means are non-violence. No action can move society without the cooperation, willing or forced, of the people concerned.

Privileged Classes as Trustees

That, however, did not quite satisfy them. They challenged the very basis of existing privileges which various classes of society enjoy. "Who constituted the feudalistic trustee? What are they entitled to a trusteeship, and how will you fix the trusteeship," they asked. "They will be entitled to a trusteeship," explained Gandhi, "because money is a great possession. Nobody constituted these trustees. I am asking them to act as trustees. I am asking those people who consider themselves as trustees to day to act as trustees: a trustee, not as their own ruler, but trustee, in the light of those whom they have exploited. I will not dictate to them what trustees are to do, but ask them to take what is fair. If I would take a man who possesses Rs. 100 in debt Rs. 50 and give the other Rs. 50 to the workers. But to him who possesses Rs. 10,000,000 I would perhaps say take 1% for yourself. Do you see that my suggestions would not be a final figure because that would result in a serious reaction."

Individual in the System

The last set of questions related to Gandhi's attitude towards a struggle against the Indian capitalists and Zamindars and enabled him to explain the necessity of clearing the distinction between the system and the man. It also enabled him to set forth his concrete agrarian and economic programme. "The *Indian capitalist and Landlords*," they said, "did not like the British. But you find your support in the masses. The masses, however, are in their true nature. What would be your attitude if the masses decided to be on all these classes when they are in power?"

"The masses do not today live as Landlords and other problems that arose," he replied, "But the consciousness of the wrong done to them by these classes has to be created in them. I do not teach the masses to regard the capitalists as their enemies, but I teach them that they are their own enemies. Non-co-operation never told the people that the British are evil. They were told that they were the victims of a system. In fact, the system itself is destroyed and not the individual. That is the reason why British officials are live with sympathy for a population so fed with the desire for freedom."

"If you want to reach a system," they again asked, "perhaps that broad-wing there can be no difference

between and taking the right not as English Capitalist. Why do not you apply non-cooperation of them to Zamindars?"

A. "Zamindars are merely a tool of a system," explained Gandhi, "It is not necessary to take up a movement against them at the same time to apply the British system. It is possible to distinguish between the two. But, we had to tell the people not to pay to the Zamindars, because, out of this move the Zamindars paid to the Government. But, we have no quarrel with the Zamindars as such, as long as they act well by the masses."

Concrete Agrarian Programme

Q. What is your concrete programme to put the peasant and worker in absolute power to decide his own destiny?

A. My programme is the programme I am working out through the Congress. I am convinced that as a result of it their position today is infinitely superior to what they had occupied when living as serfs. I shall now refer to their material condition. I refer to the income whereby they had come among them and the consequent ability to move towards and exploitation.

Q. How do you propose to relieve the paucity of their share of the landlord's crop?

A. No one knows the exact amount of share. Each as it is, if the Congress gets the power, the Congress will undertake the study of the detailed obligations of the peasantry to its lords with regard to the obligations on the monetary value. Government is to take over from the outgoing class Government.

Explicitly demonstrated was Gandhi's reply to the last question, asking him why he had not demanded the inclusion in the R. T. C. of a representative of the Indian States Subjects and whether, if so a Federal India, the Indian States Subjects entitled to Civil Disobedience to secure their rights. Federal forces would be used to help the Federal process that ruling. He would never use them or allow them to be used for suppression of Civil Disobedience in any walk of life, he replied, because he told Satyagrah to be a permanent Law of man's being which made the place entirely of violence which was the Law of the beast. As for the last question, it was not open to him, or rather it would not have been consistent with the dignity of the Congress to demand the inclusion of any body in a Conference on the making of which it had no power. "I could not plant on behalf of the Congress," he explained, "and the Congress being an organisation which the Government could not consider without her, and for the inclusion of anybody in the Conference."

M. D.

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agricultural population of India, and I would accept the challenge, if the Government were to state the challenge, and we should have a referendum in India and you would immediately find whether the Congress represents them or whether it does not represent them. But I go a step further. At the present moment, if you want to consider the results of the protest of India, you would find that the Congress represented and represented us in regular a very large number of Members. Several thousand Members went to and lost last year under the banner of the Congress. The Congress today has several thousand Members as its regular. The Congress has thousands of representatives as its regular. The Congress has Indian Christians also as its regular. I do not know that there is a single community which is not represented in the Congress regular. With all difference in the North India of Calcutta, even landlords and even well-to-do and millionaires are represented there. I admit that they are coming to the Congress slowly, gradually, but the Congress is trying to serve them also. The Congress unconditionally represents them. Therefore, this claim that the proposals for India this memorandum are acceptable to well over 111,000,000 of people needs to be taken with a very great deal of reservation and caution.

One word more and I shall have done. You have just presented to me and submitted to the members, I hope, the Congress proposal as memorandum with the concerned problem. I wanted to submit that of all the statements that I have seen it is the most valuable statement, but I may be wrong there. I admit that it has not commended itself to the representatives of the communities of this table, but it has commended itself to the representatives of these very classes in India. It is not the creation of one body, but it is the creation of a generation on which various important parties were represented. Therefore, you have got on behalf of the Congress that statement, but the Congress has also presented that there should be no Imperial referendum. Through adoption of every the world people have adjusted their differences, and the Congress is always open to accept any decision of an arbitrator about I have myself ventured to suggest that there might be accepted by the Government a political tribunal which would examine this case and give its decision. But, if even of these things are acceptable, in any of us, and if that is the one last one of my recommendations, then, I say, it will be much better for us that we should remain without accepted responsible Government than that we should accept this claim.

No Speciality provided even for Small Minorities

I repeat this by repeat what I have said before, that, while the Congress will always accept any decision that may be acceptable to the States, the Mohammedans and the Sikhs, Congress will be as ready to accept restriction or special decision for any other minority. The Congress will always defend every minority or its fundamental rights and civil liberty. It will be open to everybody to be placed on the same roll and to be added to the common body of the electorate. In my humble opinion, the proposition submitted by Sir Hubert Cass in the very language of responsible Government, the very language of repre-

sents, if he were that if you want a few, the given representatives to the Legislature then let them be elected by the European themselves. Well, I repeat, only India is India has no these representatives (those) I have several times, set up strings. The Europeans and that Europeans only who command the approval of the common electorate and not that of the more Europeans will serve India as a whole. This very idea suggests that the responsible Government will always have to contend against these minority which will always be in conflict against the national spirit—against that body of 111 percent of agricultural population. To me, it is an unbearable thing. If we are going to bring any being responsible Government and if we are going to get out London, then, I venture to suggest, that it should be the good privilege and the duty of every one of them, so-called special classes to work entry into the Legislature through the open door, through the election and approval of the common body of electors. You know that Congress is ready to admit nothing, and admit what nothing it will be open to all to be placed on the same roll. More than that nobody can ask.

The Unrepresented's Case

One word more as to the so-called unrepresented

I have indicated the claim advanced by other Members, but the claim advanced on behalf of the unrepresented, is to use the "unwritten rule of all". It means the perpetual hereditary. I would not tell the old members of the unrepresented even for the sake of making the freedom of India. I claim myself, in my own person, to represent the vast mass of the unrepresented. Then I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but I speak as my own body, and I claim that I would get, if there was a referendum of the unrepresented. First rule, and last I would say the last. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the unrepresented that separate electorates and separate representation is not the way to secure this hereditary, which is the shadow end of them, but of complete freedom. Let the Communities and let the whole world know that today there is a body of Hindu politicians who are pledged to remove this kind of unrepresentability. You do not stand on our capital and as our name unrepresented classified as a separate class. Under any condition in this possibility, as may Members, as may Europeans. Will unrepresented remain unrepresented or property? I would like to notice that Hindus had then that unrepresentability lived. Therefore, with all my regard for Dr. Ambedkar, and for his desire to see the unrepresented adjusted with all my regard for his ability, I must say, in all honesty, that there is a great wrong order which he has followed and, perhaps, the Indian representatives he has addressed have for the common wrong. We judgement. It must not be have in my day but I would be better in the mass of unrepresented, which is as then to me as life itself. If I did not say it, I will not bargain away that right for the freedom of the whole world. I am speaking with a due humble responsibility when I say it is not a proper claim which is explained by Dr. Ambedkar when he seeks to speak for the whole of

unacceptable in India. It will result in division in Hindustan which I cannot possibly have learned to wish any nation—foreigner. I do not wish the independence being conferred by India to Christianity. I should tolerate that but I cannot possibly tolerate what is in place for Hindustan if there are two divisions as took in the villages. Those who speak of political rights of independence do not know India and do not know how Indian society is today constituted. Therefore, I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to dissent from things I will dissent it with my life.

The War Against Drink

(Continued from page 143)

Caste Panchayats

II

Congress leaders and temperance workers may be put in prison at pleasure locked up into cells. But I appeal to every man and woman who has refused to live at her own mind the great moral and economic and consequences of the use of alcoholic liquors up to be resolved by such action as the part of the Government. The common people were put there not to wait for contribution of alcoholic liquors as called political leaders. The Government may have as its final aim temperance, or support or stop the power of the press. But it cannot ask people to drink against their will. I appeal, therefore, to all united to go on disturbing themselves against drink whatever may happen to Congress workers. The movement has gained from the hands of Congressmen to the people as a whole. The Daily Post may remain and be respected as may be broken to pieces, but the people's movement against drink stands as an ever living and ever grow and expand. The law and imprisonment and security officers reflected on Indians as leaders ought to guide the people to greater, self-reliance, and resolve when against the trade in intoxicating liquors and drugs, and the Government may use this experience as the matter will bring to only decrease and dissidence and not increase a heavy load of terrorism cannot tell an ounce of liquor if only the people are sober and confident.

While every group or institution is resolved to unite on a strict observance of its own regulations and to expel members who fail to comply, the panchayats and caste-bodies should be put, with uniformity in the exercise of their authority.

1. Liquorists should be seen, and his feelings, just and respected.

2. Your authority must be based on the help and co-operation of the caste. You cannot ask him to leave the village or give up his business or his occupation.

3. You should ever observe the rules of humanity through the law may not demand or enforce it. You should extend to the offending member such help and tolerance as you would give to members of other castes, and communities.

4. You may refuse assistance for strategies or demands, but you should refuse order or medical assistance or disposal of the dead. Remember that Gandhi's programme is a philosophy of Love and not of violence. You ought not to be pious and establish the standards for existence, even in those wherein you may legally profess that exist. It would be easily

which can never do good to anybody, either to the offending individual or to the society that looks upon it.

5. You may wish a law so that the offender may receive his punishment by paying it and return to the fold. But the law should be paid voluntarily and not imposed compulsively or by use of any force other than that of the moral pressure of public opinion.

6. Your laws should not be heavy, but should, according to circumstances, always be followed by our society, be very small and be more a token of the offender's willingness to make amends and voluntarily rise to reflection of guilt.

(Concluded)

With the British Postman

"What was Gandhi here to do with the British postman?" came one remark. I will say to them that he has got to do with every man on earth who is concerned to India and who would listen to him, and though he has addressed audiences of all classes in England he has never felt like a stranger among them. But I must hardly say how he happened to address, one evening a meeting at the Committee of the British Postal Union.

Within a few days of our arrival here a Postman kindly brought a letter for Gandhi's autograph to a book of a unique character. It was divided into sections with pages given to authors, scientists, artists, inventors and philosophers and every autograph (with a photograph) was given its proper place in the book. It was a matter of some surprise that the autograph book belonged to an extraordinary postman, not the one who had come for the autograph, but one who had dedicated his life to the service of the Empire in India. We were extremely interested and heard from Mr. Carr something about the activities of Mr. Gandhi, who, whilst he had great admiration for India, was troubled with a mission to serve the Empire in India. Having secured the autograph and established contact with us, Mr. Carr would drop us now and then, tell us something about the activities of the Postal Union in Great Britain and send us copies of the Union's international organ, 'The Post.' It was he who was instrumental in bringing about this meeting at the Union's headquarters.

Early after, after meeting-hall, the way in which they conducted the proceedings of the meeting, their speeches, would not come for a moment while you suspect that they were postmen. For they were genuine Indian postmen, who did their job and found time to extend themselves not only to their nation's affairs, but to those of oppressed nations like ours. There was so complete between them and our "voluntarily paid, unpaid, unendingly hard-worked post-men" as Gandhi described them. The one was called "Gandhi"—the other—"Gandhi".

His name, the latter belonged to a Sikh, and to drive the contrast home, Gandhi told that the proportion between an Indian postman and the Post Master General's was the same between an average Indian's income and the Govt. In the Government the could not dream of a halfpenny worth the "The Post" being conducted by the postman in India, or of a Union with a managerial office, or of paid subscription money to carry to a large office in India. "We had," said Gandhi, "a Postman's Union in India where president was at least a man that the President of the Congress,



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Exercising a Demon (No. 1. C. Karamura)

For centuries India has had a comparative advantage in the production of cotton cloth. It is indeed stated that India is the birth place of cotton manufactures. But even the last fellow we sold days and she has now become the greatest importer of cotton piece goods from England. The latest figures before me relate to British India. During the last quarter she imported from Great Britain £ 131,000 worth of piece goods, £ 1,034,000 worth of piece goods, less exports with £ 174,000, and £ 1,854,000 respectively for the corresponding quarter of 1930. No doubt there has been a considerable decline, but what we need is not a decline but a complete reversal of this trade in foreign cloth and yarn. The importance of cotton cloth production in India is not appreciated in the full extent. If we regard India as a factory we can almost say cotton cloth production is a by-product of agriculture. When over 75% of the population live as agriculturists, can we afford to throw away the valuable by-product? Which manufacturing industry can afford to neglect cotton, wool and other by-products and yet expect the nation to pay? Owing to natural circumstances our agriculturists are apportioned duty for half the year, the rest of the time is unoccupied. Most of us will be satisfied with working for six months and living on that produce for twelve months as a regular arrangement yet, that is the situation as regards agriculture in India. Hence it is that a supplementary and a complementary industry like cotton cloth production is worth more than its money value to us. One yard of cloth produced in India is far more to us than one yard of cloth sold by Great Britain or any other country. Therefore, from a purely commercial production point of view the production of foreign cloth from our country is a service to humanity.

By a gradual, unperceptible process our home production has been made to yield places foreign imports and today we are faced with the formidable task of getting out this and repel those possessing our land. In this connection it is interesting to note the methods suggested by Sir M. P. Dethlefsen, in his manuscript, "How to Deal with Foreign Cloth." "The handloom, which is responsible for about 40 per cent of the total cloth produced in India," is a very valuable weapon. Unfortunately the weavers have got used to wool and foreign yarn and if only our weavers can produce satisfactory quantities of a satisfactory quality by daily spinning, we shall not be long in striking our goal.

In the early stages it is inevitable that the price of handloom handspun cloth should be high and not as low as mill made cloth. If we regard the cotton seed as a cultivated tree for the purpose of feeding the weavers, weavers, then we shall be in a position to supply all our needs even at low prices. India is a country where charity is a religious duty. Instead of indulging in self-denial, giving of cloth let us organize our charity in useful purposes.

According to this nation, about 65 to 60% of the quantity of cotton cloth and yarned cotton yarn is used by the handlooms. This is a matter that can only be put right by the public. If people who go at the time stations consider their requirements and invest themselves in purely essential cloth, if not Khaddar, weavers will find the demand for these essential goods gone and will naturally raise their stations to begin made yarn and cloth. Instead of a high duty on imported mill yarn and piece goods as suggested by the nation we would like to see these completely prohibited from entering the country. It may be noticed that this import duty means the Deccan Railway is in our country.

As regards the Indian Mills the nation favours importation of cheap single cotton as by affording an effective competition to handloom manufactures. He further strongly insists on protect the handlooms. We are not with him as long as the Mills produce themselves in large amounts and do not compete or harm that should be left to handlooms and hand spinners. They should be allowed to supply the need for their workers only. The most attempt at Sir George Selous is making importation of raw cotton by levying a duty is calculated on duty foreign manufactures.

"A truly National Government, having the welfare of the masses ready at heart, can give a great impetus to hand spinning by using only Khaddar for uniforms and its several other requirements of cloth and could get every big contractor like the Railways, Post Office, Courts, Municipalities, District and Local Board and other similar public institutions to follow this example." No words from us is needed to commend this matter. "We need not wait till a National Government comes into power but we can make a start in all institutions where popular interest counts." In the meanwhile every weaver in Khaddar will have to secure the role of a polygraphist and must help in the movement of National cause."

The handloom weavers have to improve their looms by maintaining discipline and changing the kind of cloth. They should also be able to obtain their yarn

* The Book Company Ltd, College Square, Calcutta.

from the celebration itself rather than through middlemen. In effect handlooms are encouraged to sell and, therefore, it may be better for them to look to handicaps rather than to depend on a middleman's analysis. The textile celebration that a 25 million clothers work 7 hours a day it would be possible to meet imports of foreign cloth and yarn.

Here we would encounter seriously the danger of foreign cloth by the want of the spinning wheel.

Back to the Village

(By C. K. Rameshvaran)

Q. Rameshvaran: Why do you look depressed?

A. Ramesh: How can we be merry when the country is in such a bad way?

B. Ganga: Will you not stop crying? Why do you worry?

A. That is not right at all. Do you think Ganga will solve it all. You and I and all others doing nothing?

B. Let the Board think something about it. It is better to be left alone, it is time to see what can be done about this.

A. Rameshvaran, it is not the politics of words as the economic condition of the people that is worrying me.

B. Now, don't be cynical. You can't solve the world's poverty.

A. I was in my village this morning. I did not go to Koda, you know, this year. I saw the condition and the poverty of the people. It is worrying me very much.

B. When did you leave a handloom? You may distribute your property among the people of your village if you like.

A. Well, it is not so foolish in your case to think that we may not go to the. Is there any institution for my keeping a cow, and a costly establishment in Madras?

B. Oh, I see now, you want to save money for yourself. Then why all this melancholy and Samskara talk? I don't like the philosophy of the simple life. It is all a pretence for misdeeds.

B. Now, Rameshvaran, answer me. I spend three hundred rupees a month here. And you spend five hundred rupees. Let us compare the two and see where the money goes to.

A. I have been looking into economic. Life is too short for examination of accounts. I pay when I cannot help it, and don't bother about it again.

B. But the time has come when every one of us must stop our private lives on a national plan.

A. So you are going to be Mahatma.

B. Yes, Mahatma, if you wish to avoid Lathi.

A. Come, let us see what you would save.

B. You pay Rs. 10 rent. I suppose for the house.

A. Yes, a little more than that since last January. I am paying Rs. 21. The landlord is a greedy scoundrel and said I must raise otherwise.

B. How much do you spend on clothing?

A. Yes, I spend about Rs. 20. I suppose because of all. My second boy wants to go to last week a week. Then my wife, poor thing, she is in ill-health and has some treatment. Then I cannot let them sit with the crowd on empty stomachs.

B. Of course, you must not do that. Then what do you pay for cigarettes and opium?

B. Oh, I have stopped all that. I only smoke a pipe now, and occasionally a cigarette, just when in the club to smoke away the time. But my son has taken to it very strongly. He wants to be already a very heavy smoker. I must keep my second boy out of it. Those schools and colleges are very bad now. Every second fellow has a cigarette in his mouth.

B. You are doing your best to keep your second boy out by your smoking only a pipe and occasionally a cigarette. But in whom does all the money you pay for tobacco go?

A. I have it all given to W. & G. White. But shall I take to London? or Turkey cigarettes?

B. Oh, you wouldn't when it becomes too expensive to buy foreign stuff.

A. The thing is, Congressmen talk of Swadeshi and all that but they do nothing to improve quality. They are a set of good for nothing chaps.

B. Of course they are. But we are political reformers, cheap and made. How much of what you pay for clothes goes abroad and how much stays in our country?

A. I don't know what they do with the money. I don't know what they pay for shoes, lights, and food and all that. I suppose, now that I think of it, a lot goes out.

B. How much do you spend for your car?

A. Oh, don't ask me that. I plant gully. It all goes abroad, except the part of the chauffeur and the taxes, both of which I grudge paying. The car is taking up more Rs. 125 these days. My wife takes it out, my lady takes it out, my guests want it. In fact it is a job to manage without an additional car for myself. I have no other to take them to the club or to friends out.

B. Yes, if you must have comfort, you have to keep two cars for a large family. Then it would cost Rs. 100 a month I suppose.

A. Oh, I should go bankrupt on that. Even now I am to remain for two months at Adilabad and the period before is looking at me as if he would rather have cash from me.

B. Roughly what cash now. What do you spend in the Club?

A. Club? Oh, yes, the subscription is Rs. 5. They are going to raise it to Rs. 7 now. My car has been proposed. I cannot be taking this every day as a guest. But this is money that remains in India.

B. Oh yes, in the shape of steel beams, stanchions, ballast balls, coal, power balls, shafts, no crane engine, general work, gas.

A. Stop your list and your list, please. I was told that the club, I suppose. And all Congress makes all these attacks in India, we must get them from abroad where they learn to make them.

B. I did not say so. We must get them from abroad if we must them. But if we go and live in our village we don't need that club.

B. Of course, and all our amusement can be had in the club with the friends and we can drink occasional water if we are thirsty and play with the football stadium if we want variety of amusement. My car was broken's wife, her water's changed. The doctor is cheaper. I know all that. I know I could save a lot of money that way.

B. Yes, and save a lot of money and give a lot of joy. What do you spend for clothes?

E. I hope you won't see before a house. I hate it. I have no objection to Swadeshi. It is a good article.

B. But your clothes are all foreign.

E. I intend to start buying all Swadeshi.

B. But what is your present cloth bill?

E. Well my bill may be as low as you, they pay up very badly. Then about me, I think. They come up about Rs. 125 or Rs. 200 per year and I don't include shoes and shoes.

B. So income decreases also and let me know.

E. There is no reason why I should not go to the Indian made house and dress themselves. We can keep a few English gowns for occasions and ordinarily use Indian made ones.

B. That would be a sensible plan. But all right, how much do you spend abroad for clothes and footwear?

E. About Rs. 125 a year, if I include my wife's clothes. But my dear girl Swadeshi?

B. What about? You mean the silk ones?

E. Yes, you laugh. I know the silk is all from abroad. That is what they say. But the weaving is done here.

B. Oh yes. You save the weaving wages. How much do you think the handloom weavers can pay?

E. I know nothing about it. I suppose they must get a good bit of the Rs. 80 we pay for a saree.

B. Not at all. They get a very small bit of it. What do you think the weaver is earning a month?

E. I have no idea.

B. Not more than Rs. 10 a month, and scarcely much less.

E. How do they manage to live, then?

B. That is the trouble!

E. These women are so stupid, I thought the weavers got a lot out of it. By the way, you know my wife has become very fond these days. She gives up her very cheap sarees for ordinary ones.

B. I am in glad. It is so nice wearing saris. What comes from this boy?

E. Oh very cheap and very beautiful things too. As good as silk that would cost Rs. 100 and more.

B. Ah! Artificial silk?

E. Yes, I suppose so. You can buy half a dozen sarees at a time at all sorts of colours and they cost so little.

B. Yes, and the money goes abroad.

E. That can't be helped. Swadeshi is a national programme.

B. Unusual economics! What do you mean? Do you think we help the country by buying imported articles when we might manage with indigenous stuff?

E. But one should not be too cheap. It is against the laws of nature to expect one to buy indigenous articles at a higher price.

B. Yes, it is against the law of nature to go uphill. So we must struggle down and handle the article.

E. Struggle is no proof!

B. No proof whatever! It only makes you unhappy. But come, you are getting dark. I don't want you. How much do you spend for electric charges?

E. Oh yes, I could manage with an oil lamp. Why should I pay for electricity? Then, shall we talk about shoes also? What are you doing up?

B. I am doing all that. Then we should start our manufacturing on the Gop and you can live in our new village. We can live so much less there than when we have to spend time, and all the money we spend would be spent and circulate among the village folk, who need the money badly. Our lives would not be a material drain of gold here. Indeed, they would be like when the machinery circulating money is not even working.

B. You think that would change the state of affairs?

E. I have no doubt. It would do a great good if we all went into the country and lived there, and made by our minds not to buy a single article made abroad if the product can be served by something produced in India, or if we can at all do it, dispense with it altogether.

B. And you think that you and I doing that would bring about an economic revolution?

E. Yes and I can begin, and do all we can to set up ourselves, and leave the revolution to take care of itself.

Synthetic Khadi

The Working Committee of the Congress, at its meeting in Bombay on 14 November, in the resolution on synthetic Khadi, deals with cloth passed off as Khadi though not woven and spun by hand. The comprehensive endorsement of the Congress propaganda for Khadi by persons dealing in such synthetic cloth cannot be too strongly condemned. It is not only foreign manufacturers of such cloth and their local agents that do this, but sometimes even Indian manufacturers who have greatly benefited by the Congress movement for Swadeshi. In it the truth is set before men to believe for all the advantages they have secured by the Congress boycott of foreign cloth, to abstain from certain varieties of production in the interests of Khadi. If all the Indian silk and handloom weavers reject that fine article of their industry to protect Khadi, it would be easy to suppose the country to resist the invasion of foreign cloth without trusting the constructive effort to give a supplementary occupation to rural classes through handloomery. Reports have been received showing that there is not only a large quantity of silk manufactures that directly compete with handlooms Khadi, but also a considerable trade in synthetic Khadi supported by manipulations. There should be no difficulty in securing the co-operation of Indian who are enjoying the advantages of Congress propaganda, so long to eliminate the dishonest trade. C. N.

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Sword-Routing

(By C. Karmacharya.)

The sword-routings have begun. Separate concert parties go round without this necessary conventional. Careless of the wrong he is doing, the sword-routers expect that all kinds of further wrongs to come too late. After all, what is the machine available in the sword-rout, except further and additional wrong-doing. This is not the Karma of work, the law of righteousness of work. But let the sword-routers know that wrong piled upon wrong cannot come to life or save the wrong, but only adds to the weight of evil as he propels, when the day of reckoning comes. It seems as if the attainment of a pure victory or deliverance comes too late for him who relies the British Parliament of its traditional wisdom. Success at the polls in England does not change the state of things in India by one bit, or make public or just or stable the unstable injustice and moral mismanagement by which our nation is ruled by and in the interest of another nation.

Mr. Ragsdale Gaudin wants that all such first appeal for Gaudin's and such to leaders with the even course of foreign exploitation should be referred for Commission. If the ordinary law is that down to all-fashioned principles of justice, the Secretary of State has only to refer to the representatives of special interest and the commission of law will do the work and make right law wrong and wrong pass for right. British goods will then sell and unemployment in England can be started off if not remedied for all time. How amazing if it had not been all this foreign and wrong for England!

Mr. Ragsdale Gaudin is unable to see that the introduction and conspiracy is all on his side. He imagines the nation to be guilty of the crime of which the government are really the perpetrators. And not the people who conspire to see that the law and implementation is made to show their goods in India the real conspiracy!

It is a conspiracy of men, struggle against heavy odds and seek to find a solution for widespread unemployment in their own country or a scheme if they will their conspiracy is to obtain more foreign goods and to make the products of home industries? It is strange that words should be taken on the eve of their national mourning, as to call the efforts of a people to support their own industries a conspiracy and a crime. The British Parliament would by that knowledge by the fact-finders of conspiracy and crime. It is a strange gift that age and experience have to let us think that government is not the way to call that it is all other goods. The thought and mind concerned of all is that even so before persons and the fact that he is still engaged in old quarrels of conflict and luxury by the poor taxpayers of India, does not make Mr. Ragsdale keep distant silence, even if he should not stand up for India.

It seems as if the silver-lance that Gaudin's had all the way over his head has been exposed. It seems as if British has declined to make peace and friendly

relationship. India (which is) and will take up the challenge. 'I am not just of foreign Jack' must be the state and feel manner from India in the words break up of the B. T. C.

London Letter

Answering to Essentials

The Round Table Conference has been the subject of all kinds of stories during the last week. Some have compared it to a process which was caught in the last stage with a dagger. Some have thought it to be a dramatic process and long involved with critical expectations. Some even thought that the Conference was dead and that the Prime Minister and Lord Chamberlain were waiting about how to get it to start a dagger brand. I think the most sensible thing would be to say that there is change of the Conference was working in accordance of the already being, having all these weeks deliberately shut their eyes to them. For one reason or another they had chosen to walk round and round without ever doing to get to the centre. As Mr. Walsworth has said, "We had reached the very last meeting of the Federal Structure Committee without accomplishing the union of the problem." Or as Mr. Ragsdale has put it more vividly, "Matters of secondary importance" it had been presented in debate with infinite complications. All were agreed that the Upper House of an Assembly shall have one hundred, and the Lower House two hundred members. But whether these two hundred members will constitute a Parliament or a Delegation, Society is still to decide, for we can never select, or what, or how far they may profile with justice, the story of foreign policy."

In his very first speech in the Federal Structure Committee Gaudin had accepted a note of warning and its reason subsequent comment he had tried to treat the situation of the Conference in the meantime and refused to discuss more details. The whole alliance between some of the delegates claimed to represent the movement and the Hindustani delegates, and the Prime Minister's speech in which he accepted the situation of the Committee created the fact in which nothing could go, and there was nothing for it but for Gaudin to look every day to a consciousness of their duty by their speech of dominating ministers. Those who had called the Conference knew that they would get themselves completely in the wrong if they sent away the delegates back to India without having even heard them on the fundamental issues. I have already quoted from Mr. Ragsdale's speech. Mr. Lord Dunsford supported him and, perhaps for the first time from the British side, supported the Conference for the settlement between Lord Dunsford and Gaudin was one of the things which constituted a development of the subject. "It is a thing to be brought to an end," said Mr. Dunsford in a philosophical phrase, "with a Hinduism is not hard to be compared to the given." The Prime Minister and Lord Dunsford as well as the Hindustani had all by themselves, however unwillingly, with the result that we are now in the best and worst of circumstances which ultimately concern the poor South millions of India. The Conference may then be said to be at least under in the grounds and whether the question that we being made together is dry well or will, we have our material

effect on the nation and that the Prime Minister had promised to call a constitutional conference that the British Government would leave the people alone and let them do as they saw fit and do as they saw fit to provide.

The First Friends

For that is what Gandhiji has done in two of the most characteristic speeches in the National Congress Committee. He made it clear, in a statement on 24th April, that everything depended on the first person you started with—whether or not it was right for Great Britain to occupy India, whether or not it was right for Great Britain to hold India under and to continue to hold India. And putting on behalf of the Congress the promise that it was wrong for Britain to occupy India and wrong to hold it, he laid the difficulty to rest: "superficially that the whole of this story should be finished, if it does not pass under and over it." The fact is that there is no rule of India as a province done in the past, and enough sense of our own people as well as common sense and in fact it is only and today is the witness of the dark, devastating millions of India. That last evening some of the speeches on both sides, also the speeches by Lord Seely whether India means the British have to be withdrawn, the history and shifting nature of the speeches made by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Sankar, and the considerable audience and even signs that Gandhiji's speech on Congressional discipline, this has raised in our own minds. That it was not only an important determination but he spoke, but he gave a picture of India under a Government which was to be of the people and for the people, India which was not only of the exploitation of the foreign but of the indigenous capitalist and landlord and of the intellectual and rural, involved who equally with the landlord but up to now lived on the sweat of the poor man. It was, therefore, a historic speech, but the Congress policy of non-violence would be made from my side, but Gandhiji would not emerge from the conference the fact that every interest had been deeply exposed or was associated with the last history of the nation stood in danger of political, military and financial. That explains why the Daily Mail's paper of today, "Dear Mr. Gandhi, here."

The Future

What then is to come for India? Is the Congressman currently known to India? It was a question put to Gandhiji today by the son of a prominent public man. "It is impossible," said Gandhiji, "to say so, but I can say little more for anyone." "Don't you think the Government having allowed the discussion will now do something? Will the change in the Government make any difference?" Gandhiji told an audience in coming up the platform and speaking to him the question at the same time. "I expected them to do certainly better but I do not know that they have made up their minds to transfer power. As regards the new parties, I think for India it is one of the one and half a dozen of the other." In fact, I am rather glad that I have to do with an overwhelmingly large Conservative majority. For I do not want to steal anything from him. I want something large and good which your people can really see and understand and so it is best that I begin to fight a strong party and who what I want from a

strong party. What I want is a lasting thing. I do not want to divide the 41, but to transform it. The relationship between India and England the basis of equal partnership can now only be made, and the nation thing out of a consciousness of strength and not of weakness. And, therefore, I would like to feel that during the Conservative regime we were able to overcome the situation that we were not ourselves opponents but ourselves partners."

The next, however, is the first promise, as I have already said. And on behalf of the British people the Daily Mail put it thus: "Without India the British Commonwealth of Nations would fall to pieces. Our morally, materially, politically and geographically it is our present imperial asset. To export our hold on it would be the worst blow any British could sustain."

More Friends

The next day had to be spent in London for important matters and had conferences. One again Gandhiji met the Prime Minister and Secretary of State and among the men was he met with General Baines and Mr. Lloyd George. The meeting with the old General was an agreeable surprise. He was full of old memories. "I have not given you as much but you as you have given me," he said, to which Gandhiji replied "I do not know that." And both warmly laughed. The friendliness of the meeting was heightened by the fact that it was prompted by a most earnest desire to help.

Mr. Lloyd George was good enough to write Gandhiji to Chert. He met his own car to take him and bring him back to London and was in cheerful conversation as one could be to his three hours' conversation with Gandhiji.

An Address to Women

Public meetings too had to be avoided, excepting one which I was compelled to attend. There were requests from various Women's Organisations for an address by Gandhiji, but Miss Agnes Harcourt convinced them all she was not, under the auspices of the Women's Indian Council, invited Gandhiji to address a representative gathering of women in Hodge College Hall. At this meeting Gandhiji took the opportunity of correcting various mistaken notions about the nature of India and presented a vivid picture of the nation just then had played during the last struggle. "They are perhaps in many ways superior to you," he said. "You had to go through much suffering to win your empire. In India women get a lot for nothing. No husband has been placed in the way of their entering public life and the Congress had not only women for its President but had Mrs. Bhaer as a member of its Council. For several years, and during the last struggle when our organisations were declared illegal and those in charge of them put into prison, it was the women who came to the fore, and the place of husbands and men the past. That, however, does not mean that they have not suffered at the hands of men. They have had their hair cut to drink, but I have no hesitation in telling you that what you have read in Miss Mayo's book about India at 80 per cent wrong. I have read the book from cover to cover and as I finished it I realised that it was really a first-hand report. Some of the things she has said are true, but her generalisations are absolutely false, and several other

meets in the back are pure fragments of her imagination."

He then went on to describe how last year they came out of their houses in two rows and stayed on one-kneeling which was ridiculous. They took part in processions, defiled the law, and then the ladies, without making a little fuss, without sneering at the police, and used their power of persuasion to bring the defunct law down and the others and professors of law to kick them out. It was not a learned woman like Saigai Nishi but an intelligent woman who had been Galla since on her head which had perfectly what she most valuing, nothing but compassion for to move from their point, and converted the little ones of Dand into a Thermaplas. It was to them women that the last year's victory was mainly due.

There was talk here for questions but one or two that were asked were representative of the society with which they were waiting the deliberations of the House of Commons. "There is yet time for their two countries to come united on terms of equality for the good of the world," Gandhi said to them. "It would not satisfy my soul to give freedom for India and not to help in the peace of the world. I have the conviction in me that when England stands in play upon India she will also stand to give upon other nations. At last this India will have its part in the blood-gift."

12-1-51

M. D.

Return of Gandhi

Barid Vaidya (Hail) has received the following cable from Gandhi:

"Leave Gandhi, reaching Vijnan Sanjay. There all already falling from Ganga health."

Finance Bill Certified

The announcement that the new Finance Bill has been certified and passed out for without the consent of the Legislative Assembly is a blow working to politicians that all such powers of certification, if agreed to, either in the provincial or in central constitution will really democracy. We cannot put in the belief that such powers will be exercised sparingly. "Certification" not only nullifies democracy but kills the sense of responsibility in the Legislature. The issue is the most flagrant instance of the abuse of these powers.

C. R.

Case for Barid

Several of the biggest opponents, the Advocate's opening and almost admission to the court, the Deputy Officer's reply regarding "Gandhi" and for order, a report of the Minister's own constitution, the Barid's statement to the House and other interesting and relevant matter are published by the A. I. C. C. in a Royal Order, p. 12 in a period of 15. Perhaps I am wrong.

Copies may be had at Bombay, from Marjorie Karmel's at Prince Street.

Manager, Young India

Gandhi on the Army Question

Lord Chancellor and Fellow Deputies, I know that a tremendous responsibility rests upon my shoulders in having to give the Congress view on this most important question. I have listened all the days because I am in one of those "Vernacular" days. I do not know whether there will be a Report upon this discussion or whether there will not. I do not know also whether we are going immediately to show these deliberations to whether they are to be extended to far as I am concerned, I come here with the intention, if necessary, of winning or losing. Therefore, I am not on compromise, it, perhaps the purpose of the Congress can be changed through direct negotiation and consultation.

I have been and been with the deliberate intention of explaining every possible aspect in order to be honorable witnesses, whether by open discussion or this table or by private conferences with Ministers and public men who advance public opinion here, and with all those who are interested in questions widely affecting India. Therefore, I am under obligation not to have a single word advanced in order to arrive at a settlement, if only because Congress is entitled to a policy which is better to put all Congress in India upon standing for good at the earliest possible moment, and holds also very decided views upon all these matters. What is more to the purpose, it is today, or tomorrow, or today, capable of doing anything all the responsibility that there have been extensive with Government.

That being the case, I thought that I could not possibly allow the discussion on this most important matter to close without placing, as humbly as I could, and as briefly as I could, the Congress view on the question.

Elements of Responsibility

As we all are aware, the Congress views that there should be complete responsibility transferred to India. That again, and it has been stated in the Congress resolution that there should be complete control over Defence and over External Affairs, but also a corresponding adjustment. I feel that we must not to do so, because, as the world, we must think that we would be putting responsible government although we may not ask for responsibility in this other matter. I think that a subject that has no control over her own Defence system and over her external policy, external affairs, is hardly a responsible nation. Defence, in Army, is in a nation the very essence of its existence, and if a nation's defence is controlled by an outside agency, no matter how friendly it is, then that nation is certainly not responsibly governed. This is what our English teachers have taught us from without outside, and therefore when Englandmen insist not also when they insist the talk that we would have responsible Government but we would not have or would not claim control over our own Defence Forces.

Hence I am here very respectfully to state, on behalf of the Congress, complete control over the Army, over the Defence Forces and over External Affairs. I put in External Affairs also so as to avoid having to speak as it were to the Defence Department as the subject.

To the concluding we have come with the greatest deliberation. If we do not get this control at the time

* A speech delivered at the House of Commons, December 3, 1951.

of undertaking upon responsibility, I cannot condemn a time when, because we are assuming responsibility in other matters, we would be suddenly asked to control our own Defence Forces.

An Army of Occupation

I would like this Committee, for just a few brief moments, to understand what this Army at the present moment means. This Army, in my opinion, whether it is Indian or whether it is British, is really an Army of occupation. It does not matter to me, at any rate to me, a few—I speak from experience—that they are Sikhs, or that they are Gorkhas, or that they are Pathans or that they are some type Indians or that they are Rajputs, or whether when they are, they are intelligent or whether they are in that Army, controlled by an alien government. I cannot speak to them. Soldiers have come to me frequently, and have been afraid even of speaking to me, because they felt that they might be reported. It is not possible for me continually to go to the places where the soldiers are kept. They are also taught to regard me not as their commander. Unlike any other country in the world, there is absolutely no correspondence between them and the ordinary civil population. This I give as my evidence before this Committee as a man who has unfortunately in recent days much with every part of India like, with all those with whom it was possible for me to come into touch, and that is not my own personal experience alone, but it is the experience of hundreds and thousands of Congress men that there is an absolute wall between them and us.

I am, therefore, quite aware that it is a tremendous thing for me to come to a decision that responsibility and to have control of this Army, say, like the British soldiers. That is not satisfactory, perhaps justice would say so, I am sorry to have to say, by our rules.

For the Defence of British Interests

Then there is the British section of the Army. What is the purpose of the British Army? Every Indian child knows that that British Army is there, including the Indian Army, for the defence of British interests and the crushing or crushing foreign aggression—I am sorry to have to make these remarks, but that is precisely what I have heard and have experienced, and it would be unjust were it my Indian friends if I did not give expression to the truth as I have seen it and as I told it. Truly, it is an Army created to suppress rebellion against constituted authority.

Then, there are the main functions of that Army, and hence it does not surprise me that Englishmen would take the view they do. If I were an Englishman, and had also the ambition to rule another nation, I would do precisely the same thing. I would take hold of Indians and rule them as soldiers, and I would make them to be loyal to me, be loyal that they would, at my command, shoot anybody I desired them to shoot. Why was it that that people at Jallianwala Bagh, if it was their own countryman? It is, therefore, not a matter of surprise to me, but it is a fact which stands out in the face.

The existence of the British troops there, it may be said, to serve this very purpose, it holds the balance between these different Indian sections evenly. It

undoubtedly protects, as a most protect, the British soldiers, and it protects the British law. Again I do not make any complaint, if I would assume the position that it was right for Great Britain to occupy India, and that it is right for Great Britain to hold India today and to continue to hold India, we would make what shared problems.

A Vital Condition

That being so, I have no difficulty in answering the question which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would not like and which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also would not like. Both of them said that, not being experts, they are not able to say to what extent this Army could be or should be reduced. I, however, have no such difficulty. I have no difficulty in saying what should happen to this Army. I would say emphatically that the whole of this Army should be disbanded if it does not pass under my control before I could possibly shoulder the burden of running the government of India under the terrible handicaps under which we are labouring as a legacy of alien rule.

Therefore that being my fundamental position, I would say that if you, British soldiers and British people, really wish well by India, if you wish greater power over us, then, regard this as a vital condition that the Army should pass under our control in its entirety.

A Chartered Dream

But then I have told you that I know the risk that is attached upon it. That Army will not accept my command. I know that very well. I know that the British Commander in Chief will not accept my command; nor would the Sikhs, nor the great Rajput-races of them would accept my command. But I repeat, even so, to march that command with the good will of the British people. They will be there at the time of withdrawing the command to break a new home to these very soldiers, and to tell them that they are after all serving that new constitution if they do so. British troops may also be told, "now is the time for you to go to remote areas to protect British interests and British lives, but you are here to protect India against foreign aggression, even against internal aggression, as if you were defending and saving your own citizenship." That is my dream. I know that I shall not realise that dream here. That is what I feel, the evidence that I before me, the evidence of my own life, and that I am not going to realise that dream today and here as a result of the deliberations of this conference. But I should still cherish that dream. It is the dream I should like to cherish up to the end of my life. But, among the atmosphere here, I hope that I cannot possibly select British Chairman or the British public with the idea or with the ideal that this could be also their chartered mission. That is how I would interpret the Prime Minister's declaration, that is how I would interpret Lord Irwin's wishes. It should be the great privilege and the great duty of great Britain now to indicate us in the direction of conferring our own defence. Handcuffed and whipl, it is their duty to give us wings whereby we can fly, even as they fly. That is really my ambition, and, therefore, I say, I would wish an eternity if I cannot get control of defence. I refuse to accuse myself that I am going to withdraw upon responsible Government although I cannot control my

defence. After all, India is not a nation which has never known how to defend itself. There is all the material there. There are the Hindustanis, standing in no dread of foreign invasion. The Sikhs will refuse to think that they can be conquered by anybody. The Muslims, immediately he develops the national mind, will say "I shall not defend India." There there are the Nagpurs who are supposed to be responsible for a Christian Therothpala, and not our Hindu Therothpala in Coonoor. That is what the Hindustanis, Colonel Tiel, told us. Colonel Tiel has taught us in letters that every year in Nagpura is a Therothpala. Do these people stand in need of leaving the art of defence? I assume that if I shoulder the burden of responsibility I mean that all these people are going to join hands. I am here seeking to agree to you that we have not yet come to terms on the assumed position but wherever the unassumed national comes, a new programme that we are going to treat each other. Whether the rule is predominantly Hindustani or Sikh or Hindu, they will not rule as Hindu or Hindustani or Sikhs, but they will rule as Indians. If we have distrust of one another, then we must British people think of us do not want to be led by one another. Right then let us not talk of responsible Government.

I, at least, cannot possibly think that we have got responsible government without control of the army and direction. I feel deep down at the bottom of my heart that if we are to have responsible government, and the Congress wants responsible government—the Congress has been so dead, in the opinion of the people, and in all these years military men, and what a man, the Congress has been so in Englanders come they doing their duty and now leaving complete control to us we must select the British with that love for India, which would enable her to stand on her own feet. If the British people think that we shall require a country before that can be done, then for that country the Congress will tender in the wilderness, and the Congress must go through that trouble they asked, it must go through some of the most of misrepresentation and—if it becomes necessary and if it is God's will—a shower of bullets. If that happens, it will be because we cannot trust one another and because Englanders and Indians have different angles of vision.

That is my fundamental position. I do not want to go into it in detail. I have got this man so heavily on I am capable of putting it. But of this one thing is understood, I am successful enough to select and have safeguarded other safeguard which will assuredly pass on to my national mind, provided that it is common sense that these safeguards must be in the interests of India. But I want to go further and explain what Lord Irwin said, that although the safeguards in the past are stated to be in the interests of India, they must be understood, I believe Lord Irwin said my name, and said "Gandhi also said they must be understood—in the national interests of India and England." I believe that. I do not suppose a single safeguard that will be only in the interests of India, and a single safeguard that will not be also in the interests of Great Britain, provided that we consider a partnership, a partnership of will, and a partnership on absolutely equal terms. The very reason that I have given you today for demanding that Congress

acted for the State on the national but standing for, for demands placed over our national affairs.

External Affairs

Not being well versed in what is really meant by external affairs, still feeling in general my ignorance of what is stated in these Reports of the Round Table Conference on the subject, I asked my friends, Mr. Ince and Mr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, to give me a first lesson in what is meant by external affairs and foreign relations. I have got their reply before me. They state that the words mean relations with neighbouring powers, relations with Indian States, relations with other powers in international affairs, relations with the Dominions. If there are external affairs, I think we are quite capable of understanding the burden and discharge and obligation in connection with external affairs. We are undoubtedly capable of terms of peace with our own kin and kin, with our own neighbours, with our own countrymen, the Indian Princes. We are certainly the friendly relations with our neighbours the Siam, and across the sea with the Japanese and certainly we can negotiate with the Dominions also. If the Dominions will not take our countrymen to love them in perfect self respect, we can deal with them.

It may be that I am talking out of folly, but you should understand that the Congress has thousands and tens of thousands of English men and English women like me, and it is on behalf of these that I repeatedly repeat this claim, upon saying that with the parliament we have secured we shall shortly tell our obligations.

Honourable Safeguards

Frank Mather Mather Mather has checked the safeguards. While much of what he has said I entirely accept myself, but that is not the only solitary safeguard. If India were not Indian people heads together, talking in the same direction with an agreed common understanding, it is possible, I believe with every confidence, that we would have long been having safeguards which will be honourable alike in India and in England, and which would be a guarantee for the safety of every British life and the safety of every British interest in which India played her part.

Lord Chelmsford, I cannot go further—I tender a thousand apologies for taking up the time of this meeting, but you will understand the feeling that is worked up in our minds here day after day, and thinking of it day and night, how these safeguards are coming to a successful issue. You will understand the feeling which motivates me. It is a feeling of absolute good will towards Englanders, and a feeling of absolute devotion to my countrymen.

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Whither Riding?

[By C. Narayana Guru]

What will the Government confess the its possibility of realising two incompatible demands, (1) to get all the advantages of a transferred responsibility to the Legislature, and (2) at the same time to increase and hold all officials power for the Government? All their attempts at compromise making for both are at the impossible level and are, further, based on the notion that the Legislature is ever ready and ready to go wrong and that the Government's judgement is always certain to be right, and that, therefore, as all responsibility, and ultimately as all operations, the Government's decision should prevail.

The introduction of a Money Bill is a caricature that under the Government as the Assembly is not work as it should be and that it needs immediate replacement. The introduction of any other Bill may be unnecessary, but that of a Money Bill, directed the center. The Assembly is not constituted under the most suitable conditions imposed by a Government most serious of democracy, and has been doing injustice to the Government all these years. The following does it propose that the replacement must be of the Government.

So recently as in September last year the Government of India solemnly recorded their acceptance of the position that "no essential transfer of financial responsibility is implied in the declared policy of advance towards full Government in India, inasmuch as financial responsibility is one of the most essential parts of the responsibility of Government." This grounds it with daily belief that which is a glaring display of any intention to proceed even at accepting pace towards the politics of democracy.

The introduction of the Supplementary Finance Bill across the rejection of money by the list of the Government-General. It is a procedure that lays bare the pretensions of the Government that it is not the plain and simple when tyranny that the Congress described it to be. It proves that it is the real working idea. His Majesty Emperor's rule was more extensive. There have been no Assembly debate, the like of which was unknown in the British days, makes an impression. The debate adds much to more, for the intention to improve the new form despite any opposition was obvious from the onset and as proved by the event. Answer is not refused but is asked handling by the pretended consultation. The essence of tyranny

remains in the arbitrary suspension of an individual's will as an unrepresented people and the lack of being without the consent of the government, and the submission for that consent of the demand to use is the best record the moral lesson of the ruler to order to subject unwilling consent. The British Emperor's customs were based on an other way, but he employed this the purpose to bring forward, composed of selfish and others drawn from outside India as the British Government is doing today.

Government to meet the situation by adequately reducing the conventional Civil and Military expenditures were reported. A reduction to former level of expenditures would have saved over Rs. 50 crores, but really inadequate measures of retrenchment have been taken as enough and on the other hand heavy additions to the direct and indirect taxes of the people have been made, with the full knowledge that the retrenchments are far too heavy to be borne with patience, and that in the case of the indirect taxes, the increased rates may result in all kinds of ability to increasing the revenue. Such by rule with heavy additional taxation, imposed without popular consent, is the degrading spectacle of unbridled relation paid to Government officials and a wealthy group and increasing that, as later wishes, it can justice, should have been based to abolish under present conditions.

The Assembly representatives strenuously opposed the proposals for additional taxation giving still increase, and result in loss of the most important principle, the additional tax on income below Rs. 10,000, per annum, the lowering of the taxable level of small incomes, the additional aspect of imported machinery, and the enhanced postal rates. The addition in the year man's foot but by the enhancement of the day as well as his contribution and well known to need justice. All these included, the Finance Bill has been intended to be "necessary in the interest of India" is the opinion of the Government and has been made into 'Law' as the result of all opposition.

The entire indifference of Government to the cries of the people for relief, the explicit withdrawal of the rule of law is. Stepped, and on the top of it the very foundation of the Round Table Conference have which the nation's movement of peace returns in deep disappointment make an shameful lesson for India. The situation is not improved by the effect of arbitrary introduction of heavy taxation increasing the worst features of extravagance in public expenditure. Whither is the Government taking?

The Pharaohs of U. P.

[By C. KENNEDY.]

Three thousand years ago the children of Israel were held in bondage in the land of Egypt. The Israelites had to work and sweat under hard task masters and received hardly any return for their labour. They were under the rule of the tyrants of Pharaoh. Moses was guided by God to deliver them from their bondage. Moses, along with his brother Aaron, pleaded before Pharaoh his people's misery. But Pharaoh was loath to let them depart and he lost. Hence after plagues were visited upon Pharaoh and his people. The Israelites finally heeded his pleas and complied to his policy of exploitation. At last when he did consider their their freedom he changed his mind after the Israelites had started on their journey from Egypt and pursued them, and were destroyed in the Red Sea.

Two bits of ancient history is being repeated in the U. P. to-day. The Khans are held in bondage as so much they take care for problems arise for their corrupt relations but for the privilege of paying rates and taxes to the zamindars and the Government. Even this they are unable to do this year not yet their plebeians attempt to erode the ancient barrier from them. God has sent up a Moses for the Khans, in the form of the Congress, to plead their cause with the Pharaohs—that is, the British. The Pharaoh does not seem anxious to bring relief to the Khans but has been repeatedly harassing his bond. This sad story is revealed by the correspondence relating to the agrarian crisis in the United Provinces published by the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee a few days ago in pamphlet form.

Alastair Dunlop seems particularly hard hit. Within the population there, a large increase in the last decade, both the area of holdings and area under cultivation seem to have decreased. We have not the information at hand to know the reason for the fall in cultivated area but if conditions there are anything like what they are in some other parts, we may conclude that the product of agriculture does not pay even the taxes etc. The last two years have been particularly bad, and the Government had agreed to reductions which are totally inadequate. The Government have insisted on the basis of Faut year 1925 as the standard but that year was bad enough to have led to the passing of the Tenancy Act 1921 in order to better the tenant's position. Apart from this year 1925 the rate of production has gone up tremendously and this is not taken into consideration. While the price of agricultural produce has fallen by over 25% in the region the revenue amounts to only 2 to 7 per cent in the region. This is "bitter and abominable and betrays a total lack of appreciation of the seriousness of the problem."

Again from this whole the current year is admitted to be bad enough to be created confusion and one fails to see the logic of demanding payment of money of past years in present. And what is more curious is the order that the tenant cannot raise any objection until they pay up fully the demand. It seems the purpose is paid up, the individual will agree that the tenants were in a position to pay up and therefore their objection cannot be valid.

After valiant correspondence between the various officials and congress leaders I imagined that the Government was not prepared to discuss these questions but were only willing to discuss "possible explanation of the famine." The recovery of the first instalment commenced on 19th November and it left no alternative to the Congress but to advance the payments in withheld payment of them temporarily until the formation of a public organisation to secure adequate relief. In his letter to the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee the Congress President commends them. "In regard to all the tenants and workers concerned with the railways and railways they will have to struggle and the necessity of preserving a perfectly unswerving atmosphere during the struggle to some of my predecessors and myself." On Dec 3, 1931 The Secretary to the U. P. Government stated that the Government have no intention of stopping or suspending the collection of rents as now ordered in the Alakhnanda District.

They say neither Pharaohs have hindered their bonds but the people will was their freedom from oppressive hands of them.

Drink in Ancient India

[By VALLABH CHAK.]

Principal Skinner of Banquet College, Imae advised by the Department of Sanskrit and History in his College writing under his able guidance has made the Indian tea party a splendid return for the Government and India and states he is ready to spend upon the Principal and his staff by raising an elaborate system for British rule in India, and publishing it at this poor fellow's expense. In this problem with the learned Principal takes advantage in Dr. Skinner's statement that India is a primarily impossible for the drink will, which has been based upon for by England, and America.

"Here, for example, Skinner does not seem to be aware of Kuntze's 'Arthashastra' where specific references are made to create and to the drink will." If one adopted Principal Skinner's standards of courtesy, one might say:

"Here for example, Skinner does not seem to be aware of it."

1. *Arthashastra*, which declares drink with the murder of a Brahmin as a heinous crime, Chandra, who declares that drink outweighs all other sins taken together, and that there never was or shall there be a more important drink in its literature.

2. *Arthashastra*, which declares that a man who drinks once be punished of that can only be punished but that down his throat and then hanging about his own death.

3. *Arthashastra*, which declares how the police city of Udhava was created with the drink will, how desperate efforts were made to end the will by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor until pain of death, how these efforts unfortunately failed and the whole State was wiped out from the face of the earth leaving no livable human in sight (for all those to come).

4. Shashis, "Geography, which teaches that Indians "are seldom attacked by disease, as they live simply and abstain from wine,"

5. Subraman's "Mahabharat Samrithi" (XII A 12) which says "They (the Indians) die not under wine. They say, 'the power wine drinks more than long.' The Indians are surrounded by enemies, who war against them, and their say, 'How can a man who contradicts himself smelt the fumes of a dagger!'"

6. Al Warah's "Mawdu'atuh" 1924 A, 121 where the writer states "The Moslems abstain from wine, and restrain their wine-quarantines (i. e., If it can be proved) of one of their things (that he has drunk liquor) he forfeits the crown, for he has been considered to be able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected."

7. Jahangir Ali Haruni (1604-64 A. D.) who tells us that in Khamir (Sindh India?) who drinkers were punished by having a hot iron placed on their bellies and kept there till it got cold, and that many died under the discipline.

After having proved to his own satisfaction, that the drink was prevalent in ancient India Principal Shrinu crosses Dr. Donker's list of authorities by "the drink and which Indian historians have believed in as Mogul times! But the only evidence he adduces to prove the existence of the well in Mogul times is, that 'the drinking habits of such things as India, Jahangir and others are quoted in most books on Indian history' The fact that the Mogul Emperors were addicted to drink does not at all warrant the sweeping conclusion that the Indian people in large numbers took to the wine drink, and the learned Principal does less than justice to Jahangir, perhaps the most admirable of the Mogul Emperors. Jahangir in his memoirs has indeed placed his drinking habits on record, but one of the twelve special regulations instituted by him "in his memoirs to the Prince" prohibited the "manufacture or sale of drink or any other kind of intoxicating liquor."

Concerning more it, he says

"I undertook to facilitate the regulation, although it is sufficiently manifest that I have myself the strongest inclination for wine, in which from the age of sixteen I have liberally indulged."

It must however be confessed, that this confession is most true, except a man's inclination, promote his constitutional rigour, and render him docile, such being the most warlike properties Jahangir in the list of emperors.

"... It appears very difficult, if not impossible, for me to determine whether the use of wine, Nevertheless, I have to admit, and I trust to Heaven, that like my grandfather Humayun, who succeeded in driving himself of his habit before he attained to the age of forty-five, I also may be surprised in my previous, more time or later in abstention the pleasure perhaps altogether." In a poem, wherein God has pronounced his wine displeased at the man who would never so little towards amendment, and it may prove, in no small degree, the means of eternal salvation."

(Mogul David Fries's translation)

Again, at another place in his memoirs he writes ".... I had adopted a resolution, to that (Pity!) coming even to my consideration, to have either of wine or any intoxicating beverage withdrawn, I trust

in Providence to realize to abide by this resolution, in the last moment of my existence, such is the awful day of universal reckoning. He who the Almighty has given no grace or pleasure in it and may the same grace be bestowed in me for the remainder of my life.

Referring to a grandson of Shashis Sultan of Akbar, through the influence of whose party "The Most High had reduced him into the state of abstinence," Jahangir says

"Solely abstinent from intoxicating drugs, or liquor of any kind, I restrain the highest expectations from his youth."

The huge disreputable of the death of Daulat, the Emperor's brother, who died at the age of thirty in consequence of his intemperate indulgence in drink, was so remarkable, that Jahangir's memoirs dealing with them deserve to be written in letters of gold and presented to every one addicted to drink as, also to every opponent of prohibition.

"He was extremely fond of . . . the chase, and had a hereditary dwelling place in which he had given the name of Jangnah (the bird), and on which he had caused to be built a temple in the following verse:

In the pleasure of the chase with thee
my best laughter flows and clear (Jangnah),
But who carries the tale
with him on the lion. (Jangnah)

"The moment . . . having been entered legend all kinds of confessions, orders were at last issued, . . . that he should no longer receive any supply of liquor, and that those who were detected in any attempt to supply such supply, would be punished with death." A few . . . Daulat, with tears and entreaties, implored Mirza Bibi . . . to procure him even the most trifling quantity of the precious liquor . . . Mirza Bibi, affected by the touching frailty of the prince's address, at last consented to listen to what may it was possible to gratify him without, according the risk of discovery and certain death. Daulat implied, that as such a moment a thought of honor was to him as much as the death. "Go," said he, "and bring me the cup to the front of me of my darling piece once or twice repeated. I shall be satisfied, and will be safe against discovery or even suspicion." Deceived by these entreaties, Mirza Bibi, did as he was desired, filled the glass in secretly named Jangnah with spirits, and brought it to his master, to the champagne glass had been given to the place by himself, it was so noticed by Providence, that in drink what was intended by it and to be lost on his last was was not the same thing, "the drink of the liquor vanished" and died . . ."

Instead of treating religious disapproval recommended from his religious authorities, I leave Principal Shrinu to elucidate the following relevant and material passages of two of his own distinguished countrymen

"We will pay cost of all the crime before me during my long years, as the death should be awarded to death, but 50 per cent of it." —Lord Beaconsfield

"Religion and use of alcohol as beverage together are impossible for once that half the disease and early death of the entire population of Europe"

—Dr. Ray Luther's Kingdom of Man

Young India

The Revised Codebook

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 2000; 284: 2689-2695.

The Congress is agreed subject when Vietnam ends Congress more than 1 hour Government. Vietnam shows limited progress of opposition. But there does not really reduce.

[illegible]

There is no need to go through the agony of re-analysis of the provisions of the new Hospital Conference promulgated in 1934. Moreover, it can be suggested, firstly as a complete reinforcement of the protection of the Law and of legal provisions, and the celebration of past military government. Secondly, any revision of the Law, can, by order of the Dönme Ministry, be introduced in a special magazine under the Ordinance, and thereby all important and well known provisions associated in written questions with political questions to ensure not only important facts and to save the innocent and the others whom there may be a considerable number of.

Finally, in writing to every last of the *Chellams*, it must be admitted that some had been given for this grant, and the distance is favorable for suggestion and discussion. Before and ruled today of different areas within the land of island of Hawaii, definitely does not lead called upon to choose such comments as it would have this, but it is that with men and women of its own race under similar circumstances. Anger and courage into finished shapes when accounted by a difference of taste. If I am worried with rate or time, I prefer not writing and discussing in different. This is the sign in which the most changes in Hawaii are wrought by the new *Chellams* in the name of protection. The thing is that otherwise man may be that if the modernize man comes by personal statement, not the aspects of a people which was the glory of their generations and a part of their essence. The changes has led to some.

It is not only the law of Colonial Proprietary and Colonies 1874 is repeated by the Ordinance it establishes a state of things as to the location of its main-power in its armed and open relations. Property, movable and immovable, can be confiscated, men and women may be stopped and arrested anywhere, and as no power is stated against private citizens more important, limited and even more may be represented by officials, that is to say, private citizens as well as, Government, private and public investigations and means of investigation is restricted and otherwise stated in any way. While citizens may be collectively fined by an army Capital as a Police action and the means occurred by imprisonment as well as ordinary processes of justice. Indeed, that of private provision is left at night and home offices, a state of war has been declared.

It is not, however, in his thought that we find the representation of an exclamation of this kind, the police and the magistracy have not been doing all at least of these things. Whenever anything has been done to make them angry, or nervous, the authorities have always stayed their hands by means of want of legal evidence. Whenever they felt inclined to take such measures, they have done it in obedience of Orders, not the Government has never feared that doing nothing or waiting enough to feel itself with them. The Government goes down on paper and everything on which the people have not already indicated, a direct and sure machinery which the Government had not been already fully using. It only serves to reveal the weakness, plan and policy of Executive authority. Were not men demanded who were stronger leaders for more than twenty-four hours? Is not any property constitutional even now, law or no law? Are not the military and navy ordered to act? Is not reason to police buildings fully controlled even now by police and magistracy? Do they not communicate, instead, information, published and do anything they like in regard to means of emergency, and private and public transport? Again, do magistrates feel free and independent to do just what they like in political matters? Is there any real confidence in Law Courts, Original or Appellate, in such cases? Do not people feel that the result is there more or less important? There is no new law here in the Conference, but only a presentation of executive policy and a notice of a firm hand in local affairs, and a decision for Executive authority. It is needless, therefore, to subject the work of the Conference to private criticism. Sir Foster Jackson's statement, his prolonged attacking spirit of speech and the repeated electronic preparations of civil and military authorities for a midnight outbreak, these are more relevant.

The change that there have been, changes of violence cannot be denied. That the Government is satisfied to take adequate measures to put this Government also be satisfied. But the Government then also states that they have been around troops in Chongqing. However, they do not consider that the withdrawal of the forces or of any place, down to village, have caused a great rebellion. A note going about in the streets before the Government did not see Wan in Kailashan. He was military peaceful life, civil trade, business and agriculture. Several cases there were in the past. It was

have been not merely stray scenes, it may have been also important actions. The villages did not exist. There was no more no concept of villages. All the geography of the past Ordinance was made as to be concerned only if there was to find some of some organization of violence. We have, therefore, no hesitation in characterizing the Ordinance as a strictly geographical piece of research and investigation against industrialized society and man. There is no question in fact as to what, because there are some clearly visible in the garden, and in the end of the end world and a response or two of violence to destroy the nation and the garden that these actions are referred to in the garden.

Wolfe

The Cedar Chapter

India has been invited back from the London Conference to treaty negotiations. The world now knows that, though the Premier may have both ways and pretend that he has done what each side wanted, and when now to being connected to everyone, says "Watch, look, dearer side is necessary!"¹²

The final act of the drama in St. James's was worked by physical conditions. The small room which gathered there solely to experience the observations and the understandings of *Inter-view* has strength not for joy, not for wit or profoundness without such restriction. The total had a little mistake of their own. They asked a black legend of Provincial Ascendancy and several grand contradictions of being that those whom they themselves had raised. These Shrovetide Harlots was Provincial Ascendancy taken, and semi-literately shown, and their joy was reconfirmed that this was at last promised again to society the same kind as when the Conference began. They celebrated the victory of not having had anything at the Conference! While the understandings of physiology and fluidity were then pumped at Thanksgiving, he who was, as a counterpart of awakened India stood, a solitary figure from an Aryan thought, as one on the brink of a progress. He was treated in strong and empty courtesy, and even in official consideration, and he was forced to make no conventional response. For the world gave shadow and not light, for how could it be otherwise?

John knows what she must do, and will do it in the faith that in God's world, justice must be the ultimate triumph of every battle, that His will can create man in His constant struggle to be ruled by man or other beings. His will fight his battle with the power of nature, the human power of suffering, so that His will may be done to him as he shall choose.

But there is another great figure in the past who also must not be forgotten. It is Lincoln. His own words, "Freedom is for us deep thought. The law has been made of by the gaily-headed men that hold the reins of State Governments and would break thought. There comes for Lincoln's people is, "for us give him freedom and see the gates of freedom, but enough has with independence. If people will not they think good let us make them for freedom and justice." If we put in enough improvement, there will improve." But Lincoln's answer had that this is a good remedy.

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The Best of the Best

We present to our teachers a couple of notes
borrowed by the Bishop Marcolino of Padua

1

October 1999

"In view of frequent protests by volunteers against such tactics and demonstrations on the part of the Police, there are elsewhere and increasing number of attempts to police places as First Zone, a situation has arisen which goes considerably against the objectives and with a view to avoid such protests and assemblies and to avoid any breach of the peace it is hereby notified for public information under Sec. 30 of the Police Act that approval and agreement of all persons and assemblies in public places within the First District and District are required to take out a license for the same from the Superintendent of Police of First.

This order will remain in force for 18 days which affect from 1st December, 1951.

1. **Introduction**

1. Introduction

Colony	Majority	Minority
Alabama	White	Black
Alaska	White	Black
Arizona	White	Black
Arkansas	White	Black
California	White	Black
Colorado	White	Black
Connecticut	White	Black
Delaware	White	Black
District of Columbia	White	Black
Florida	White	Black
Georgia	White	Black
Hawaii	White	Black
Idaho	White	Black
Illinois	White	Black
Indiana	White	Black
Iowa	White	Black
Kansas	White	Black
Kentucky	White	Black
Louisiana	White	Black
Maine	White	Black
Maryland	White	Black
Massachusetts	White	Black
Michigan	White	Black
Minnesota	White	Black
Mississippi	White	Black
Missouri	White	Black
Montana	White	Black
Nebraska	White	Black
Nevada	White	Black
New Hampshire	White	Black
New Jersey	White	Black
New Mexico	White	Black
New York	White	Black
North Carolina	White	Black
North Dakota	White	Black
Ohio	White	Black
Oklahoma	White	Black
Oregon	White	Black
Pennsylvania	White	Black
Rhode Island	White	Black
South Carolina	White	Black
South Dakota	White	Black
Tennessee	White	Black
Texas	White	Black
Vermont	White	Black
Virginia	White	Black
Washington	White	Black
West Virginia	White	Black
Wisconsin	White	Black
Wyoming	White	Black

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E

The person or persons in charge of volunteer work at Foothill.

In case of proposed demonstrations by volunteers at popular meetings aimed with letters to Washington and elsewhere in Port Town and assembly pavilion discontinued in front of the Town House intended as likely to be taken as a challenge to established authority and in view of the fact that such demonstrations are likely to prevent a branch of the police, under the provisions of Section 144 Cr. P. C. a banter prohibits all processions by volunteers aimed with letters to Port Town within the Municipal area.

This order shall remain in force for a period of 35 days with effect from 1st of November, 1991.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

M. F. Thakur

"We cannot see ourselves as being in a position of total facts but rather by the formal evidence collected in the various themselves action taken by the District Magistrate of Port against us to be proportionate. We declare to believe that or less the approval of the Local Government. We hope that the others are only the result of community administration and public field by local officials who are, directly, interacting with the institutions provided by the large scale programme for a pioneering Commission. We maintain that the effectiveness of the Kamphur Committee was partly facilitated in work with the Local Government and we trust that its interaction will ease the cultural situation created by the District Magistrate of Port. We are strongly further convinced about the alleged "provocative demonstrations" but we feel that personal differences and last result, in any case, have served the cause of the education much larger than we share with the Union Act.

And After

The following report received by us at the development in Fiji indicates in the line of the above orders a plan developed:

"Before these orders were promulgated, the volunteers of the Fidi camp went out on a trip to Suva, a place 15 miles from the Fidi town. These volunteers were returning to the camp on the 12th December at about 5 p. m. On their way back part of the highway of the Municipal area, about 100 police constables armed with rifles and batons headed by the District Superintendent of Police prevented the volunteers from entering the town this evening. In a line, the volunteers having been informed beforehand not to carry any weapons obedient to the order of the District Magistrate. The volunteers were asked not come to the town on any day while coming over by train and then. Mr. Superintendent of Police, as instructed of the local quarters of the Municipal Area. But why was obstructing the volunteers, was arrested early Sat. 10th 1. P. C. even though the volunteers obeyed the order of the Superintendent of Police and broke up their line and dispersed. The other evening about 100 armed police constables kept watching the camp till about 7 o'clock in the night. The police-station order under Section 144 has hampered the work of the Kaituma Committee in a great extent."

The Fruits of Freedom

Endowed India has only been with every of the steps being taken by Britain and Turkey to safeguard the interests of their own people. India has got up a high wall to prevent foreign shopping. Turkey has gone one better. Her Government proposes to prohibit by law the importation of coffee, tea, cotton, sugar and livestock and thus reduce the national bill to negligible dimensions by about 4 crores of rupees. A few India would not hesitate to close her ports against certain foreign imports to save her few industries, needed national unity, or reduce the foreign bill. But will we develop the real will to do this, we have to beat the almost insuperable agency of the progressive population of our nation as a result of intense exploitation which, backed up by class rule, has brought the starving millions of India to their present hopeless condition.

J. D.

Swarmlike Freedom

The opening of the Bayburt Confab is beneath comment. There is nothing so ugly as the anti-Indian activities of men who from the time they stepped from English soil the time of complete physical domination lived as British India, Imperialist and creature thereof to their death-throes previous and of money reaped out of India. Not content with being a buyer in the starving India market, they spent their last day in doing an attempt to strangle India by tightening and restricting others, who may attempt to rise to the occasion and be just as general. When their houses are destroyed and have lost all capacity to make a new plan they with the help of the very money they have made from India get into Parliament as do they themselves tell by to do so may have as they say. Sir Raymond Creel's triumphed that plan John Bull was in touch for the Mahatmas and

the British. The truth is that the General Conference and the General House, are really no more up the same order of the West. The method of dealing and ruling changed to highest point of efficiency in the League Conference.

C. B.

Ireland—An Example

(By D. Parnell MacDonagh)

So much is in Germany between Ireland and India that a study of the recent history of the two nations should find in its both interesting and instructive of this present. The various and different that they have achieved—Ireland during the past six or seven centuries and India during well over a century and a half—was undoubtedly success in them. But the means that they have chosen to accomplish themselves from the traditions of their foreign masters have differed widely, both in principle and in execution. At the present time it behooves us to recall what exactly was done two years ago by a more country-imbued in her dealings with the English people. MacDonagh's purpose in going to London was to oppose the fundamental of a treaty. To this extent the Irish parallel would be greatly helped by us at the moment and may serve as an example.

Let us not go into the events that led to a treaty between Ireland and England in 1922. That treaty was signed on the 6th of July 1922. It terminated the bloodshed caused by the passage of the Royal Irish Constabulary on the one side and the terrorists of the Irish Republic on the other. It was the result of a letter sent by the President—Lord George to James de Valera, the President of the Irish Republic, inviting him to a Conference in London. "An explanation of the necessity of a conference" Just as the British Government released Cardinal and twenty-two other prisoners on the 19th January 1921, so had the British Government released early in July 1921, four leading members of the Irish Bureau, from the Montagu prison,—Arthur Griffith, John MacNeill, James and John MacDonagh,—in that they might visit De Valera in the Dail. The parallel does not end here. In the preliminary talks and the final talks that preceded the Conference, there were differences between England and Ireland not dissimilar to those that were afterwards—and naturally so—between Lord Louis and Mahatma Gandhi. They centred chiefly round the question of independence. Like India, rather earlier than, Ireland had declared—not merely her independence, but declared independence, established a Republic, organized an army, carried out revolutionary courts and laws, running a parallel Government under their own laws, the right to decide armed force in the houses, the Irish landing, etc. & much as the Congress was, consistently with the Lahore resolution and the British standing it. In spite of the Irish Civil War effect as from news of July 1921, 1922, there was many obstacles in the way of the conference Conference maintaining and it was only on October 18th that the Conference met at 12, Downing Street. Now the E. T. Conference met in the St. James' Palace. The difference seemed as already pointed out, to the Irish during negotiations on the basis of independence and with the right to decide and the British meeting there with the right only that "No British Government could ever

grant the Irish the right to secede." Then the Dail declared itself ready to "accept suggestions to secure a peace based upon the principle of the consent of the governed." At last it was agreed that issue of the conference was to be

"how the negotiations of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be conducted with the Irish National aspirations."

It is interesting to note that India has had the same difficulty and has solved the problem at Karachi by agreeing to work for the attainment of Poona Scheme, "as we X X X to give the right to either party to end the partnership at will." The new status of Irish cooperation was interpreted with several British States. Mr Lloyd George let his wife a deal of money for the claim of independence and finally the negotiators met 'without prejudice' to the claim on either side. He did not.

A word about present may not be irrelevant here. In Ireland the prisoners that were set at liberty before the conference Conference took place were the first prisoners already released to and the other members of the Dail. It was only after the conference had been concluded and the treaty was ratified by the British Parliament on the 15th Dec, 1921 that the King issued a proclamation of amnesty on Jan 15, 1922, "in regard to political offences committed in Ireland prior to the issue of last July." One observation may, however, be related to, as it is of absorbing interest to us. When the members of the Dail were released upon after the commencement of the Truce on July and a full meeting of the Dail was held on the 16th August, it was discovered that one John Mac Donagh, a member of the Irish Expeditionary Force, who was arrested in Dublin for being a Police Inspector of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who had gone to arrest him, was not released. De Valera refused to give an order; McKenna and he had to be released.

Now, let us recall what happened at the Settlement Conference on 15. December 1921. Did they discuss whether the Irish Parliament should have one Chamber or two Chambers, whether the constitution should be Federal or unitary, whether the representatives should be by provinces or of the people, whether decisions should be direct or indirect? No, nothing of the kind. What was discussed was a treaty between England and Ireland and to make a long story short, let us state what actually happened and was agreed upon. The negotiations between the two parties lasted well nigh two months (from Oct. 15th to Dec. 5th). The question of a constitution for Ireland was left to be settled by the Irish people themselves and as a matter of fact, a constitution on the drafting of which the English had no part, and for which the Dail was exclusively responsible under the presidency of Michael Collins, was accepted or torn by the British Parliament, so that British Law had, once in two years had it complied with the treaty and that a clause was added declaring that "if the constitution contained any thing repugnant to the provisions of the treaty, the treaty would prevail." But when was the constitution really drafted? After the British Parliament ratified the preliminary treaty (on Dec. 10th 1921) and the Dail (at the same) (on Jan. 15th 1922). Then the assembly

was declared, the prisoners were released, the Dail set for the first time on a neutral body with Arthur Griffith as President in place of De Valera resigned. A provisional Government was hastily formed, the process being Michael Collins. The Dublin Courts was taken possession of and on the morning of the event, the British army of occupation 25,000 strong (now that the British army of occupation in India is 65,000) was evacuated. Then set a committee to draft a constitution. This is an all-important matter.

We have rehearsed the story of the Constitution in order to show that it was not a question that engaged the time and attention of the Settlement Conference. What was talked between Oct 15th and Dec. 15th was a treaty at which the following are roughly the conditions.

The treaty guaranteed full Dominion Status to Ireland and provided for such of obligations in a conditional form. "Adjustments" relating to public debts and war pensions was almost the last question settled and it was decided that during agreement, the matter should be referred to arbitration by a member of the British Empire. Then the treaty dealt with the services and the compensation to be paid to those officers who might not be wanted by the new Government. It was only to be expected that the Dail should not provide comfort in various various police and Police officers who were the basis of the British Government. The Treaty also prohibited the harbours and customs facilities, which were to be afforded to the Imperial States and various provisions relating to frontiers and various officers of a temporary nature were also embodied in the Treaty. There was only one article related to minority rights but that was a somewhat close guaranteeing religious equality on the part of Government and freedom of religious worship to the subjects. The matter was put in a negative form as follows—"The provisions of the Treaty forbade the two Parliaments of Ireland to meet.

"No law or no action directly or indirectly to allow any religious or political or racial; the law created thereon to give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or effect prejudicially the rights of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school to make any discrimination in respect, while and between schools under the management of different religious denominations or direct from any religious denomination to any educational institution any of its property, except the public utility persons and on payment of Compensation."

Accordingly, it will be seen that Griffith's Mission to London related primarily to the liquidation of a treaty dealing with the question of the Army, Exchequer, services and public debts and certain boundary provisions for a provisional Government. If such a Treaty had been concluded and ratified by the British Parliament and the Indian National Congress, and if its conditions were implemented, the British army of occupation had been evacuated, then could the Congress set in a motion and draw up a constitution which could be referred to the Parliament. Ireland's parallel should, in fact, these events are occurred, finally and example in India.

The Untenable Claim



Editorial Page

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The Shuddhanand Baidan

[C. Ramachandran]

By the week it will be five years since Shuddhanand passed away. Thus, on his grave in the cemetery for the last we were during Christmas 1911. It is necessary that some supplies and more more offer of them our hearts to quench anger and ignorance, but to give to the thousand. Spent to try to no more, but to give to the poor and the joy of love and content and noble personal life.

We have a testimony also in our holy books, known by the very name of Shuddhanand. The thing that is much better than the name. It gives us a beautiful daily picture that makes healthy natural life and work and progress impossible. Shuddhanand's life was devoted to the bettering of this world and the progress of Hindu society. May his noble and pure will help us in the work that it is accomplished.

With this message, then, to our holy book we have passed on progress! The Hindu is not a mere composition of individuals or of groups, even as a single living being is not a mere composition of living cells. The real life, the sensitive nature of pain and pleasure and suffering, makes the complex, cells, and parts of the body all are one beautiful living organism. With a marvellous plan you could see these individual cells, all separate and living as if each for itself. But there is a unity of progress, and a single life behind the million separately separate from that are built into one individual body. Each cell struggles and dies for itself, but they all together make up the tissue and organs, and under harmony and guidance in the law of the life of the higher organism of which they are components. The constant and unceasing movement part from, matter and day for the common life. The marvellous separate growth, struggle for existence and death of every cell is a part of the life of the whole.

So, also, the Hindu is not a mere superposition of individuals or even of groups. Individuals and groups were seen to struggle and the work for itself. For the nation has a great and a single and an individual life. Its lifeblood, and its energy and whole nerve run through and through, and make it all one delicate living organism. Individuals and groups thus come to be struggling and building one organic nation, so it long as a real individuality of their individuality but the life behind lives that all together without their harmony is. The

national life is one and indivisible, and hence infinite unity of there is a lot of a word on a line. Unhappiness is a terrible pain, and must be treated if we should live.

You cannot have a healthy part, and live in peace by mere happen. The fact will be so it so long as the part is not treated and the whole has not learned to making the part a part of the whole. You cannot quarrel if Christians or Moslems or Government have over the individualism and seek to find fault to draw strength to support from those people whose Hindu society does not cover with its protecting shield and make them part of itself. They are part of Hindu society, no doubt, even as the cells in part of living body. The part is left by you, unceasingly, and not by any means proving that the part is yours and so on also. The individuals are Hindu, no doubt, but we can also have the part of matter by of that the part has, to be treated.

Let us remember that if the Christian the Hindu way, as the Government as the Government, when ever he then makes, then kindness in the name of the Law of Hindu and the Marathi behind that Law of Hindu. He can show them, may be through noble means, to help the Government. Out of them noble means condition. This means plan to the Hindu, even as the life in the body. But they, too, to be more Hindu to be unharmed in the, it may through the way and the position that are generated, and here it and even if it is not even, a way may be seen. Hindu has much value in the food to lead the order.

Shuddhanand's life was devoted to this living process. May his memory be preserved for all time, and inspire us.

Case for Bardoli

Several of the Imperial documents, the Ashoka's original and closing addresses to the court, the Emperor Ashoka's reply regarding "Bardoli" and his reply, a copy of the Ashoka's great edicts, the British's Marathi to the Emperor and other interesting and relevant matter are published by the A. I. C. C. in a Royal Order, pp. 60. It is priced at Rs. 12. Foreign 1 more extra.

Copies can also be had in Marathi, from Shriyashree Karyakart in Poona. Price.

Mumbai, Young India

And in a symphony which resonates with the place
reached life. It jumps on Black thirty-odd times
in thirty and at the initial place. Two present
the first a panel would then change to white in
only by the action of force. A dramatic contrast
is well-represented. A final design shows, dark spots in
a still on the canvas. People who life's own a quarter
of a ripple on the life line. But all these are only
to be regarded as a remedy to which the eye and the
ear at once turn— not here wholly satisfied. What
shall we say of Compositions then, entitled in the
panel all more appears as at any one connected to a
policy of non-violence, who have changed themselves
from an internal light with a political power, strong
as the unshaken confidence, in the angry colors, in
the freedom resistance and above all in the children
designed of human life,— what shall we say of such
Compositions as show various scenes themselves
from words to show and seeking to settle their
dispute by the achievement of love? Perhaps had
a million here over a period of 4 years in an open
out and before England should have, if they
had been taught on the plane of resistance, had gone,
but in a fourth of the period, at least a million and
a half. But our civilization had gone into a modified
line, but still perhaps too downward people lagged.
This alone should confirm the fact of the working
on the side of non-violence.

[illegible][illegible]

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Our same man brings to this an oral group. There has long a message added made by one nation to an another over the sea. There have been many methods by which this has been accomplished. Every one of such means has been directed towards dividing the people rather than unifying them. Among the methods, from the 7 Moral, 3 Physical, 5 Mental, 5 Social divisions are. They all tend to separate individuals. Sometimes they have tried to find a solution for bringing together all kinds and ages of men. But unfortunately, has not gone to the root of the divisions, it always the divide at the back of men's eyes. In his "prophetic" lecture the above said, Mr. Richard D. Gregg seeks to penetrate the moral accepted trap of confusion was the method adopted by Confucius to cause the same end—division of the masses. Confucius has taken the various virtues that go to divide the people and is attempting to apply them so that men may live together as brothers. He teaches those who hold wealth should be as much wealth as a man for the benefit of others. He teaches people not to selfish physical gain but rather to suffer to themselves the weight of others. He seeks to penetrate social structure by love and service. Is Mr. Gregg's system? This present is a time when not only national governments are changing but also that we are in the midst of a change of our systems of values of the symbol, that go with them. That will indeed be a new civilization.

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Public Resources and Our Parents

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LE 2000-11-11

To the Second edition of this book, a chapter on Polymers, Debra has been added so that we appreciate the new subject, p. 303. Even better, with latex, Chemistry, Mathematics and Statistics.

[illegible]

Expos can also be had at Mariposa Salpêtrous
Peppers, 3400 N. Highway 2.

These findings are very encouraging.

[illegible]

Young India

The Venerable Claim

(By C. Rajagopalachari.)

One might put two challenging questions to several branches of religions to hold the stewardship of India.

'Is it so and not a fact that India today is the poorest country in the world, whose millions of people are condemned to unemployment for six months in the year?'

'Is it so and not a fact that India has been maintained not only by pecuniary help from all over, but also through loans drawn on every opportunity that modern life has ever enjoyed?'

These were the two queries applied by Gandhiji. Yet the so-called religious, to which the non-Gandhian delegates at the London Conference would soon be added, will on examination be found obligated to preserve for the distressed nation the opportunity to continue and shape its gradual development of life. The religious ought to be inspired and pushed forward that India under a responsible leadership is to emerge from her poverty. The religious conscience of Britain cannot view Defence well served to protect India from invading her weakness which is the poverty and need of all Indians.

No one will deny that obligations assumed by the Government of India which are based on the reluctance to be broken on the people of India must be borne and discharged in full. Since Defence may be regarded for that reason. The discharge of Debt is a part of the present and collective culture of India. But what is also due is to build India to pecuniary strength for these obligations. This demands a change of tendency or attitude about which India must independently decide. To build pecuniary strength means first of all that it is not ostensible one founded on the case of debt arising outside, but it would be a constructive of the very true Indian. International obligations were when entered into by contract, are not assumed or claimed to be secured by possession of assets and by control over external external matters. Here then one is to fully accept that India's resources should be held to pecuniary strength by or on behalf of England her obligations imposed on her without regard or control but in the interests of trusteeship. To talk of self-Government, at the same time carrying a compulsory mortgage on resources and on the material advancement of the country, is a contradiction in terms and reduces freedom to an anomaly.

This claim to build is made in order that it may be duly discharged in every way. But the further claim is upon it that it is possible to meet all British obligations employed in the national administration of the country or otherwise. If India were at once declared to be on the verge of bankruptcy, one could understand British anxiety to seek to build pecuniary for India's self obligations. But the intention would be nothing more of a confession of a capital offence on the part of the in-

terior Government. If India can bear the burden of the growing country, it has been secured on her behalf the building already and against all international practice a claim, at the time of concluding respective agreement, to hold possession of and control over all of any part of the present and the administration of the country. If the evident extent of Defence can borrow and remain to debt without transferring possession of property, railway, or services to the creditor Government, before adequate security can stand submitted without a transfer of control or possession of finance or administration.

The control of Defence is a fundamental of freedom and cannot be separated and transferred to an external authority without reducing freedom totally slavery. Those Indian leaders who recognise that we can draw off the mass of debts by taking over full government without responsibility for Defence are generally mistaken. To shift responsibility along the divided line between civil and military affairs is fatal to the development of freedom, or indeed, security if the dish between civil and Defence administration is left passing, no progress towards freedom or responsibility is possible. To submit to the arrangement and yet to strive for full freedom and national independence is to programme for a deadlock and a conflict.

Not only is Defence at the root of real responsibility, but in the present state of India it is essentially mixed up with civil progress. It is impossible for India to make her own affairs and emerge from the clutches of poverty unless she is free to press and make her own Defence decisions. Government without the freedom to do this would not be a responsible nation to justify itself before the people.

The construction proposed at the termination of the London Conference can be no more correct than the personal theory that was held and which has served only to prove the weakness of such an attempt to balance agreement. Self-government is an organic whole, one and indivisible, and cannot be divided without killing the life. India cannot consent to the state of a divided sovereignty or Local Board. The idea of it does not improve the state, but only makes it impossible.

Selfish Against India

We have here from Trystingham of Agart that the Local Government there have collected two books published by the India Sales Publishing House, one of them is the short volume of a Hindu manuscript of Gandhiji's book "Self-reliance versus Self-dependence". This book illustrates the virtue of inner control and as such has proved to be very valuable to the young Indians, both moved and converted. The book is a compilation of Gandhiji's notes on the two problems.

It poses the fundamental how such a work could come under the military control. We suppose that somebody has bought somewhere and kept that the results will prove to be correct. The book contains certain qualifications against all means of direct and indirect—It is full of evidence against them. The wonder of the two volumes, according to the plan of the Agart Government, under Section 134 A of Indian Penal Code.

The Meaning of Discrimination

[Speaking on Thursday 16th November to the Federal Spectator Committee, Gaskell 'expressed his views on commercial discrimination as follows']

Lord Chamberlain and myself, I would like to make my congratulations to Mr. Dethleff on his very temperate statement, and I wish that he could have said his very last to itself that admirable statement by inserting two sentences. One sentence expressed by him was precisely that Europeans or Dutchmen claimed what they are claiming because of their having colonised certain islands in India. I wish that he could have inserted this sentence, but having expressed it thus should have been as simple expressed, as was expressed by Lord Reading, that there was a continuous thread from the Portuguese in the 15th century, and now, as we have heard, reinforced by the British Empire. I wish also that he could have inserted the thread that has been said in that statement on behalf of the great cooperation that he represents. He said that the European support to the demand derived was qualified upon Indian action alone accepting the demands of the European countries expressed by Mr. Dethleff, or else, and stated in that statement but we had it subsequently a few days ago, the important tendency expressed in the demand for a separate dominion, and their having that separate dominion which they wish it was my painful position to speak this afternoon. I have endeavoured to study the resolution passed at the last Conference. I want to read that resolution again, although you are familiar with it, because I shall want to say a few things in connection with that resolution. "In the opinion of the British Government, commercial discrimination was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British commercial community, city, town and corporate trading in India and the rights of Indian local subjects." That was I read out loud.

I am extremely sorry, in spite of the great regard and respect I entertain for Mr. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, to have to dissent from the foregoing resolution. I was, therefore, delighted to find when Mr. Tej Bahadur Sapru really admitted that it was vague and that it was incapable of implementation. You will see the general character of the resolution if you will carefully study it. There is to be no discrimination between the rights of the British commercial community, town and corporate trading in India and the rights of Indian local subjects. If I have interpreted this wrongly, I think that it is a terrible thing, and I for one could not possibly consent the Congress to a resolution of this character, which has caused the Indian Government of India.

There is here no qualification whatsoever. The rights of the British commercial community are to stand on exactly the same footing as those of Indian local subjects. Therefore it is not as if there is to be any racial discrimination, or anything of that kind, but the British commercial community were absolutely on the same rights as Indians local subjects. I want to state, with all the emphasis that I am allowed, that I could not give evidence the formula that the rights

of all Indian local subjects themselves could even be mentioned in regard. I shall show you the formula presently.

I think that you will readily agree that the future Government of India would be constantly obliged, (to use the admirable phrase just said by Mr. Thomas Sothern) in order to give equal facilities to all who the existing Government has explained to be, namely, constitutionally discrimination on favour of the existing Indian against those who have been hurt by retrograde by the Government themselves with respect and other privileges. It will be necessary for the future Government, perhaps, to provide certain facilities for Indians, and the moral man of India might say, "If you provide facilities for them you should give corresponding grants to us, although we do not require equality of that nature." But the State could not do so. There is a great authority for discrimination on favour of the poor people, and the natural man might then say, according to this formula, that it would be discrimination against them.

I, therefore, venture to suggest that that sweeping formula cannot possibly be accepted by us in this Conference when we are trying to build the Empire's Government on the basis of equality and tolerance—on showing the future Constitution of India.

But having said that I want to associate myself completely with the British community and European houses in their legitimate demand that there should be no racial discrimination. I who had to fight the great South Africa Government for over 25 years in order to resist their policy for and their demand calling legislation devoted against Indians as such, could be so ready to discrimination of the character against the British friends who are at present in India, or who may be before next year. I speak on behalf of the Congress also. The Congress was built on the same idea.

Therefore, instead of this I would suggest a formula somewhat on these lines, a formula by which I had the pleasure and privilege of fighting General Smuts for a number of years. It may be capable of misinterpretation but I simply suggest this for the consideration of this Committee and especially for the consideration of European friends. "No discrimination not called by Indian local subjects of the State shall be imposed upon any person lawfully residing in or entering India merely"—I emphasise the word 'merely'—"on the ground of race, colour or religion". I think that this is an all-satisfying formula. No Government could possibly go beyond this. I want to deal finally with the explanation of this, and the implications of this one. I am sorry to say, different from the declaration that Lord Reading drew on himself to draw from his own's formula. There would be no discrimination or that formula against a single Britisher or for that matter against a single European as such. I propose here to draw no distinction whatever between Britishers or other Europeans or Americans or Japanese. I would not copy the model of the British Colonies or the British Dominions which have to keep business systems, designed their Statute Books by imposing limitations essentially based upon distinctions of colour and race.

India, too, I would like to think, would give a different kind of law and of a different kind of example to the whole world. I would not wish India

to live a life of complete isolation whereby it could live in water-tight compartments and allow nobody to enter her houses or to make within her houses. But having said that I have to say one word more than that I would have to do to equal these expenses in order to equalise conditions. I am afraid that for years to come India would be regarded as paying lip-service in order to show that discrimination, the likes, from the more rich which they have been taught by the Europeans, by the landlords, by the educated higher classes, and then, subsequently and consequently, by the British rulers. If we are to let these people from the cities, then it would be the sacred duty of the National Government of India, in order to set its houses in order, continuously to give preference to these people and even less than them from the houses which they are being crushed. And of the landlords, members, money men and those who are taking various privileges—I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians—if they feel that they are discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them, but I will not be able to help them, even if I could possibly do so, because I would wish their assistance in their process, and without their assistance it would not be possible to meet these people out of the money.

Look at the condition, if you will, of the untouchables, who, if the law comes to their assistance and sets apart rules of housing. At the present moment they hold no land, at the present moment they are absolutely living at the mercy of the educated higher caste, and also, let me say, at the mercy of the State. They can be removed from one quarter to another without complaint and without having a right to work, the means of life. Well, the first act of the Legislature will then be to see that, in order somewhat to equalise conditions, these people are given grants freely.

From where would we have grants to meet? Not from the pockets of Hindus. Hindus is not going to drop money for the sake of the State. They will certainly come from the taxed classes, including the Europeans. Will they say that this is discrimination? They will be able to see that this is no discrimination against them because they are Europeans; it will be discrimination against those Indians who have got money and the others have got no money. It will be, therefore, a battle between the taxes and the Europeans and if that is what is meant, I am afraid the National Government will not be able to come into being if all these classes had the right at the hands of these dumb soldiers and say "You shall not have a Government of your own unless you guarantee our privileges and our rights."

I think I have given sufficiently an indication of what the Congress stands for at the implication of the formula that I have suggested. On one account will they find that there has been discrimination against them because they are English or because they are Europeans or Japanese or being in any other race. The formula that will be applicable to them by discrimination will be also the grounds by discrimination against Indians who are, and therefore, I have got another formula also, namely drafted because I drafted it here as I was talking to Lord Rindling and as I was talking to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

The second formula that I have got with me is in connection with existing rights.

"The existing interests lawfully acquired, and not liable to conflict with the best interests of the nation in general, shall be satisfied with except in accordance with the law applicable to such interests."

Now, too, I would explain clearly what I have in mind. I certainly have in mind what you had in the Congress resolution in connection with the taking over by the incoming Government of obligations that are being today discharged by the British Government. Just as we claim that these obligations must be assumed by an impartial tribunal before they are taken over by us, so should existing interests be subject to judicial review when necessary. There is no question, therefore, of negotiation but merely of taking over under reservation, under audit. We have here some of us who have made a study of the privileges and the monopolies enjoyed by Europeans, but let it not be merely Europeans, there are Indians—I have collectively several Indians in mind—who are today in possession of land which has been gradually given away to them not for any service rendered to the nation but for some private interest. I cannot even say to the Government, because I do not think that the Government has benefited, but to some extent, and if you tell me that these concessions are those privileges are not to be assumed by the State I cannot tell you that it will be responsible to run the machinery of government on behalf of the "taxpayers," on behalf of the dispossessed. Hence, you will see here that there is nothing stated in connection with the Europeans. The second formula also is applicable equally to the Europeans as it is applicable to Indians, as it is applicable, say, to Sir Parashuram Thakurdas and the Punjab Sahibs. If they have obtained concessions which have been obtained because they did some service to the interests of the day and got some acres of land, well, if I had the conscience of the Government I would quietly dispossess them. I would not consider them because they are Indians, and I would put in easily dispossess Sir Gilbert Elliot or Sir Basilfrank, however valuable they are and however friendly they are to me. They may stand on my doorstep, but that will not stand in the way of my dispossessing them. This law will be no derogation of present whatsoever. I give you that assurance. After having required that assurance I am unable to go any further, so that is really what is implied by "legitimately acquired"—that every contract must have been valid, it must be above suspicion, Sir Cawley's wife, and therefore, we shall expect to measure all these things when they come under the notice of that Government.

Thus you have "not being in conflict with the best interests of the nation." I have in mind various monopolies, lawfully acquired, undoubtedly, but which have been brought into being in conflict with the best interests of the nation. Let me give you an illustration which will ensure you appreciate, but which is an actual ground. Take this white elephant which is called New Delhi Caves have been right upon it. Suppose that the Government comes to the conclusion that this white elephant, seeing that we have got it, ought to be sold.

[illegible]

I am trying to convince you in order to prevent the Federal pill, but it is a Federal pill which has got to be swallowed or a Democratic or Congress amendment of names will bring. I have no desire to divorce you & have the desire, in order to take away something from me, to divorce you into the belief that everything will be quite alright. I want, on behalf of the Congress, to lay off the state on the table. I want an essential marriage of my disorganizing character and him, if the Congress passes a acceptable, nothing will please me better, but, if that passage is not acceptable, if today I feel I cannot possibly satisfy your heart, and cannot carry you with me, then the Congress must continue to watch and meet, continue the process of physicalization and you are all converted and allow the millions of ladies to feel that at least there has got a National Government.

Up to now, no one has read a word or signature with two lines which appear at the end of the invitation, namely 'It was agreed that the signing rights of the European community in letters or signed or stamped cards should be maintained'.

I must confess that I have not been able to study all the implications of it. I am glad to be able to say that for some days I have been engaged in conversation freely—thoroughly friendly—and often agreeable with Sir Robert Carr, Mr. Deakins and some friends. I was surprised this very thing was done and I wished them to tell me what these two things meant and they said it was the same thing by the other convention. I have not understood what is the meaning of the other thing but the other convention. In answer, I suppose that the other convention also may demand that you say. This refers to me by way. I am afraid I cannot possibly explain the details.

To Janet: May I suggest you, like Gladys, is called not only in person but in the suburbs, the outdoors where will be Europeans and Indians, and there are many other destinations. It is not strictly the case.

Concluding Point we know that That party I and I had got studied on. If there is something more you will define my question but I could not possibly be a party to such discussion. I think that the National Government cannot possibly be able to do those predictions. If the government today will not be the future before some time that will pass will, even part with mutual trust as well as all. If we are told that we cannot possibly have responsible Government that will have state of things are not understood. But we are told there were (as all these ministers and legislators) it would not be likely and responsible government had right to all independence, Sovereignty would not mean the while of the Government. I was tired the morning in that morning yesterday and I came to the conclusion that all three independence are to be granted and all the talk about complete shape and we are told that we are to get responsible government. It will be almost as a part with the responsible government that promise, have at their side. Then we have complete independence immediately the will that is behind the other goes. The promise made that will about 25 it, (some go 20 to 10) to have complete independence. I do not wish for that kind of complete independence, with the proper independence (independence) there are 25 to 10.

Therefore, I appeal to our European friends that they should withdraw from this act of unparliamentary behaviour. I cannot but suggest that the two formulas that I have just advanced should be adopted. You may not think about it very much; you like it. But the meaning is not unambiguous. It is either meant more after meaning. But certainly that formula of a negative character, whereby there is no bar just is placed against you, I continue to say you may not want it. I say that not only for me, but for the whole world community as a whole. I believe and I have said.

Mr. Jordan was talking yesterday about his intention to let Congress to determine myself entirely with the statement that he expressed. I do not think that I need take up your time by talking of what importance Congress attaches to my intention. The Congress is convinced in that if the law becomes law that when given by the State itself the State will at least have a professional way to the conduct and administration of the development of the law to influence

A poor underdeveloped country like India ought to be judged as a highly developed underdeveloped island like Great Britain may be. What is good for Great Britain should be good for India. India has a very superior position for India. India has not yet developed her own economy, her own policy, her own method of dealing with her industries and everything else. Therefore, to say so for her industries, her economy, I am afraid that not merely the British but every will feel that they are not having that plan. But I do not know what is the content of 'high class' industry.

And then about Central trade too, the Congress undoubtedly has the proper sympathy with the desire to develop central trade but it is the Bill about the central trade that in my discussion of the European, on which, I will now turn, with the European and also that Bill on the proposal which discriminates against Commonwealth because they are

Liquidation. In these circumstances, it is inevitable that liquidation was being, I am afraid, largely accepted by the great, great majority of English and I have travelled quite a bit up the country. I have everything of that kind. By race, colour, privilege, by caste, what ever you call them, these huge companies have built up industries, built up companies and built up a trade which does not admit of any aggressive withdrawal.

Some of you may have heard of a leading company between Government and England. The Director of that Company, your struggling Members, came to me in Bangalore and asked me if I could do anything. My whole heart went out to them, but there was nothing to be done. What could be done? There is the mighty British India Steam Navigation Company simply withdrawing the leading company and possibly losing the passengers without any passage money at all. I could quote instance after instance of that character. Therefore, it is not because it is a British company. If it were an Indian company that had squandered their money it would be the same. Supporting an Indian company was always most depend, as today we have Indians who instead of spending their capital in India invest their capital in invest their money outside India. Imagine that there was a huge Indian Corporation that was taking away all its profits and investing them in some other parts of the world, leaving that the National Government was not going along a correct policy, and therefore, in order to keep them money intact, they were taking away their money outside. Go a little step further back and say that these Indian Companies in order to aggregate in a most scientific and detailed and perfect manner brought all the resources which they could bring there and did not allow their struggling corporations to come any longer. I would seriously have something to say and have legislation in order to protect the companies like the Cinchona company.

Some people could not even find their steps along the inequality. They give me steps and some in order to ensure me that it becomes steady capitalism, they could not get their business, they could not get the ordinary facilities that you is entitled to. Every one of us knows what money can buy, what money can lose, and when such position is built up which take all the capital of business company then, it was the experience of Sir John Gifford which he said 40 years ago—that it was business necessary to lay off the tall poppies. Tall poppies ought not to be allowed to reach their height. That is really the end in itself of the ideal trade. The that may have been clumsily worked. That does not matter, but I think the essence of it is absolutely correct.

About the discussion, that is the last thing, will you have the definition from the Indian Report. No really the Indian Committee had to consider what was to be done, and therefore, there was some changes along the various discussions but I would like also Committee. It is true that the Indian Report is—I am sorry to have to say it, but it is an—say a lack number. Keep the last Hindi Hindi Indian was changed to say that, not because we wanted to give that Indian Report as a final number. The

Indian Report is undoubtedly a compromise between several positions. Though not a member of the Committee I have exactly what was happening, because I happened at that time to be in India, to be in touch with the members of the Committee, and therefore, I know something of the history of that Report and how that Committee also came into being. I am not going to weary you with the details of the history of that Committee, but, as you will see, that Report is based upon the idea that we were to have Dominion Status. Well, the Congress has taken several steps further, The Congress had to forget that Report in connection with the India-India-India formula, as it has been obliged to forget that Report about many other things. Although the Indian Report is a privilege, as the Indian Committee is in the last instance a creation of the Congress, I am not able, therefore, to say that we will be able today to agree to everything that appears there. Beyond that I do not want just now to go.

The definition of a nation is a terrific job. I could not possibly undertake on the spot of the moment to prepare, as I understood the Congress meeting at 10-15, what will concerned itself to the Congress as what will concerned itself to me. It is, as I say, a matter on which I would like to confer with the Sir Robert Sagar, and when finally will try to understand what is at the back of these words, because, I must confess, that out of this discussion I have not been able to reach the heart of the thing. I have made the Congress position absolutely clear, that up to the end of my mental discrimination, but after having cleared that position I was not called upon now to give a summary definition for the space of the Congress in connection with the definition of the word "citizens." Therefore, I would simply say in connection with the word "citizens" that I reserve my opinion as to the definition actually for the time being.

Having said this, I want to share with this result. I do not despair of finding a common formula (perhaps that would satisfy the Congress friends). The negotiations in which I was privileged to be a party are, I think, still in existence. If my presence is required I will call attend that little Committee meeting.

The idea is to strengthen it and give it a little less technical shape and that was a common basis.

In spite of what I have said, I do not despair of finding a common formula, but, having explained that hope, I would come back back to the point that, as far as I am concerned, it is correct that of my detailed scheme which could be incorporated in the Committee. What can be incorporated in the committee is some such formula as this, which shall all kinds of rights are given.

There is no compromise here, as you see, all doing anything independently. I have examined our own steps in connection with the Federal and Supreme Court. To me the Federal Court is the Supreme Court, it is the final court of Appeal beyond which there would be no appeal whatsoever. It is my Privy Council and it is the pillar of the liberty. It is the court in which every person who is at all aggrieved can go. A great honor to the President—and the Governor and South Africa greatly have undoubtedly

passed very good laws—in whom I read to me for instance when I was a paragraph, come and to me, in regard to a very difficult case. "Though there may be no law just now, I tell you that I have guided myself for one thing at this I should not be a lawyer, the law makes a lawyer that there is absolutely no way for which there is no remedy as he lived in a spot of law, and I judge my there is no remedy, then how could there be absolutely no remedy? I say that with all deference to you, Lord Chancellor.

I therefore, think that our Canadian friends very just consider that the Indian Court will not send them away empty handed, as we expect to go away empty handed, if we do not have the benefit of the Indians, who are the great subject of the Report. I am well hoping that we shall have that one and get round this in the end, and that we may hope to get away with something substantial in our pockets, but, whether we go away with anything or not, as we go back to our I hope that the Federal Court of my desire cannot take long from the European and American—all the same—more and more that the Court will not feel these things a considerable like myself may feel them.

So the *Indian's Story* I should like to ask Mr. Justice Gault to explain one part of his speech, as regards to which there is some doubt as to our mind. Does he propose that a National Government of the future should maintain and recognize the title to property of Indians, and if so would it be any title superior within a certain period of time or not? When in the machinery for property in land and minerals for the recognition of their title and does he propose to give any compensation at all, or that the National Government should simply appropriate property which according to his view is the share of the Indians owned to have been wrongly acquired?

Gault: If you will let me the questions I will gladly answer those questions, which are very important questions. I have only given my view. So far as I understand, it is not intended that the administration should do the thing everywhere that it does will be done here. It will be done by legal means.

So the *Indian's Story*: That is what I want to know. What is that legal machinery to be?

Gault: I have said in the general course of thought of my lecture I think that there is no business raising against a man.

So the *Indian's Story*: Under your National Government there is no title in land is there?

Gault: Under our National Government the title is in the hands of the Crown and if there is any title for about these things I think it is possible to satisfy many important duties. I have no intention of saying that generally speaking that is a formula which should be accepted. When completely my mind that there are important rights accorded it should be open to the courts of law to maintain these rights. I am not going to say that in writing over the Government that I shall maintain no rights, whatever as to the title that have been acquired.

Gault on Financial Safeguards

[Speaking on the nature of Financial Safeguards to the Federal Economic Commission on Wednesday the 11th Mr. Gault said:]

My Lord, I followed your (Lord Gault's) speech yesterday on this very important subject with the greatest attention and with all the respect that is respectfully given to you, and in connection with that speech I read the paragraph on Finance in the Federal Economic Commission's Report of last year, I think it is, paragraph 10, 11 and 12, and I began to have to repeat my speech that I cannot follow the conclusions that have been suggested in that paragraph. My position, now, I think, the position of all of us, must be very difficult when we do not know exactly what are the financial books.

Let me explain: I would naturally begin to consider the thing from one point of view. I think was a reserved subject, and one that part of view I think was a reserved subject. I have also very great difficulty in expressing my view by reason of the fact that the Congress is unanimously of opinion that the obligation to be taken up by the Income Government should be subject to audit and capital statement.

I have in my lecture a Report prepared by four important men, two of them ex-Attorneys-General of the British High Court, I mean Mr. Stansfeld and Mr. Stansfeld Deane. Two other members of the Committee in Montreal, Mr. Stansfeld, for a long time professor in the University of Sydney, a man having an all India experience and member of various bodies in India, including the Indian Council at the Committee is Mr. Kinnear, who holds a position degree and other special as Finance concerned considerable experience and influence. These four gentlemen have submitted an elaborate Report to which they, as I told, make one or two observations, one by an important report, and then show that some of the obligations do not really belong in India.

In this connection, I want very respectfully to say that the Congress has never suggested, as a fact has been widely reported against it, that the whole burden of national obligation should ever be accepted by the Congress. First the Congress has, however, suggested that some of the obligations which are suggested to belong to India might not be subject upon India and should be taken over by Great Britain. You will find in these volumes a careful examination of all these obligations. I do not propose to say that the Committee was a matter of three large. Those who would say to such these two volumes say, and I have no doubt will, that there are considerable points and that will perhaps discover that some of these obligations should never have been subject upon India. That being the case, I feel that it can have exactly where one was, it would be possible to give a financial system, but subject to that, I would suggest, that the Congress, or the so-called safeguards, that have been suggested in paragraph 10, 11 and 12 of the report of the Federal Economic Commission will, instead of helping India to her claims, under her progress at every day.

Now, My Lord, were pleased yesterday to say that the question before you was not one of want of confidence in Indian Ministers. On the contrary, you

had never known the Indian "Mint" a well do as well as any other "Mint", and was very concerned with the credit of India outside the borders of India, that the investors who supplied capital to India and who brought their money to India at considerable rates of interest would be satisfied if there were not safeguards of the type suggested here and you went on further, if I remember rightly, to say that when there were any investments in India from here, or when there were any money sent to India, it was not to be supposed that they were sent also for the benefit of India.

If I remember rightly, Your Lordship used the words "Government of India in the interests of India". I was really wondering to find some distribution, but as doubt you took it for granted that we would have some doubts or these observations which you had to read I had really serious misgivings as to what while you were speaking, and I said in myself, I have neither my own experience several Governments where I could show that the interests of India were not in those particular distributions shared with the interests of Great Britain that the two were so distinct, and that therefore, we could not possibly say that every time there were loans from Great Britain, they were in the interests of India.

Take, for instance as many were. Take the case of Afghanistan. As a young man I read with great eagerness the history of what is Afghanistan written by the late Sir John Kay and I have a vivid recollection left on my mind that most of these wars were certainly not in the interests of India, and not only that, but that the Government-General had looked over these wars. The late Lord John Russell might as well say that the history of British Powers in India was a history of trouble and bickering when it was not also one of splendours of India.

The Lord Chancellor stated the warning, and you were pleased to indicate his warning, that Powers of the present movement was a very delicate matter and that, perhaps, those of us who took part in the discussion should be cautious and careful as to not to introduce the subject and create difficulties in addition to the difficulties that already face the Finance Minister at India, I, therefore, do not propose to go into any details, but I cannot help saying one thing in connection with this warning is the fact I mean when the report was approved in 1907 from D.C. Then, these measures were adopted in the face of almost unanimous opposition from Indians—Indians who were not in any way connected with the Congress. They were all independent, some of them great experts or leaders who knew exactly what they were saying. Now, there were one fact that the Indian Empire was really unendurable to burdened with it. It does not require an expert to know that a depreciated rupee is almost as a rule would be in the interests of the colonies. I was very much struck by an observation made by two Britishers here, that if the rupee, instead of being valued as sterling, had been left to itself at least for the time being, it would have been of great advantage to the colonies. They were going to the last sentence and thinking of some circumstances that might help India if the rupee left to itself went down to the reference value, namely

64 or 74. Certainly I have not been able to see that really the Indian reference would be in any degree to have damaged.

Now, that being the case, I cannot possibly entertain adequately that would interfere with the full discharge of my responsibility for the Indian Finance Minister, and that responsibility concerned performance in the interests of the rupee.

But I want to draw the attention of the Committee to one thing more. In spite of the warning issued by the Lord Chancellor and you, Sir Lord, I had somewhere or other that of India Finance was properly managed entirely in the interests of India, we should not be subject to fluctuations as seriously as we are today on the foreign market, the fluctuations in London. I want to give you my reason for it. When I first became acquainted with the working of the Board Finance I appreciated that with considerable difficulties and limitations I have nothing practically of Indian Finance, I was absolutely sure in the subject but he with his great command upon my attention the system that he conceived to send me, as we all know, he has large interests in India, he has himself held offices of importance and is himself an able financier. He is today making representations himself along the lines he has suggested, but this is the one striking thought that he has placed before all who would care to understand his mode of looking at Indian Finance, and he says that India does not need to look to the gold standard or to the silver standard or to any one of standard, India has need of it to you, and he says that that depends on her commercial position within of India. It is true that the Indian Government has not declared itself involved in connection with Indian Finance, but it has been, up to now able to pay the way but at what cost? It has been, in my humble opinion, at the cost of the colonies, the money has been expended from the colonies, instead of working on terms of repatriation, if the colonies had conceived such thought of finance in terms of their money, they could have managed the affairs of India, in my humble opinion, admirably better than they have hitherto done, they would not have been obliged to let back upon foreign markets. Evidently measures, through themselves have said us, that for some years out of the India has always a favourable balance.

That is to say, whenever India has what may be called an eight years or ten years run, could count it really enough to give her a favourable balance. Then India profited through beautiful profits, from India's Earth, more than enough to pay for all her obligations, and more than for all the interests that the world ever requires. If it is true, and I said that it is true, a country like India does not really need to fall back upon the foreign market. She has been made to fall back upon the foreign market because of the measures taken that has taken place from India in order to pay whatever called the home charge, in order to pay the tariff charges for India's Defence. She is already unable to discharge these obligations, and yet they have been met by a revenue policy which has been explained in concentrated terms by me in the foregoing circumstances, the late Edmund Curzon. But I have to express to a consensus with the late

Lord Curzon at that very time, and we believe even to that conclusion that the right was on the side of the late Eminent Chamberlain.

But I want to go a step further. It is known that those millions of unfortunate people who live our miseries in the East. If the British Government are so ill that these men would not make life for our miseries in the past, imagine the trouble that they would produce. Why would we then need and to tell back upon the Indian market? That is how the whole idea of Britain appears before me, a lesson, a man who continually finds of these miseries and wants to find at first would feel. They would say we have all the labour we do not want, therefore, to tell back upon our foreign capital. So long as we labour the whole world would want dependence of our labour. And it is true the world today wants the products of our labour. We would be able to produce those things that the world would voluntarily and willingly take from us. That has been the condition of India for ages past. Therefore, I really do not feel the least that you, My Lord, have expressed in connection with Indian finance. Having shown I do not really share the belief that Indian finance would be in jeopardy if we whatever some thing that need not be said now, so if I may like me well today that I would want complete control of Indian finance I India is to have responsibility of the Centre. In my opinion when we have control over our own developments and over our own power absolutely unshackled, we shall not be able to shoulder the responsibility, and it will not be a responsibility worth the name.

Holding this view I feel that the safeguards that I would suggest are of a totally different character. But I am not in a position at the present moment to suggest any safeguard at all—not until I have further reason to be more complete responsibility, complete control over the finance, over the Civil Service, that the centre will be at perfect liberty to take over as much of the Civilian as the public world want, in many of the spheres as the centre would want and we know that would be suitable for a good reason. The late Union I under all these things it is practically impossible for me to suggest the safeguards. In a matter of fact, when all these things are taken into consideration probably there will be no necessity for any safeguards, unless we start with want of confidence or lack of ability to shoulder the burden and feel the ability to carry on the administration of the country in a peaceful manner. The only danger under such circumstances that I can possibly conceive would be that the normal we take charge there would be civil chaos and disorder. Now if that is the fear that makes the British mind, then there is no meeting ground. We take responsibility, we take the responsibility, we demand responsibility because we have got the confidence that we would be able to carry on our affairs in a decent manner and I would feel certainly in a much better manner than British administrators have done or could ever do—and because they are not able. I will grant that they are much able than we are, I will grant that they have got an extraordinary capacity which we have to learn at their feet. But we have now shown that we have our country, we have our people and we should, therefore, be able to run our Government cheaply. We would avoid all

the questions, and we, and having any responsibility, would not go to war with the Afghans or any other nation, but we would cultivate friendly relations, and they would have nothing to say from us.

That is the kind of ideal that runs through my mind as I consider Indian Finance. You will see, therefore, that it is not an Indian Finance does not occupy such a large place in my conception, and not such a dangerous position as it evidently occupies in your mind, or the Lord Chamberlain's mind as in the minds of British Ministers with whom I had the privilege of discussing the question. Hence, and for the reason that I have explained, I want respectfully say that it is not possible for me to subscribe to the safeguards that are suggested here, or to reform the facts that guide the British public on the responsibility now in Great Britain.

One thing I would like to say that for every obligation that the National Government undertake there will be proper resources, such resources as a nation can possibly use, borrowing, and whatever of a right type borrowing. But in my opinion that will never be all the rest of the obligations described in these paragraphs. After all, if there are, and there would be, I have no doubt, certain objections that we would have to take care and we would have to discharge towards Great Britain, regarding that we borrowed and did not do anything whatsoever, no assurance given on paper would be worth anything. By repaying that India, when she comes into her own, unshakably for her has a right of that situation, then again I do not have that any safeguard that might possibly be suggested would be enough to secure money out of India in any actual circumstances—whatever circumstances—realisation of assets, it is impossible for any national Government to give guarantees.

I do not wish to follow this point any further. I think that I should accept a few minutes of this Committee as discharging myself of the view that a lesson like myself leads upon Indian finance.

I can only close with the great sorrow that has overtaken our civilisation with these things that I should feel myself to perfect with so many allegorizations who have experience of Indian affairs and also of so many of my countrymen who are attending this Round Table Conference, but if I am to discharge my duty as a representative of the Congress, even at the risk of repeating myself, I must give separately to the chair I hold in common with my more members of the Congress.

Lord Reading: I did not want to interrupt you, Mr. Gandhi, when you were speaking, but I do not think that you quite accurately represented what I had said. Obviously I would not interrupt you, because it would give back and repeating what has been said, and, after all, it stands implied, it may be a misunderstanding of some observations that were made, and of course there are many economic and financial matters which you have raised which have not been discussed so far. I only want to say in reference to them that you have laid them down for the purpose of your argument. All I want to say is that I have already given to the speaker that I have made with regard to finance but I did not want it to be assumed that there is no answer to it.

Gandhi: Of course not.

The Position in the U. P.

(By C. K. Chatterjee)

I. *Agencies Answered in the U. P.* being the report of the Committee appointed by the Council of the U. P. P. C. C., is being sent to the agencies working in the province.

2. *Contingencies relating to the agencies sent to the U. P.*

There are many publications of the U. P. Congress Committee and both the latter and even that led up to the present situation in the United Provinces, and will serve to explain to the public that Congressmen have in no way been to Saragada without employing other means to solve a very grave problem.

"The most important feature of the rural areas of India is of course the poverty. A large proportion of the population of India are still half-way poor of a land which has so parallel to Western lands and are living on the very verge of starvation." That is not a question from one of Congress's supporters, but from the official record publication India (1930-31). The condition of the peasantry in the United Provinces shows this point of view. There was enormous influx of crops for the last several years, but either to death or to failure of crops, and there were, in addition, outbreaks of locusts and enormous destruction of crops by fire and locusts. Thus the unfortunate peasants had already been ground-crushed, when there came the unprecedented fall in prices. The following figure of prices (in rupees per maund) shows the extent of the damage to the agricultural position and the resultant loss of money to millions:

	Wheat	Barley	Rice	Raw Sugarcane	Other
1934-35	3.00	1.00	1.25	1.75	
1935-36	2.25	0.75	0.50	0.75	1.50
1936-37	0.50	1.00	0.25	0.25	1.00

The prices fell drastically to the level of 1937. The following table of prices shows the enormous loss, as compared with the first and the average amounts, in 1935-36, 1936-37, and 1937-38:

	Wheat	Barley	Rice	Raw Sugarcane	Other
	(Rupees)				
1935-36	100	120	120	1211	819
1936-37	11	100	121	1203	571
1937-38	35	115	120	1075	737

Wheat prices have gone down by 85 %, the rice has gone up by 50 %.

The distress was intensified by a large number of agencies and various payments. In many cases the amounts were subjected to a stop at some, if they are needed for the United Provinces in the first of the two publications mentioned above, which were both discontinued and other reliable evidence to support an agency. The distress among the peasantry was at its height when Congress came into a full swing. Immediately after the Delhi Conference the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee put themselves in touch with the Provincial Government in order to obtain relief for the peasants. Besides writing an correspondence, Pandit Chandra Mahabir Pant and Pandit Jankabhai Mehta had several interviews with the Civil Secretary and other officers. All this, however, was of no use.

In the State correspondence between Congress and Government in India the various crises in the United Provinces was generally dealt with and in the letter addressed by Congress to the Home Secretary and Home

Minister to state "If unfortunately any government is so easily led that it ignores the personal help of the Congress in such cases instead of what is the object of its policy in the shape of legislative action, then the Congress should be held free to shape such relief independently for support to all Civil Servants." This statement of the position of the Congress was aimed at the reply of the Home Secretary, and hence part of what is called the Sarda Agreement.

Repeated letters were sent when the Sarda Agreement was, but in effect was darkening. Congress processes and various collections were discontinued by physical violence rendered long after the usual period of normal collections. With the beginning of the new fiscal year came the problem of levies collected. Despite the trouble, however, any money to arrive the year in possession of the State in respect of Sarda, the new fiscal year was successful with measures which managed to give the full amount. It was noted that if the fiscal year's end is demanded was not paid within a month, even the Government - managed by Government might be withdrawn. No change was to be made without payment of the tax demanded.

A Committee was formed only in November, however some local officials and the different Congressmen, on the one hand and the Congress representatives on the other, in order to discuss the case in the United Provinces. But as the officials were not prepared to discuss any of the vital issues the Congress paid collection. Several attempts were made to hold the Congress Committee to arrange a conference with the representatives of the Local Government who should be in a position to discuss all the aspects of the problem. On behalf of the Congress it was made clear that they were prepared to accept any solution, however arrived at, provided it gave sufficient relief to the peasantry. There was no response, but collections were not suspended. The peasantry approached the Congress Council for aid and the Congress Committee had to discontinue but to advise supporters of Congress parties further expenditure. This was not done at all and of course, the Home Secretary in H. H. Sarda, complained to Sir John Vinton's Park on the November that "while the discussions were in progress, the Council of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee continued the Additional District Congress Committee to advise representatives to collect payment of tax and revenue during the period of expenditure." The Additional District Congress Committee have acted in this authority and have distributed pamphlets in the presence of that district. On the plan the Government declined to engage any further expenditure. Sir John Vinton's Park had pointed out that the money which should have been followed by the Government was 15 lakh rupees for the purpose of collection of most of the 1938 of the members, and the delay of a few weeks would not have affected the position of the Government and the landlords, while it was already hard on the peasants to make them pay by paying the expenditure. However, the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee adhere to the position that it is prepared to explain all amounts leading to a solution and to withdraw the advice regarding suspension of taxes so long as solution is not in sight and collection are suspended.

Banking and the other by Mr. Macdonald, to take democracy the demand for separate electorates made by European delegates at the Round Table Conference. Mr. Patai, who was assistant editor of *Times of India* last year, has discussed the question in all its aspects, has explained the meaning of being more "appreciative of personal service and individual influence" rather than of thinking of what a "service" has done that he is privileged and, perhaps, and has pointed out that in concerning themselves with the "Minority question" the European delegates "have misrepresented the character of their own community. For Christians are not separatists." The great fact "separate European electorates are a slavery prejudice" and adds that even if there was any substance in their there would be none "who would consider these electorates for the sake of some desperately needed example of compromise." The Macdonald letter consists of just one sentence of offensive cynicism: he "with reference to personal democracy concerning political rights of Europeans in India, spending his energies in maintaining an Indian Indian country and expending the most, as we believe, all most of our colleagues in India, in what is really a dead end in our westerner drive to special political privileges in European in India." The rightness are consequences from all parts of India like Banking and the People, South India, G. P. Durgal and Indian States like Mysore and Hyderabad.

The kinds of the League Party have already begun examining members as to how best to help India, should she have to launch another campaign of self-sufficiency. Out of that came in my case:

As it strikes a Foreigner

The situation among one of the officials of the Government set to deal with the only party in the country that wants and can follow the people, and not of Gandhi's strategy not to break the "deadly strait of compromise"—if at all possible, is strongly reinforced by that same spirit of world affairs. Mr. Richard Gregg who wrote in a letter to me:

"Though Datta's visit to London will probably not give a single Congress demand, and the struggle will have to be renewed, nevertheless I can see that already substantial good has come from his visit—a series of intelligible issues raised—which will be of use and use to India as time goes on. It has generated interest from sympathetic India into the position of standing to be independent and responsible in the eyes of the world. It has proved to the world opinion that India and especially the Congress can be patient, self-disciplined and able and able to hold her own in negotiation, firm, courageous yet gentle. This would mean that the British power is relying on machinery with American forces and that therefore it is insecure. Details too and have able to maintain the Congress into morning, night, noon, standing to explain, work, suffering, repeated looking in still of self-sufficiency. Datta's contact with the British rulers and your had been much friendly feeling. The world sees that in Datta the British leaders have not their work is still not more than their match in honesty and devotion to high duty. So I and when the Congress meets the entire

people I feel that the world will understand better India and will not leave India and will have more doubt about Britain's ability and power and tactics more and knowledge. There goes my hope struggle but in the long run they will be very grateful."

We shall increase the blessing of a genuine bond and "have the Union with a cheer."

M. D.

Gandhi on Live Provincial Autonomy

[Speaking on the Debate initiated in the Federal Executive Committee by Mr. Lord Chatterton on the question of the form of provincial autonomy, on Wednesday the 16th November, Gandhi said:—]

I tender my congratulations to Professor Lord Chatterton for being responsible for this debate, and I tender my congratulations to you, Mr. Lord Chatterton, for having allowed this debate. I think that Professor Lord Chatterton has shown amazing aptitude in conducting this debate. He has come as a Professor with an elegant pen and he is in a way to jump straight into a flying body. I do not say that we are a flying body because of the stress on federal provincial autonomy divorced from central responsibility, in my own healthy interest, apart from the recommendation of these proceedings, I have been working words of warning and I was opposed, and I think to be contrary words, with a sense of humility which flowed upon Mr. Tagore only yesterday, so as I began to know, has been standing upon this for the last few days, because to him given me the privilege of talking on his has confidence in connection with his other words and conviction, if I can also benefit myself on one of his comments.

Out of his age experience of administrative affairs, having held high office in the Government, to have wanted to do the things of Provincial autonomy is called. I am very glad on assumption came. He had reason for saying that wants especially to ministers with me, because I had dared to discuss the system of Provincial autonomy with so many English lords who are responsible public men in the country, and he had heard of it, and so he gave the people warning. It was for that reason that you had me as one of the dignitaries, and in the discussion that has been raised before you, Mr. Lord Chatterton, his words about Agreement that was based to the year about six days ago and the addressed to the Prime Minister. I told him, as I say here, that high he and the others who have spoken after him, and I reached the same good thought through different means. "Facts with us when English has to read." Not having had any experience of administrative actually I felt that if Provincial autonomy was the Provincial autonomy of my country, as I feel we would not stand looking the loss, losing the thing, and using whether it really increased my purpose. I have to some friends who may be expected to policy on their own affairs and find out their difficulties, and find out also whether what they are offering to help or lead me to the same place, and so that I could find in that sense I wanted to discuss Provincial autonomy, but I found at once an objection that what they meant was, certainly not the Provincial autonomy that I meant, and so I told my

I think also that I would be quite safe if they tell me again, that I was not going to sell the interests of the country out of a foolish contempt of Provincial autonomy, or out of impatience to get something for the country. What I am anxious to do is, having done all these things with the greatest diffidence, having gone here to make my responsibilities as operative to the Government and to this Conference without the slightest mental reservation, and having applied that spirit of acceptance to thought, word and deed, to leave nothing undone. I have not hesitated even to go into the danger zone, and hence I have done to talk about civil liberties, Provincial autonomy, etc. I have come to the resolution that you, as the British Ministers, do not contemplate giving India the measure of Provincial autonomy which would satisfy a state of my country, which would satisfy the Congress, and which would enable the Congress to rid itself of Provincial autonomy although there may be delay in getting responsibility at the Centre.

As the rule of taking up a little at the time of this meeting, let me make my meaning clear, because here my I am adopting a somewhat different line of argument, and I am most anxious not to be misunderstood. Let me take, therefore, one illustration. I want to talk for my dear friend Bengal, because it is one of the Provinces today in India which is deeply affected. I know that there is a national school nature in Bengal. Everybody wants to realize by this time that I do have no quarrel of sympathy with that national school as any shape or form. I am as opposed as I have ever been that heretofore in the worst kind of denial that any national can take up. Therefore as the very worst thing for India as a general matter, because India is a foreign and far western in spirit, is I am convinced that those young Indians who are giving their lives for what they consider to be a just cause are simply throwing away their lives, and that they are not bringing the country by one such action to the goal, which is common, I mean, to us all.

I am opposed to all these things, but, having been convinced of them, supposing that Bengal had provincial autonomy today, what would Bengal do? Bengal would not lose every one of the Indians. Bengal would not hurt down the thousands-of-sacrificing Bengal, I mean—but Bengal would try to reach 1100 millions and convert these millions, and I should approach them with every confidence and eye set towards that Bengal.

But let me go a little step further, in order to drive home the truth that is in me. If Bengal was autonomous, that autonomy itself would really remove heretofore from Bengal, because those heretofore foolishly consider that their interest is the shortest cut to freedom. But, having realized that freedom, the freedom would come.

Today there are a thousand young men, most of whom, I would dare say, have absolutely nothing in common with the school of heretofore, a thousand young men who have not been told and who have not been convinced they have it, every one of them, have arrived on the spot. So far as Calcutta is concerned, Mr. Sen Gupta, who was Lord Mayor of

Calcutta, who was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and who was also President of the Provincial Congress Committee in Bengal, is here today. He has brought to me a report agreed by members of all the parties in Bengal in connection with Calcutta, and at a recent meeting. It is pointed to read, the report has the substance of this report is that there has been no serious action of the Hindu and Muslim in Calcutta since Calcutta is not a place of no importance on the map of India.

We now see there has been a flag-burning movement, and a striking has demonstrated all the voluntary forces have been concentrated together in Calcutta, and these demonstrations have gone through the streets of Calcutta.

At whose request, and what will it do? Will it frighten the Governor? I promise you it will not frighten the Governor. Will it then move the Congressmen from Civil Disobedience? It will not do so. The Congress are pledged to this thing, reflecting in the bodies of their rules. They have determined to go through every form of suffering. It means, discipline, fighting them. Our children would fight at this time, and it is our purpose to show the children that they must not be terrified, they must not be frightened by the display of violence, guns, and force and so on.

By that you see what is my conception of provincial autonomy. All these things would be impossible. I would not allow a single soldier to enter the Province of Bengal, I would not pay a single soldier for the upkeep of an Army which I may not command. In such a Provincial autonomy you do not contemplate a state in Bengal whereby I can set free all these soldiers and remove from the status book the Bengal Regiment. If a provincial autonomy, then it is independence for Bengal presently in the same manner as the responsible Government I have been growing up in India. That is a bold policy, for a land as once independent substance, it had its two volunteer force and so on. You do not contemplate that there be Bengal as any of these Provinces. It will be the Centre will decide, will rule, will doing all these things. That is not the provincial autonomy of my conception. That was why I said I was pinned me with that low provincial autonomy, I shall be prepared to consider that proposition, but I am also convinced that that autonomy is not coming. If that autonomy was coming, we would not use all these prohibited proceedings that have taken place here, then we would have managed our own affairs in an entirely different manner.

But what really gives me still more is that we have all been brought here with one single purpose. I have been brought here especially though that very part is whole of it, whether or no many words that I was coming here to discuss and to receive really responsibility at the Centre. Fellowship with all its responsibility, independence, voluntarily-but-independence in the interests of India. I have said in many and all of them that would exercise every responsibility that is necessary, I personally do not really consider with Professor Lala Sukh or anybody that all this

conscience trouble, might be of these long years—three years. He looks of provincial autonomy in 12 months. My talk tells me that all this time is not necessary. When the people have made up their mind, the Parliament has made up its mind, the Ministers have made up their minds and the public opinion here, then these things do not take time. I have seen them not taking time where there has been our need applied, but I do know that there is a great mind opened but there are many minds, all following these new currents and all perhaps with a desperate eagerness. That being so, I had cautioned them, in spite of this debate, not only in them going to be no responsibility at the Centre, but no responsibility coming out of the Conference. It looks now, it pains me, that all these young men of British blood, of the sentiment of all these Indians who have come here, all of us, should have been warned, but I am very much afraid that, in spite of this warning given, the result will be not. I do not say that the result is therefore bound to be that provincial autonomy will be there? There are no doubts.

I do not really lose that mind. What I fear is something still more dreadful—that nothing at all is going to come out of this thing but trouble represents in India. I do not want that confusion, disruption and only do us good. If we have experience in the right time, I will consider that also as a very big outcome from this Conference. Experience like never does harm to a single nation which is willing for her destined good with a fixed determination, but that experience is really an organic growth, though not the thought that Professor Lushington has abandoned.

But what I fear is that the absolute chaos which I had again built up of co-operation with the British and with British Ministers is about to snap and that I should again have myself a surprised common opinion and real success—but I should welcome that message of non-co-operation and civil resistance to the wisdom of India no matter how many air-bellows will blow over India, or how many heads will be brought to India. They will have no result. You do not know today that they produce no result even upon the Indian young children. We teach them to dance with our when Indians are doing what they— they are like so many crickets. We teach them to suffer for the freedom of this country. I do not despair. I do not think that because nothing happens here there will be chaos in the land. I do not think so. Not to have no Congress means automatic and confidence goes forward throughout the length and breadth of India undisturbed. I have been told so often that it is the Congress that is responsible for the movement. I take this opportunity of saying that with all the strength of my statement, On the contrary, I have evidence to show that it is the Congress stand of non-cooperation which up to now has kept the forces of reaction in check. We have not succeeded in the fullest extent—I am sorry—but as long as we hope to proceed. It is not as if the Congress was given freedom to India. I want freedom ready of this time ago, only talks there what Sir Jeyaratnam wants. I want full freedom for the nation and I know that Congress can do so much in the mean time. The masses are silent and dormant. They do not know how to

act. I do not talk of individual instances but the masses of India have never moved in that direction.

Wondered that freedom for the masses I have in a that freedom can do no good whatever. Middle in the one hand Congress will fight British authority and its servants, England, as also will Congress fight violence, Japan, on the part of people. I believe there are what I feel is that there was that might of co-operation opened up for the British nation and for me by Lord Irwin. He had built this bridge and I thought I was going to have a safe passage. I had a safe passage, I have come here, and I have come here to teach my co-operation. But I must confess to you that what came from what Professor Lushington has said, and apart from what has been said on this side also, by Sir Tej Singh and by Mr. Srinivas and the other speakers, the United responsibility at the Centre, which they have to have, would not so fully act.

I want the responsibility of the Centre that will govern, as you all know, control of the army and Police. I know I am not going to get that here now, and I know there is not a single man ready for that, and, therefore, I know I must go back and get back the nation in a sense of suffering. I have taken part in this debate because I wanted to make my position absolutely clear. What I have been asked to think in private talking round with tolerance in political autonomy I have now said openly at this table, and I have told you what I mean by provincial autonomy and what would really satisfy me. I close by saying that I am in the same boat as Sir Tej Singh Singh and others, and I feel convinced that real provincial autonomy is an responsibility unless there is responsibility at the Centre, or unless you are prepared to let within the Centre that the provinces will be able to obtain in the Centre. I know that you are not prepared to-day to do this. I know that this Conference does not receive a weak Centre when this National Government is brought into being, but that it conceives a strong Centre.

A strong Centre governs and administered by an able authority and a strong autonomy, are a contradiction in terms. Hence, I feel that provincial autonomy and control so possibly have, really speaking, to go together. But, I say again that I have no open mind. It would be well to make sure that there is provincial autonomy, such as I have suggested for instance for Bengal, available, I would grasp it.

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The Writing on the Wall

[Gandhi speaks at the R. T. C. on the Friday morning.]

I wish that I could have done without having to speak to you but I felt that I would not have been just to you or just to my principles if I did not put in what may be the last word on behalf of the Congress. I am sorry to do so.

I do think that anything that I can say this evening, the possibly between the decision of the Congress. Probably the decision has been already taken. Matters of theory or practically a whole Congress can hardly be decided by mere arguments, or even resolutions. Negotiation has its position and has its play, but only under certain conditions. Without these conditions negotiations are a fruitless task. But I do not want to go into all these matters. I want to be in position to resolve myself within the last capacity of the resolution, that you, Prime Minister, read to this Conference at its morning meeting. I would, therefore, first of all say a few words in connection with the Report that has been submitted to this Conference. The wall that is there Report that generally it has been stated that as well as in the opinion of a large majority, some, however, have expressed an opinion on the contrary, and so the Father who have discussed have not been stated. I had heard when I was in India, and I was told when I came here, that no decision on an decision will be taken by the majority rule of majority, and I do not want to mention this fact here by way of complaint that the Report has been so framed as if the proceedings were governed by the rule of majority.

But it was necessary for me to mention this fact, because to most of these people you will find that there is a dominating opinion, and in most of the cases that I cannot automatically happen to belong to me. It was not a matter of my to have to dissent from fellow delegates, but I felt that I could not truly represent the Congress unless I noticed this dissent.

There is another thing which I want to bring to the notice of this Conference, namely, what is the meaning of the dissent of the Congress? I read at one of the preliminary meetings of the Federal Structure Committee that the Congress claimed to represent over 40 per cent of the population of India, that is to say the dumb, illiterate, uneducated millions. But I want further that the Congress claimed also by right of election to represent even the Hindus. If they would pardon my getting back that claim, and the landed gentry, and the educated class, I wish to repeat that claim and I wish also to emphasize that claim.

All the other Parties at this meeting represent educated classes. Congress alone claims to represent the whole of India, and all Indians. It is an enormous responsibility it is a detailed study of responsibility in any stage of India. Congress knows an education of men, women or even, its platform is narrow. It may get always have lived up to the ideal. I do not know a single human organization that lives up to its ideal. Congress has taken very often to my knowledge. It may have lived more alive to the knowledge of its critics. But the more time will have to undergo, so it has been suggested, that the Indian National Congress is a daily growing organization, that its members graduate the members of India, that the given education the Congress has been able to demonstrate its influence even and among these means this includes 700,000 villages.

And yet, here I see that the Congress is treated as one of the Parties. I do not mind if I do not regard it a minority for the Congress but I do regard it as a minority for the purpose of doing the work for which we have gathered together here. I wish I could convince all the British public men, the British Ministers, that the Congress is capable of delivering the people. The Congress is the only all India wide national organization, based on my common law, that it does represent all the interests which have lodged their claim here and which, as the expression on this behalf, claim—I had respectfully—no represent 40 per cent of the population of India. The Congress, I say, claims to represent all these interests.

What a great difference it would be today if this claim on behalf of the Congress was recognized. I feel that I hope to give this claim with some degree of emphasis on behalf of peace, for the idea of delivering the people which is destined to all of us, to you Englishmen who sit at this Table, and to me the few who are and whom who sit at this Table. I say so for this reason. Congress is a powerful organization; Congress is an organization which has been accepted of meeting at Delhi to see a parallel Government, and in a way I have realized the change. If you could understand the meaning of the Congress, you would welcome an organization which could see a parallel Government and show that it is possible for an organization, voluntary, without any form of its command, to run the machinery of Government more under absolute circumstances.

But you, although you have invited the Congress you distrust the Congress. Although you have invited the Congress, you expect to think to represent the whole of India. Of course it is possible to do this and

of the world to approve them, then and it is not possible for me to approve any change but, all the same, if you find me wanting that right, I do not believe a reasonable response here, upon my shoulders.

The Congress represents the way of solution. I know that the word "violence" would not be interpreted as a condemnation which has been understood in other instances as an approval of violence of India's freedom through aggression. Speaker after speaker has got up and said that India should achieve her liberty through nonviolence, by argument, and that it will be the greatest glory of Great Britain if Great Britain yields to India's demands by argument. But the Congress does not hold quite that view. The Congress has no arguments which is expressed in you.

I found several speakers—and for me, say I have understood not to show a single wrong, I have tried to follow every speaker with the closest attention and with all the respect that I could possibly give to these speakers—asking what a difference it would be if India was faced with the specter of nonviolence, violence, terrorism and so on. I do not pretend to have read history, but as a schoolboy I tried to pass a paper in history class, and I read that the page of history is filled not with the blood of those who have fought for freedom. I do not have an instance in which nations have achieved their own without having to go through an incredible measure of travail. The dagger of the assassin, the poison bowl, the bullet of the assassin, the spear and all these weapons and methods of destruction have been up to now and by what I consider, blood-borne of liberty and freedom. And the historical has not demonstrated this, I told you that the historical. Mr. Chamberlain brought in the instance and he brought in the Calcutta Corporation. I tell you when he mentioned as sufficient that took place at the Calcutta Corporation. He tried to illustrate that the Mayor of that Corporation made headlines responsible for the war, and which he himself was involved, and the spectacle which the Calcutta Corporation was, he tried, through the main assembly of these members of the Corporation who were Congressmen.

I told you that the Congressmen who finally or ultimately would encourage terrorism. As soon as this incident was brought to the notice of the Congress, the Congress set about making it in order. It immediately called upon the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation to give an account of what was done and the Mayor, the gentleman that he is, immediately started his machine and made all the speeches that it was then legally possible to make. I must not think the Assembly over this incident for any length of time. He attempted also a scene which the children of the very schools conducted by the Calcutta Corporation are supposed to have read. There were many other circumstances in that speech which I could dwell upon, but I have no desire to do so. It is only out of regard for the great Calcutta Corporation and out of regard for truth and in behalf of those who are not here tonight to put in their defense that I mention these two glaring instances. I do not let the common Indians that the war started in the Calcutta Corporation schools with the knowledge of the Calcutta Corporation. I do know that in those terrible days of last year several things were done for which we have regret, for which we have made expiation.

If you boys in Calcutta were taught from school which Mr. Chamberlain brought I am here to make an apology to you for that, but I should want it proved that the boys were taught by the school-masters of those schools with the knowledge and encouragement of the Corporation. Charges of this nature have been brought against Congress since without proof, and those without proof those charges have also been refuted, but I have mentioned these things at this juncture. It is again to show that for the sake of those people have fought, people have lost their lives, people have killed and have been in death at the hands of those whom they have sought to free.

A New Path to Liberty

The Congress this evening upon the scene and declare a new method not known to history, namely, that of civil disobedience, and the Congress has been followed that method up. But again, I am up against a stone wall and I am told that there is a method that is Government in the world will tolerate. Well, of course, the Government may not tolerate, no Government has tolerated upon violence. No Government may tolerate civil disobedience, but Governments have to concede areas in these things, as the British Government has done before now, even as the great Dutch Government after eight years of trial and to yield to the logic of force. General Smuts, a brave General, a great statesman, and a very hard man when also, but he himself requested with better than even the contemplation of doing to death thousands and thousands who were merely fighting for the preservation of their self-respect, and things which he had wanted to be never paid in the year 1920, concluded as he was, by General Smuts, he had to do so the year 1914, after having tried these civil means through and through. And so India, Lord Chamberlain had to do the same thing, the Government of Bombay had to do the same thing in Ahmed and Bhandal. I suggest to you, Prime Minister, if it has been looking so good then, and if it has been which weighs the force, this shows that the before then, the putting of the ways probably. I shall hope without hope, I shall think every nerve to achieve the honorable withdrawal by my country if I can do so without trying to put the millions of my countrymen and countrywomen and even children through this ordeal of fire. It was the matter of no joy and comfort to me to lead them again in a fight of that character, but if a further ordeal of fire has to be my lot I shall approach that with the greatest joy and with the greatest acceptance that I was doing what I felt to be right, the country was doing what it felt to be right, and the country will have the additional advantage of knowing that it was not at least taking time, it was giving time, it was not making the British people directly suffer it was suffering Indians. Gopal Khanna told me—I don't even know that, I am paraphrasing the historical language—"You do not consider for one moment that we Englishmen do not suffer when thousands of your countrymen suffer, that we are or have been?" I do not think so. I do know that you will suffer, but I want you to suffer because I want to reach your hearts, and when your hearts have been reached will mean the psychological moment for expiation. Expiation there always will be and if that time I have qualified all these suffer in order to make upon expiation, I thought

that your countrymen, Lord Lytton, had gallantly stood up through his reluctance, that he had suffered problems that thousands of men and women of India and thousands of children had suffered and that, whether or not assistance, justice or no justice, nothing would come to stem the tide that was inundating and in turn the persons that were riding in the bosom of the sea and waves of India, who were thinking for liberty.

What then is put a little more left in the place, I want you to understand what this Congress stands for. My life is at your disposal. The lives of all the members of the Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, are at your disposal. But remember that you have at your disposal the lives of all these dark millions. I do not want to sacrifice those lives if I can possibly help it. Therefore, please remember, that I will stand no further on your side, by distance, I can pull through no successful movement. You will find me always having the greatest right of conscience if I can but do you with the cert that I am working in the Congress, outside, that India must have full liberty. Call it by any name you like a rose will smell as sweet by any other name, but it must be the name of liberty that I want and am the ardent prober. If your mind and the Congress mind, the mind of this Committee and the mind of the Indian people, make the same thing by the same word, then you will find the simplest road for compromise, and you will find the Congress itself always in a compromising spirit. But as long as there is a spot that was not, that was defective, not one compromise for the same word that you and I and we may be using as long time as a compromise possible. How can there be any compromise to long as we each one of us has a defined definition for the same words that we may be using. It is impossible, Prime Minister, I want to suggest to you in all humility that it is nearly impossible that in fact a meeting present, in fact a meeting where you can apply the word of compromise. And I am very pleased to have to say up to now I have not been able to discover a genuine definition for the terms that we have been exchanging during all these weary weeks.

Meaning of Dominion

I was shown that with the inclusion of Westminster by a couple, and he said, "Have you seen the definition of Dominion? I read the definition of 'Dominion', and naturally I was not at all pleased to discover to me that the word 'Dominion' was exhaustively defined, and it had not a general definition but a particular definition. It simply said, the word 'Dominion' shall include Australia, South Africa, Canada and so on, nothing with the Irish Free State. I do not think I noticed Egypt there. Then he said, 'Do you see what your Dominion means?' It did not make any impression upon me. I do not mind what my Dominion means in what complete independence means. In a way I was relieved.

Complete Independence

I said, I am now relieved from having to contend about the word 'Dominion' because I am not of it. But I want complete independence, and even so, as many Englishmen have said, "Yes, you can have complete independence, but what is the meaning of complete independence?" and again we come to different definitions. Therefore, I say, the Congress chair is sagacious to complete independence.

One of your great statements, I do not think I should give the name, was dealing with me, and he said, "Naturally I did not know that you meant this by complete independence." He ought to have known but he did not know, and I shall tell you what he did not know. When I said to him, "I cannot be a partner in an Empire" he said, "Of course, that is logical." I said "But I want to become that. It is not as if I shall be if I am compelled to, but I want to become a partner with Great Britain. I want to become a partner with the English people but I want to enjoy personally the same liberty that your people enjoy, and I want to make this partnership not merely for the benefit of India, and not merely for material benefit. I want to make this partnership in order that the great weight that is crushing the world to pieces may be lifted from its shoulders."

Then there he said twelve days ago I thought as at my opinion, I got a note from another Englishman, whom also you know, and whom also you respect. Another man there, he wrote, "I believe profoundly that the peace and happiness of mankind depend on our friendship" and as if I would not understand that, he says "your people and mine." I should tend to you what he also says "And of all Indians you are the one that the rest Englishmen like and understand."

In this and many my words on liberty, and I do not think he has intended this but expression in letter me. It will not bother me in the slightest degree. There are many things in this world which, if I could share them with you, would perhaps make me understand better the significance of this expression, but he will tell you that when he wants that but answers to him and means me personally. I personally satisfy nothing, and I know I would mean nothing to my dear Englishman but I mean something to some Englishmen because I represent a man, because I seek to represent a nation, a great expression which has made itself felt. That is the reason why he says this.

Friendship with Britain

But then, if I could possibly find that working body, Prime Minister, there is ample room for compromise. It is possible I agree. My business is not to know whether the star-brother and friend. His philosophy leads me to do so, and today the Congress has accepted this philosophy, not as a creed, as it is to me, but as a policy, because the Congress believes that it is the right and best thing for India, a nation of 300,000,000 to do.

I, among of 100 million people does not read the degree of the measure, it does not read the public heart, it does not read the crowd, the spirit of the India, it reads simply a will of its own, its ability to say (No, not that nation is today learning to say No).

But what is it that that power does? To summarise, as of all, I cannot Englishmen. No. Its mission is today to convert Englishmen. I do not want to break the bond between England and India, but I do want to transform that bond. I want to transform that driver into complete freedom for my country. Call it complete independence or whatever you like, I will not quarrel about that word, and even though my countrymen may dispute with me for having taken some other word I shall be able to live down that opposition as long as the content of the word that you may suggest to me bears the same meaning. Hence, I

(Continued on page 32)

Young India

Ruling Over a Desert

(By C. S. RAMESHWARAN)

The real characteristics of a free people are called in that they embody the will of the people for whom welfare they are promulgated. The procedure by which the will of the people is ascertained and given shape may vary with the time and the conditions prevailing, but the essential fact is that, however evolved or, what is promulgated by general consensus is a genuine expression of the better mind of the majority of the people. That does not so represent the will of the people. But it is argued by a ruler out of his own self that he coincided with the conscience of persons named in the act and of the technique and terminology of the law, in the shape of a legislative enactment with motives, classes, and citizens, and means may be extracted with part of the work of the enactment. But the complexity of a legislative enactment that is sought to be given to their substance is like that of a modern woman's law, not the age of nature, and the colour of the healthy stream of life, and the complexion flowing from the people's will but in their shape, with whom *Asatmasya* covers the world and life face.

The name of law is a synonym for such political problem. It is merely a body of consistent institutions, in the interests of the utility value, shaped in legal technique and procedure. Under the complexity of words in the their intention to direct the executive with power and authority to exercise undisputed and absolute authority over the people, their property and their movements is order to carry out the will of the people holding power. The executive is called upon to carry out the commands of the ruler with the aid of physical force. The executive may nothing but a rule of submission for this purpose. The machinery employed may have the external semblance of legal institutions, but their character is that of physical force based by executive order.

Let it not be understood that the suggestion of arbitrary legislative procedure is what is here contemplated. Government may bring when procedure should be established and from degraded state the whatever may be the convenience of better and procedure, the process is arbitrary under for the people, whose belief the law, the order, and it is the appearance alone that makes such appearance, but as the process of the law, it is the law necessary parties with the instability of mental law. But when the traditional position of popular approval is not present, but laws and procedure are established in order to carry out the will of the people, but to go against the people's will, then it is that the law has become a command. The United Provinces Government is, indeed, of this latter description.

Enough has been written already in these columns to show the desirability of the process in the U. P. Enough is attributed to the Government itself to show that they are proceeding in that order of nature collection of laws more to maintain the prestige and power of the Government to appear that of the

Congress, than in the natural feeling that the people are able to pay but to use in direct contribution. The Government whose efforts are to touch with the people and who to aid with its legislative enactments with their efforts are left to see that nothing but the complexity of poverty and distress could have been met by the law intended to leave the state and maintain the welfare that they are facing by employment of pain. To say that the Congress has started high wages with these promises and have released them, while only able to pay and to remain happy in their momentary, as we, "no," to the Government and their statements, demands, alterations and rules, is almost folly and self-deception, if not worse.

The new *Colleges* were close to the front of the Bengal Government. The same executive started law promulgation intended to bring Government, as in the state. To make people even to their paying and to an office profitable with a form of hard labour. The Local Government and, therefore, the District Officers, may pass any order without consulting and otherwise enforcing the interests of any persons without appeal to law. Any feeling and the executive law is like that of the executive may be passed and placed in the possession of police or the military authorities. Action may be denied to any person in public buildings including railway premises. District officers may deprive any person of the use of vehicles private or public. Any place may be searched and searched and articles seized on the pretext that there is a preparation made for committing an offence under the *Colleges*, viz., to induce people not to pay or to their payment of rent.

The abolition of any state may be collectively based if the Government think that the people of that area are concerned as well as possible in the public interest, or for the sake of persons or concerned. The law is based by state intervention, without any substantial judicial inquiry or substantial appeal. There may be an appeal about appointment, but not on the question of the law itself.

The move of the Government in bringing out a long and elaborate ordinance to suppress the agitation in the United Provinces is against the past programme of the people intended in the programme of a movement to represent a rebellion against the Government may move to establish the world into thinking that the agitation in U. P. is a revolutionary activity for a change of Government. It is, therefore, necessary to declare and make it clear on behalf of the Congress that the agitation in the United Provinces is a pure agitation against the rule of distress. The appeal of the people in the state called on, it is a network of hard conditions which have existed would have been available to them. The need of good means the current time demand, and their present state, are such that no work of bureaucracy could have offered relief. The fact that the machinery is antiquated and which is unable to provide, makes the agitation more the government is less, thus, not any political demand is it. It is not a rebellion against Government, and this has been made clear from the outset as far as the present issue is concerned. The problem open in railway defence is historical condition is not available to the people in the state, the state are demand, as if the Government wants to rule over in doing, the Government may be asked, but it is bureaucracy of its own making and its purpose to broaden such a weapon

It will be after all and it has a proper solution. But immediately you withdraw that wedge, the democratic idea, the democratic sentiment, the knowledge of common faith—do you suppose that all these will count for nothing?

Concessional Dismissals

Was Hindu and Mohammed and Sikh always at one with one another when there was no British rule, when there was no English law over them? We have chapter and verse given to us by Hindu historians and by Mohammed historians to say that we were living in comparative peace even then. And Hindu and Mohammed in the villages are not even today quarrelling. In those days there was not income to quarrel at all. The late Mahatma Mohammed Ali often used to tell me, and he was himself a lot of an historian. He said "If God—" Allah "as he called God—" gives me life, I propose to write the history of Mohammed rule in India, and then I will show, through documents that British people have preserved, that Aurangzeb was not only so he has been painted by the Hindu historians, that the Mogul rule was not so bad as it has been shown to be in British history, and so on. And so have Hindu historians written. That quarrel is not all, the quarrel is covered with the whole drama, I dare to say it is covered with the British sword, and immediately this relationship, the relationship, artificial, unnatural relationship between Great Britain and India is transformed into a natural relationship, when it becomes, if it does become, a voluntary partnership to be given up, to be dissolved at the will of either party, when it becomes that you will find that Hindu, Mohammed, Sikh, Parsee, Anglo-Indians, Christians, Mohammeds, will all live together as one man.

The Princess

I want to say one word about the Prince, and I shall have done. I have not said much about the Prince, nor do I intend to say much more about the Prince, but I should be wronging them and I should be wronging the Congress if I did not repeat my claim, not with the Round Table Conference but with the Prince. It is open to the Prince to give their terms on which they will join the Federation. I have appealed to them to make the path easy for those who desire the other part of India, and therefore, I can only make their suggestion for their favourable consideration, for their earnest consideration. I think that if they accepted, as states what they are, but some fundamental rights to the common property of all India, and if they accepted that position and allowed these rights to be ruled by the Court, which will be made of their own creation, and if they invited elements—only elements—of representation on behalf of these subjects, I think that they would have gone a long way to consolidate their interests. They would have gone a long way to show in the world and to show to the whole of India that they are also fixed with a democratic spirit, that they do not want to become confederated autocrats, but that they want to become constitutional monarchies even on King George of Great Britain's.

The Frontier Province

She, a state has been placed in my hands by my friend Sir Akbar Hydari, and he asks, will I not say one word about the Frontier Province. I will, and it is this. Let India get what she is entitled to and what she can really take, but whatever she gets, and

whatever she gets it, let the Frontier Province get complete autonomy today. That Frontier will then be a working demonstration to the whole of India, and therefore, the whole role of the Congress will be given in shape of the Frontier Province giving personal autonomy tomorrow. Take Mehar, if you can possibly get your Cabinet to endorse the proposition that five territories the Frontier Province, because a full-fledged autonomous province I shall then have a paper frontier amongst the Frontier tribes and connect them to my autonomy where there were the border that we will give to India.

A Veto of Thesis

Last of all, my last is a pleasant task for me. This is perhaps the last time that I shall be sitting with you at suggestion. It is not that I want that, I want to sit at the same table with you in your chairs and to negotiate and to plead with you and to go down on bended knee before I take the last leap and last plunge.

But, whether I have the good fortune to continue to make my suggestions or not does not depend upon me, it largely depends upon you. But a very real even depend upon you. It depends upon so many circumstances over which neither you nor we may have any control whatsoever. Thus, let me put this pleasant task of giving my thesis to all of you. That Mayday dawn is the period now in the East End where I have taken up my habitation.

In that settlement which represents the poor people of the East End of London, I have become one of them. They have accepted me as a member, and as a favored member of their family. It will be one of the richest moments that I shall enjoy with me. Then, too, I have found nothing but courtesy and nothing but a genuine affection from all with whom I have come in touch. I have come in touch with so many Englishmen. It has been a glorious privilege to me. They have listened to what must have often appeared to them to be nonsense, although it was true. Although I have often been obliged to say these things to them they have never shown the slightest impatience or irritation. It is impossible for me to forget these things. No matter what holds me, no matter what the business may be of this Round Table Conference, one thing I shall certainly carry with me that is, that from high to low I have found nothing but the warmest courtesy and the warmest affection. I consider that it was well worth my paying this visit to England in order to find this warm affection.

It has happened, it has happened my irreconcilable fight is human nature that although Englishmen and Englishwomen have been fed upon lies so often that I am disbelieving your Press, that although in Lancashire the Lancashire people and perhaps some reason for becoming almost apathetic me, I found an Ireland and an excitement even in the apathetic. Theapathetic, men and women, begged me. They begged me as men of their own. I shall never forget that.

I am sitting with me tomorrow upon the ground of English kinship. I do not know them but I read that affection in their eyes as early as the morning I walk through your streets. All this hospitality all the kindness will come to me from my memory, my mother what holds my unhappy heart, I thank you for your fatherhood.

A Parting of the Ways?

Prime Minister, and friends, the privilege and the responsibility of seeing a vote of thanks to the chair have been conferred to me, and I have taken up the responsibility and the privilege with the greatest pleasure. A chairman who conducts the proceedings of an meeting in a business and courteous manner is always entitled to a vote of thanks, whether there who occupies the meeting agree with the chairman's ideas of the meeting, or with the decisions that may be given by the chairman himself.

Sir, I know that there was a double duty. You had not only to conduct the proceedings of the Conference with becoming dignity and with impartiality, but you had also to carry the decisions of the Ministry's Government.

And your final act in the Chair has been to carry the unanimous decision of The Ministry's Government over the many motions on which this Conference has deliberated. I propose to add that part of your task, but for me the pleasure just is that you have conducted the proceedings, and let me congratulate you upon the lesson that has been given to us all in your own Chairmen often sighed that very elementary duty not, I must confess, in my country shared with leaders regularly. We are not contented with paper form even. Prime Minister, it will be my pleasure and honour duty to give to my countrymen when I return to India what the British Prime Minister has done in the matter of this issue.

The other thing that you have shown us in your moving industry. Brought up in your lovely South district, you know and know what and is, and you have not allowed us also to know what you is. Well, that I say, almost unexampled honesty you showed everyone of us, including all men like my friend and former teacher Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and equally old men like me.

You have worked almost in unobtrusive, with a plainness worthy of a Scourge like you, my friend and former teacher Gandhi. Yet he is known yesterday that you have his physical weakness but before a sense of duty you set aside all these personal considerations. All honour to you for that and I shall treasure this amazing valour of yours.

But let me say to the reader that although I belong to a district which is completely to be ignored, almost bordering on the regional racism, perhaps we might think he able to come across with you in industry, but that does not matter. If what you gave us yesterday, if that is only a forebode of what you are capable of—working even has a full transfer from to your Ministry of Commerce has done at times—and then, of course, you will take the pain.

Therefore, I have the greatest pleasure in moving this vote of thanks. But there is an additional reason, and it is perhaps a greater reason, why I should describe this successful by and solemn the privilege that has been given to me. It is somewhat risky—I would say only somewhat risky, because I would like to see only your dedication more, more, more, as often as it may be necessary, showing every word of it, standing its broken meaning if there is a hidden meaning in it, showing all the T's, showing all the P's and all the

Q's come to the conclusion as just now seems to be likely—that up to us I am convinced we have come to the parting of the ways.

That our ways take different directions, it does not matter to us. You are entitled to my hearty and most sincere vote of thanks. It is not given to me, in the name of me, for all its name is under its respect for me neither. It is not given to me always to expect such votes from each other's opinions and always to be disappointed as that there is no principle left with you. On the contrary, dignity of human nature requires that we must look the status of his, and sometimes, even, that leaders have got to go with. My own way, but, I admit and of this question—at the end of their differences—they can say that they have no reason and that even as they stand to keep up a profession, a soldier—I it will be possible at the end of the chapter for me to say that of myself and of my countrymen, and it is possible for me to say that of you, Prime Minister, and of your countrymen, I will say that we parted also well. I do not know in what direction my path will be, but it does not matter to me in what direction their path lies. From this, although I may have to go to an entirely opposite direction, you will still be entitled to a vote of thanks from me from the bottom of my heart.

The Tappanah Minister

Another act of violence, and in this instance, it was not with deadly success. The victim, the District Minister of Tappanah, died on the spot. It is not enough to expect losses or consequences at this latest addition to the number of political crimes of violence. We should realise that the cult of violence is growing again. Those who do not read the headlines of our newspapers, and the loss of its most precious characteristics cannot be content with mere contemplation. The fact that there have been of violence alone is the source of which they are good by the spirit of the leadership by the mass organisations of leaders or consequences. We should realise in full our duties, to offer ourselves up to the fire of unswerving sacrifice and put us and in this respect and all the things a combat between the organised and unorganised leaders of Government on the one side and the united but ineffective and ineffectual violence of the mass people. Between the two violence, it is better that is nothing. If we believe in our creed, these disputes must end as to immediate and effective steps in the way of settling.

Meanwhile, let us hope that as Gandhi is working on our steps, probably as soon as he begins to keep up in Bengal, the lover of violence, has reached his highest point only to go down at last, and that he will be able to give peace and hope to Bengal.

C. N.

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What Was Proved at the Bardoli Enquiry

[The following is a statement issued by Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Congress President and Sp. Minister, Gandhinagar, Congress Council at the Enquiry.]

On the 15th of November 1931 the Congress and the Khatris concerned withdrew from and declined to take further part in the proceedings relating to the Bardoli Enquiry which was ordered by the Government of the Government of India dated the 15th August 1931. At the time of the withdrawal the counsel for the Congress gave his reasons for a case which was true. Thereafter the Government published the *Catchwords* on 21st November 1931 and the same was replied to by the President of the Congress and the Congress Council on 22-11-1931. Having agreed by the majority for the withdrawal the Congress and the Khatris concerned stated the matter as closed because no legal or moral justification of charges made, there was little or no material case to be made out of the result of the Enquiry. The Enquiry Officer, however, issued a *Proclamation* stating that the proceedings will continue.

It was soon realised by the Enquiry Officer and the other Officers concerned that no Khatris was likely to appear before them or have his complaints examined. It also appears to have been realised that even an *ex parte* *Proclamation* of Officers concerned was a matter which the Government did not venture to undertake for even an attempted refusal would have declared the defect in their defence. *Proclamations*, therefore, were strongly closed and the Enquiry Officer has reported to submit a document called 'A Report'. The Government have published a *Communique* accepting the conclusions as stated in the 'Report'.

On even a cursory perusal of the 'Report', it is obvious that it is marked by a feeling of intolerance and unscrupulous hatred of the Congress, whose representative succeeded after great efforts in compelling the Government of India to agree to the enquiry. The only purpose of a 'Report', under the circumstances under which the enquiry came to an end, could be and was the withdrawing of the action of the Revenue and Police Officers concerned. Be that as it may, the Report is lacking both in fairness and logic as well as in the recognition of natural principles in weighing the evidence which had been produced prior to the withdrawal.

It has, however, become the unpleasant duty of the Congress and the Khatris concerned to review the controversy which they treated as closed and after

close view of the proper conclusions to be drawn from the evidence which has been recorded and they are in this conviction to make protest. (Which the Government obviously cannot deny) that the Congress and the Khatris are further entitled to have legitimate inference drawn from the withdrawing of the evidence by their opponents.

On the basis of inference, issues were framed in order to define the points for enquiry and they were as follows:

1. That the Khatris in the villages concerned were compelled to pay increase on a scale than that adopted since March 1917 in villages of the same Taluka.
2. That these demands were not approved by revenue sanctioned through the Police.
3. Consequently many what was the tax, if any, as stated.

From the very commencement of the enquiry, it was obvious that the Government wished to prevent the Congress, if possible, from appearing at the enquiry and conducting the same in the interest of the Khatris. The object was obvious that if the Congress was not allowed to appear it might be easy then to deal with individual Khatris, and to bully them with submission. The Government's inherent opposition to the right of the Congress to appear fully indicated the direction. Having agreed, however, in the event of the Government of the Government of India, which on a true construction showed that the Enquiry resulted from the representations of the Congress representatives on the one hand and the representative of the British Crown on the other and having agreed to the statement of the Congress Council that the Khatris were not prepared to pay to the legally within the Congress through their counsel was held entitled to conduct the same, the Enquiry Officer was obliged to hold that the Congress was entitled to appear and conduct the enquiry through their counsel. An attempt was therefore made to dissuade the Congress from the Khatris by raising a question as to the right of the Congress counsel to appear for the Khatris concerned. That attempt was also unsuccessful because every Khatris concerned and given his statement in writing to the Congress before making in the circumstances, the subject of the enquiry. Throughout the proceedings, conducted by the Enquiry Officer, the Advocate for the Government indulged in most offensive language towards the Congress and their representatives, and he ridiculed the Khatris who were loyal to that organisation. Out of the main paragraphs of the Report, therefore, has not come

upon us as a means, though we should have thought that the demands of courtesy, if not of political expediency, would have prevented such an insult.

That is the handling with which the Registry began. The attempt for the Congress to sponsor the case which has been treated as an Appendix to the "Report" in that speaking, at the very outset, it was made as clear as it was possible to do, what was the "standard" referred to in the letter issued by the Registry Office, and in fact it was understood, so clearly that therefore the accepted phrase "No intervening standard" was used for the purpose of describing the Congress case on the question of "standard." The following passage occurs in that speaking:

"As regards the 'standard,' it has been maintained throughout the proceedings given by the Congress in collection of land revenue after the Treaty that the only help and promise granted to assist in the manner of individual ability to pay having regard to the actual financial state of the Khaddar movement had nothing from consideration the fact that the matter had suffered by reason of the flood."

In that opening the following statement of Mahatma Gandhi was quoted as containing a most definite description of what the "standard" was—"So far as the terms of reference to the Registry Office are concerned I have definitely understood that the standard referred to means money ability to pay without borrowing." Mahatma has made it further clear in that statement that that was the distinct understanding between him and the Collection of Taxes and the Collection of Taxes as regards the Khaddar offered by the Civil Disobedience Movement and that it was repeatedly brought out in their conversations. It was further stated that, though documentary evidence on the question of standard was sufficient, if a human accuracy, oral evidence of Mahatma Gandhi could be given to prove the same. It was also pointed out that the documentary evidence would be 70 of the correspondence correspondence relating to the Tribune of London and London but, so far as the question of the No Tax movement was concerned (which was a part of the Agreement of the 16th of March), the same related to those cases as a whole. Of all the documents in the possession of Congress, most in the form of letters, telegrams and documents implementing the Delhi Pact particularly as regards the collection of land revenue in the villages of the No-Tax Movement, (1) the oral evidence of Mahatma Gandhi.

From the very outset the Registry Office appears to have been widely charged with the idea that the "standard" issue was more important than the Common case. Repeated successful attempts were made to distract the mind of this supposed difference. The only explanation that can be given of the maintaining the supposed difference is, that according to his personal understanding for which he has still persisted in the "Report" the only reliable evidence on the question of standard was that of Mahatma, that he was stayed in England, that he was not likely to be available for examination before him and that accordingly, if according to him there was an satisfactory evidence on the "standard" case, the case as to evidence could be closed as independent.

In two places in the "Report" he has made obviously erroneous statements. In para 11 he states—"On November 26, however, at his last statement on the subject of the production of papers referred to before, Mr. Macpherson made the surprising statement that the 'standard' was in point of fact inadmissible, that he knew nothing about it and that only Mr. Gandhi knew, thus misleading the whole of the Congress case upon dates and on fact almost entirely leading to withdrawal, apart from the question of the production of papers."

In para 11 of the "Report", the following passage occurs—"These matters were confined to Mr. Macpherson's evidence on the subject with the statement previously referred to, that the Congress were not allowed to know what the 'standard' was and could they deliver a list that only Mr. Gandhi knew, and it was finally also corrected that when the document on the production of papers was in favour of the Congress they would withdraw from the report."

These statements are clearly contradicted by the case on the question of "standard" as above. The same point was made further clear by the letter of the Congress Council of 16th of October 1931 in which the concluding words are:

"In conclusion I should like to say again that our case is that having regard to the terms of the Agreement as mentioned above, no defender was to be obliged to pay except from his own declared resources and therefore to win and to be obliged to pay if he had to borrow for the purpose of paying."

One can only imagine one's regret that notwithstanding such defined and clear position it should be possible to withdraw to the Congress Council statements of the 16th meeting in the "Report" as para 8 and 11 above quoted. These statements could not have been made and were not but not made. It is curious to say that there was an intention of calling Mahatma Gandhi as a witness because his statement on "standard" was needed as evidence. Such an inference could not be drawn by any person approaching the question from a judicial point of view, for a counsel conducting a case is entitled to use and would endeavour to use every piece of evidence at his disposal. But from the nature of such statement of evidence it is not impossible (except in the case of a professional money smuggler) to say that the only evidence on the question of "standard" was to be found in the oral evidence of Mahatma Gandhi or that it was not intended to call him. Even if it was the only piece of evidence it was made perfectly clear to the Registry Office that, if the inquiry was allowed to proceed as a judicial way other proper discovery and exposure, Mahatma Gandhi would be produced as a witness before the question of the inquiry. In this connection it was perfectly obvious that the term "standard" must have been used by common consent as the Congressmen—winning the inquiry. There could be, therefore, no doubt in the minds of the parties who framed the Congress case as to what was meant by the term "standard." Mahatma Gandhi's statement as to what it meant had been not known as the standard—especially and it would be able, even for a Revenue official, to question the veracity of Mahatma Gandhi. On the other hand, the fact remains that the officers

concerned did not even venture to state (though there was no fear of their recantation) as to what according to them was the 'standard' of revenue collection after the Datta Pargi of the 16th of March 1931. The graph prepared by the Registry Office, which was shown to the Congress Council, clearly proved that there was an increase in collection month by month till the second week of March, 1931, that they had reached the maximum in the month of April, and later on necessarily diminished as the balance to be recovered grew less and less. It could not be denied that Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress president and their workers made untiring efforts to assist in the collection of land revenue, precisely as a matter of honour. So that it is quite clear as to what the 'standard' expected for was, and what was the evidence in support of it. The correspondence with Mr. Frey and Mr. Khatiwala which is reproduced in the opening address of the Congress session, gives the 'standard'. It was refuted by Khatiwala's statement. It could have been amply corroborated by the production of the Government documents which have been withheld, and the Government officials concerned and not even the courage to deny it as an arbitrary government method, for they were cautioned that even to deny it involved them into a further question as to what according to them was the 'standard' applied from and after the 16th of March.

It is unnecessary here to repeat the reasons existing for the Congress and the Khatiwala to the production and acceptance of evidence demanded. The matter has been dealt with fully in the earlier publications of the *Young India* and a change has been made by which it is a matter of law as of justice, equity and good conscience.

Before entering this subject it may further be observed that the over-exaggeration of the Khatiwala and their witnesses was mainly directed to question the statements made by them as regards the necessity in which they were put, for borrowing the money which was paid on the date of the police strike.

That part of the Report is headed on four separate propositions, viz.

1. That the Registry Office was called upon to explain as to why the Khatiwala or persons were defendants as regards the money standing in their names in previous years.

2. That the Khatiwala concerned were not entitled to any special consideration by reason of their caste and their means having suffered on account of the Flood and the severe adverse weather during the Great Khatiwala Movement.

3. That because some Huzar Khatiwala had not consented to pay the arrears or were able to find money under such circumstances to their agreement between every Huzar ought to have had similar consent, and

4. That in considering the efforts of the Khatiwala to pay, the money to the State, exemption of late was to be considered only after the fulfilment of the supposed obligation to pay arrears of land revenue.

The examination of the evidence as further stated by the failure of the Registry Office in appreciating that the 'standard' had come into existence on the credit of very extraordinary and uncorroborated statements which were regarded as reliable by the Government, was

apportioned here, as appearing in Agreement for loan between the Congress and Mr. Khatiwala who supported it on the one hand and the Government on the other. In fact the very justification which ought to have weighed in favour of the Khatiwala concerned became a case point with the Registry Office thereby substantiating its judgment in the wrong direction. He states as follows: "But further nearly 50 per cent of the alleged loans came from the non-recipients of the Huzar who themselves went on 'Huzar' so that we have Huzar persons that they at a short cannot pay the arrears of the arrears of loans borrowed from Huzar." The method of dealing with them as a class is already wrong for the matter of arrears must necessarily vary. His further claim on the fact that no loans were obtained. The consideration of evidence was such and the knowledge and writing Khatiwala community led them to report to the court available before. While on the one hand the Government professes to be keen on keeping the Agriculture from the clutches of the Khatiwala, it is somewhat singular that the fact that the arrears were not borrowed from Khatiwala should be a matter of account.

He goes on to state as a striking feature the supposed case with which the money was obtained. The money was given by every Khatiwala, who declared to the borrowing, as well as by the lender himself saying that it was the disbursement of police money and during the busy time of the season they did not expect their business they would be losing in their day and night of the lenders so that just after the date of the money which they had borrowed for the purpose of meeting agricultural expenses and some their own household expenses until the next harvest. Further, it appears from the evidence already recorded that these expenditures were assumed to be as not effective and lenders pressure on the Khatiwala. The evidence was made by investigation and had been in many cases reported that a man to transport the money and even a day's delay would have reduced the same. Added to this was the pressure of cattle being taken out and the Khatiwala and their servants working their land for being lost. These circumstances rendered it not more necessary that such money as could be found from the nearest source should be borrowed to supply the officials. It is almost shocking to think that a serious official statement to be accepted with the village life should be in accordance with a person in an association (in reference of meetings before involving a loss of the season) and the character of their own and cattle, and these methods are stated to be 'and evidence of evidence' on complaint with what it is and occurs in the Deccan.

He and refers to the fact that interest at a money rate of not less than 10 per cent was to have been agreed upon. It is difficult to understand the meaning of this statement. If the Registry Office supposed that such was there was a loan for interest varying by a part of a per cent knowledge must be given as the evidence in various cases and in various instances evidence rate of interest payable which is not more than a money rate of not less than 10 per cent.

There are the more reasons given by the Registry Office for saying in the statement which is not clearly defined was, that the money (though borrowed) (Continued on page 122)

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Acknowledgments

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

There were tales up the chimney of Young Ian's love life, though not being as a child as in a palace, have trouble to read something let Young Ian's as *Narrative*, as I was doing my stay in London.

The interrupted series of apparently hasty remarks all over midnight made it physically impossible for me to write anything for these journals. Fortunately, Kabeber Dadi was with me and though I was so exhausted, he was able to read a full weekly book for these days.

Nevertheless the reader will expect me to give my own impression of the London show.

Though I approached the text in last week's reading I am not sorry for leaving some items. It brings me in touch with the responsibility and wisdom associated with the role in the street. This experience will be of incalculable value in future, whether we have to put up a fight again or not. It is an excellent method to know who whom was our friend or foe.

It was a good thing that Harriet Linton, the wife of Kingsley Hall settlement, visited me in my cell at her settlement and that I was able to accept the invitation. The chance lay between Kingsley Hall and Mr. John's free library. I had no difficulty in accepting choice one and Mr. John. The great problem was getting me by Indian lands, and that naturally, in my case, by Mrs. Harman. Experience showed that Kingsley Hall was an ideal choice. It is situated among the poor of London and is dedicated purely to their service. Several women, and some men, under the leadership of Harriet Linton, have dedicated themselves to such service. Not a corner of the big building is used for any other purpose. There is religious service, there are amusements, there are lectures, libraries, reading-rooms, etc. for the use of the poor. The inmates live a life of utmost simplicity. There is no superfluous furniture to be found in all that settlement. The inmates occupy two rooms called cells, it was called in accordance first of us in that settlement. But these cells were where that is used. Five others occupied three cells which were placed in one bedroom. Nothing else had to be borrowed. Furthermore, we had all shared ourselves with religious libraries and being used to spend on the few words of the altar. Improvement could be reached. But, there was no doubt, my presence at the settlement and a service for me. In fact, more and other resources. For the good people would not have of my library it. And in time it was a privilege to receive the young, strong and vigorous services of the members and a personal joy to come in vital contact with the goal of the East End of London. Needless to say I was able to live exactly as an Indian and truly making, within through the charity of East London was a memory that can never be effaced. During these weeks I had most warm talks with these members who shared with me, often, other

Marla allowed, "I'm the one a regular reminder of my time with you in the restaurant. And she would get really angry, if she heard that my time was being shared by people when she was not by me."

During my stay in East London I saw the best side of human nature and was able to confirm my relative opinion that at bottom there was neither East nor West. And as I recovered the smiling countenance of the East Indian I knew that they had no malice in them and they wanted help to escape their misfortune. This experience has brought me closer to England if such a thing was possible. For me the light is never with darkness. It is even with their sinners and their pleasures. For my intimate contact with the simple good people of the East had, including the black children, only put me still more on my guard against any false views.

I may not entirely fill the broad expectations of Cambridge and its operatives and employers when, to my agreeable surprise, I found to be no less than popular and recipient of new ideas and opinions drawn from them. Here, of course, the ground was prepared for me by Charles Andrews. I spent morning to the week-to-forenoon walk to M.C. F. Hall at the University Gardens, the most respected and the most famous paper in Great Britain, a Great British university walk to the Gardens was the standard for the morning paper in the night. Nor was I easily kept the excitement of Cambridge, Cambridge, Oxford, Cambridge and Here. They give me an insight into the making of the British mind which I could have got through no other means. These months have brought about friendships which will endure for ever. I do not recall the two detentions and their companions and the many comrades who were told of to look after me. To me, however, I have and I have, the two detentions were no more police officers. They became my friends, police and friends looking after my studies with the passionate care of living men. And it was a matter of great joy to me that they were passionate in my interest in my studies as far as I could.

Last, but not least, was my pilgrimage to Rome. Reflect the ways of Villanueva. Could I have felt better just to visit him and his respectable sister Medalla, his manager and friend, I would have said taking the voyage that that could not be. The success of the National Table Conference made this pilgrimage easily possible, and others there. There in my way. And I was able to see something of that great and ancient city and Maracan the experienced doctors of Italy. And what would not I have gone to be able to know my land before the living image of the Veterans of Great Crusades. It was not without a word that I could have moved away from that scene of living dignity. I saw things at once that happen like individuals would only be made through the action of the Great and in no other way. Joy came out out of millions of pain as others but out of pain voluntarily born by oneself.

I am, therefore, returning home not ill at all with disappointment but with hope renewed. This hope is based on the fact that when I saw in England and in the Continent one or two of our men who were held in

and non-violence but on the contrary strongly condemned it I found that many more looked upon them I had expected.

Of the Round Table Conference there is nothing new to report. I agree and gladly what I thought about its composition and its achievement. One thing, however, I would like to say here. It would be wrong to think that the British Members are for change and that they do not want what they say. I have come away with the impression that they are honest in their professions but they are following under a heavy handicap. The delegates, while making a statement over India's future, happened meeting different some no details of fundamental importance. The education question became a bygone thing, and wholly through the lack of the Members. But, after all, this was a temporary handicap. Their greatest handicap lay in their being approached as individuals and often hopelessly false statements and misrepresentations collected around by them from their agents in India even about the commencement of the British Raj. For the Members this information is generally passed on to them, therefore, believe as to be incapable of handling our own defence and honour, they believe that the presence of British troops and British colonies is necessary for the well being of India. Perhaps there is no nation on earth equal to the British in capacity for self-defence.

In confirmation of what I am saying, I would recommend to the reader the speech delivered by Sir Samuel Hoare in the House of Commons on the debate on the white paper. In spite of warnings to the contrary, each time I saw the Secretary of State for India, I came away with a higher opinion of his honesty and integrity. Of all the British Members I found him to be the most straightforward and honest. He is also a strong man, but his is a legal man. I believe him to be capable of achieving or approving of nothing aggressive and of having the best of it. And he would honestly think that he was committed even as a response to a question when applied the facts when he must work a steady and strong hand. The Secretary of State is a hard working conscientious man who would spare no effort though he might have a temporary, like began his mind at a given moment. He has believed him all the British people and the large majority began to realize British history. The speech, therefore, is the best British type. And yet it tells hopelessly short of the Congress demand and in fact, as Congress would say, is already wrong and which unfortunately in balance is concerned with other lesser British demands.

How can this British mentality be changed or in other words how can power be wrested from such governing hands? No government will carry initiative in these matters. They are all material hard-headed selfish. They like and appreciate facts, facts. They will understand no mere rebellion and if they cannot support it, they will at once admit that we are capable of defending ourselves and administering our own affairs. And I have come away with my own conviction that they will also understand and perhaps more quickly appreciate a non-violent rebellion. But the unfortunate fact is that they do not believe in our complete non-violence. And what is more they believe that corporate

non-violence on a mass scale is impossible. No sane mind can accept this doctrine. Only actual experience can remove this.

Now do they believe that the Congress is really the party that can deliver the goods. Even General Smuts could not convince them that the Congress was such a party. How could he in the face of reports to the contrary from their agents in India?

Thus it appears to me that a further step ahead is a necessity of the hour. The British mind is not ready for anything actually more than the Prime Minister's declaration.

II

Part I can come to an early conclusion. This is being written on the 1st December on 22.5.31 and is a specimen of the situation in India. I do not know what possibilities there still are for further negotiation. But do I know hope for the change in Bengal, United Provinces, Orissa, and the South against of peaceful negotiations. The work is done here than ever before that our two heads joined is not London, it is India. We have no answer and the British Members, but the British officials in India. The strongest Secretary of State for India cannot move much beyond the status of his Lord Agents. India Office is a day as the school of India's progress. The real power resides in the IIC District Collectors, not even in the Viceroys. These Collectors have power wherever they go, even by mail, stationery. The Indian do not have Indian time the daily work of a mighty Government which the Collectors can move at will.

But this stated the problem becomes extremely simple. Each district has the key to the situation in its own hands. We have to work out our own solution to India by negotiation if at all possible, by direct action if it becomes temporarily necessary. I know that I shall not systematically write the notes in the mind, nor shall I because if I had no way out to solve them. I shall stress every effort to discover a way out.

Prohibition Manual

by

C. K. Kulkarni

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What Was Feared

(Continued from page 427)

were not happening within the meaning of the terms of reference. The action of the finding is disposed as showing that the Government failed to show that their own witnesses that the story of borrowing was untrue, and therefore the Registry Office had to fall back upon a finding that what was borrowing was not borrowing because it was at different rate of interest, that it was not borrowed from Satrikari, that it was lent with rate and that it was produced within a short time. The people who sensibly rather would appreciate the effect of the introduction of the police and would rather willing assistance to those who were further harmed during these days. The facts laid down by the Registry Office for the purpose of finding out whether the borrowing was a borrowing or not are very fantastic.

The findings of the Registry Office involve and almost completely prove that the story of the Khatrias that they had borrowed money in order to pay personal expenses by over-estimation. That they were obliged to borrow and pay equally proves that the payment created was in respect of the 'money' for from the over-estimation up to the withdrawal that was the 'interest' mentioned, that was the 'interest' of which there was always great trouble before the Registry Office, and that was the 'interest' which if accepted, could have been corroborated by the real testimony of Wabhoran.

As regards the details of the withdrawal of the Khatrias' account, which were given with a complete degree of falseness and as near accuracy as possible, the only comment made by the Registry Office is that they are uncorroborated. It is wrong to find such a statement in the report of a Revenue Officer. Can it be seriously suggested that a Revenue Officer keeps a regular account of the produce of or depends on that he keeps or maintains witnesses who will be available for the purpose of proving the story that he wanted and the price that he obtained. One is always put in the most difficult situation by the frequent change of front of the Revenue Officer in these matters. Corroborative testimony of and whose produced is necessarily that of friends and neighbours and in that case it is said to be interested and false. No other circumstances together is possible that there is a more conclusive answer to this statement. The Revenue officers and the police officers in particular tell us these interest to require less the complete detail of the life and means of each Khatrias and his witness. During the over-estimation of each Khatrias and his witness the head of the police turned up well liked Satrikari in support to the Government, must consider every possible source of income which had not been already disposed to by the witness. If a man had a few bricks which it was thought he may be able to sell the additional means was brought out and so that the Advocate for the Government went to the length of paying an enormous amount of income to the Khatrias in the event in case where his daughter-in-law was married. Every effort was therefore made to check the statement of his means made by the Khatrias as well as the sources of his expenditure. If he had bought a bullock, the price would be produced and the actual date and the price

were put by the Government Advocate to the witness, thereby showing that the table of the source of each Khatrias' account, which was placed before the Registry Office, when examined by every man was found to be true, and the few witnesses in which it was thought to be supplemented showed the nature of the alleged source made by the Government to that was the witnesses, if any, connected in these cases. Where such witnesses were produced and, matters for the government have been given. One more source of the table was the loss of cattle by epidemic during the Mugal period which was never thought to be questioned.

The Registry Office also lays stress on the fact that documentary evidence of borrowing was not forthcoming but of the fact of borrowing is not seriously questioned it is difficult to understand the comments on the absence of documents. The police during this case were under the impression of the case was such that regular documents were out of question. The played word of the knowledge of Khatrias has always been accepted as better than a document, but when the documents were at last produced, that is true because a signed document, and without any ground to support him the Advocate for the Government, whenever he was faced with a document, had the impudence to change the name to a forged. But it remained a change in the end and no ground to support was ever furnished or sought to be furnished.

The means having been proved to have been obtained and the borrowing substantially made and the standard being proved and remaining unaltered, the only finding on the fact case could and would have been that the demands made and the payments created were in excess of the standard in case of each Khatrias concerned.

Thus brings us to the second issue and the Police evidence. A question was asked by the Government as to the number of villages that fell within the terms of the enquiry and the Registry Office by its officer sent the list of Wabhoran (191) said "It is clear to my mind that the definition refers to approved expectations of established families of Revenue Officers and Police who as we have in the case of the big villages already admitted to the enquiry. In these cases the established families came together and as far as the actual and progress was concerned was a rule. In all these cases the Revenue and Police Officers were regarded as officials of standing." "In my opinion it is a serious requirement of this land that the Commission must in order within the scope of the terms of reference." During the enquiry Government admitted that one more village fell within the scope of the enquiry as shown before and thereby expressly claim that the witness and progress of the approved expectations of established families of Revenue and Police Officers.

Thus it was admitted by Government that eleven villages fell within the terms of the enquiry as above stated. It was, therefore, equally admitted that there were the villages which were visited for the purpose of gathering land revenue "by an organized expenditure of established families of Revenue officers and the Police." The only effort made by Government to support the use of the police officers was that by the purpose of introduction and creation was that the police were taken for the purpose of psychology of the Revenue Officers as they seemed to be very advantageous.

The Enquiry Officer has not upheld this story. On the statement of the Khairabad landlord, the Enquiry Officer reported about twenty and mentioned throughout the Tribune collecting money and forcing people to pay up almost up to a date prior to the work of these organisations.

Details of the role of the police station were given at the commencement of the enquiry and evidence in support of it was given. It was never alleged except in the case of Ismail Sahib Akshide of Bahad: that there was any injury to persons or damage to property except in some instances where a cupboard or a box was broken open. That man had paid his two years dues and was a defaulter only in regard to a sum of Rs. 25 for the first year. There was no doubt that his door was broken open and his daughter was injured, but the Collector himself went and collected himself the truth of the story soon after it occurred. The only reason why he was not mentioned in the case was that as to much as he paid the money from his own house and Ismail Sahib collected borrowing his dues did not fall within the terms of the Enquiry and the ground was made plain to the Enquiry Officer when the case was dropped. At that time if the Government had to demand the Khairabad would certainly have been expected to prove the allegations. After such a clear knowledge of the ground where Khairabad was not mentioned it is to be regretted that the Enquiry Officer has put forth a distorted view of the evidence.

When the enquiry was referred the Collector, the D. O., Cuddalore, the D. O., Superintendant of Police and other subordinate officers, almost all of whom were charged by the Khairabad, conspired and forced the Khairabad Tribune personally with the object of preventing it possible for landlords or some of them from complaining when the report began of getting some evidence in support of their defence. As a result one Manikam complainant of Bahad: wrote a letter saying he did not wish to have his complaint extended though he did not withdraw the charges made against the police, but during the time that the case for Bahad: was going on the Khairabad and a witness for the enquiry Commission was made aware as to the pressure and compromise with them, as their letter produced before the Enquiry Officer.

In the connection it is necessary to refer to the evidence which was dropped in the case of the village of Elay. A petition reporting to be signed by some complainants and some witnesses and withdrawing their complaints was sent by post as it is stated the Enquiry Officer on the opening day. Some of the signatories made statements to the Congress leaders giving details of the circumstances under which their signatures were taken after subjugation of the lot of October or in the early hours of the day by means of persons brought to bear upon them through a landlord of the village who, charged with a licence and six Khairabad officers was an influential person for a period of over twenty days, but was suddenly arrested. That night he remained and composed which are as obvious as not to require any explanation. Five of these Khairabad supplied that their complaints should be investigated independently their signatures to the petition. The Enquiry Officer had first intimated that they will have to make an affidavit

supporting the Khairabad, after receiving the commencement of doing so, these Khairabad agreed to make the affidavits. The Enquiry Officer, however, questioned them himself and being already satisfied with the truth did not require the materials to be made on oath. When the case for the village of Elay was taken up the Congress Council asked the Government advocate and the Government Officers whether they intended to use the petition in the same connection as an affidavit, for if they so wanted to use the same, the Congress Council was prepared to go into all the circumstances and clear him the signature to the petition was taken under circumstances which would not make the same binding upon the signature after consulting the Collector and the Police Officers the Government Advocate stated that he would not use the statements contained in the petition as affidavits.

The evidence that is given in behalf of the Khairabad is simple and straight-forward. The story is equally simple and straightforward and being true required no intoning. The only reason why the Enquiry Officer has spent his words upon the Congress is confirming there is the assumption with which he started that the evidence was false. He says "the evidence is false, the payments are simple and correct. How did the evidence then come to be given?" Therefore to come to the conclusion that it must have been the work of tampering the witnesses by the Congress organisation. Such was the judicial philosophy by which the evidence has been tested and the report prepared.

In all cases of this kind one begins with contemporaneous documents and all the telegrams which were sent from time to time during the case of the Police and the Revenue Officials have been reproduced in the report. One should have thought that such telegrams were evidence rather of the truth than otherwise of the story recorded therein. But the whole process of the application of judicial philosophy has been reversed in this enquiry and in the 'Report'. One would naturally start with an assumption that a contemporaneous statement was probably true and test the subsequent evidence in the light of those contemporaneous documents. But it did not suit the Enquiry Officer to follow the normal process. Dealing with the charge of getting my evidence it will be very difficult, if at all it is possible, to first meet some hundred different charges based on the same or similar incidents and yet it is assumed that that was the process gone through the story which set out the challenges made to reputation etc. Such an assumption is false.

On obtaining information of the police accounts which were going on in the village of Elay and Padi, the Congress President immediately directed Mr. Parthasarathy to see the Collector who was already organising these expeditions from Bahad: and who limited the case to the village of Vignath of a few days. On Mr. Parthasarathy reporting the landholder in this to had to profess ignorance about the matter and stated that he would himself go personally and make the Enquiry in the spot, it is stated that he left immediately for Elay and came back stating that he was unable to reach the village through the revenue officials and the police absolutely went down and carried out

been supplied just. The report made to the Collector and which he was expected to verify shows that the story as stated could have been true or otherwise nobody would have taken the risk of making a false statement with a certain chance of detection. But the Collector anticipated the truth of the story and did not venture to go and test it immediately.

The evidence given by men and women in the presence of all the officials charged including the Collector, the manner in which it was given notwithstanding the bellying tactics of the opposing advocates and unadvised interference by the Deputy Officer is sufficient proof to back of the truth of those men and women who according to the Deputy Officer himself were innocent and simple.

The Deputy Officer's report reads as if he was almost prepared to hold, but for the clearance of the Government, that the Police did not want the Villages concerned at all. The only Government case for the use of the police was that they were taken for the protection of the revenue officers, but where that collected at the case constituted of the Member the Deputy Officer has revealed a new side that if they were not taken for that purpose they were taken for the purpose of making a mild report or giving a courteous attention to the witnesses or if the invitation was another courtesy and the report mild, their presence and their witness did not amount to interference or coercion. It is a case which it is difficult to analyse or understand. The Deputy Officer realised after the cross examination of the Member that the theory of personal protection had, in one his phrase, "vanished in thin air."

Thus he makes a good remark that "his conclusion is arrived at without 'collecting evidence' of the officers of the Government except the partly heard statement of the Member." This contains a wrong conception which the mind of the Deputy Officer never realised. If the officers had attempted to give "collecting evidence" and produced the witness documents they would not only have failed to collect but would have been obliged to acknowledge coercion as the Member was substantially obliged to do.

The true value of "collecting evidence" is as he gathered from the Government case as regards the village of Rayon and the Commissioner-in-Chief of the Member in support of it. It was stated that certain Members made payments after the revenue-cum-police party left. Evidently with the object of showing that these Khondas who spoke about the police were not coercion were talking on subjects. The Member's statement was tested with great care, and with the assistance of the successful order of the revenue analysts, he had reluctantly to admit that the statement that in behalf of the Government and its representative-in-Chief relating to the matter were untrue. This gave rise to a fair test of what "collecting evidence" would have resulted in if the case had been further continued as a legal, political and equitable basis, and one may almost say that the matter relating the production and inspection of the Government documents, though begun in truth, was a failure for the officials and their relating evidence.

As regards the demand for the production and inspection of Government documents it is difficult to believe that in any Inquiry, whether it is held by a Court informally or called as such, that the Deputy Officer should commit one of the parties whether an order which he against that party on the ground of justice equity and good conscience should be made or not. That is what absolutely happened in the case and such conduct on the part of the Deputy Officer is enough to destroy the confidence which is now there to have believed it.

According to the nature of the Deputy Officer as "supervised expenditure of public funds by officials" is a very serious and well known to the Government authorities. One may hope that the Government will be obliged and make a system designed the better for the integrity and honour of our administration. The most respectable part of the Budget is that which is confined to the interest of the Government, the Deputy Officer has chosen to make evidence and about security which is in opposition with one in a contract of the agreement to stand here reported.

In para 21 of his 'Report' the Deputy Officer states as follows:

"It is possible that some perhaps a good number may be true stories but there is no way of distinguishing the true from the false and false individually they are just as likely to be inventions as some of the witnesses given and among that they are also made in the interests of witnesses as he is. On equity is concerned it would be impossible to weigh them as they stand."

This is a confession of accomplices for the purpose which he undertook and for which he was appointed. It was the business of the Deputy Officer if he was to do his duty to separate truth from the false stories and according to his duty of the stories may be true. This is also a confession of the method that was adopted in carrying out his conclusion containing the general denunciation of the witnesses and Congress representatives.

For these reasons it is submitted that finding on the case of police coercion should be in favour of the Member. It is quite essential, as has been pointed out above, to find out the exact correct point or points of the demand and through police coercion, for the only real use of the Inquiry is a justification of the charges made which, as far as the Congress and the Khondas were concerned, they hardly dare to have substantiated and they now have the matter to be judged by public opinion for the whole of the evidence as recorded has been published in full detail and the reasons for withdrawal had before the public to enable them to form a just and impartial opinion on the conduct of the Officers concerned.

Case for Bardoli

Based on the important documents, the Advocate's opening and closing addresses to the court, the Deputy Officer's Reply regarding "standards" and his order, a report of the Member's cross examination, the British Member's to the Member and other interesting and relevant matters are published by the A. I. C. C. in a *Bardoli Digest*, pp. 22, it is priced at Rs. 12. Postage is sent extra.

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Ministry, Young India

Government Welcome to Gandhiji

(By G. Rameswaram)

The Chairman talks and hardly could say so when the Government decided to say to India, "Time has come to work for you. There shall be no Peace for you." Pandit Jeebhairai Nandan and Mr. Shreehari Nandan have arrived on their way to Bombay. The challenge to the Congress is undeniably in the street of its General Secretary Pt. Jeebhairai Nandan. He was on his way to Bombay to hold the meeting of the Working Committee which was convened to hear Gandhiji's report and to decide on the future course of action for Congress. The Government have declined to arrest him and prevent him from proceeding to Bombay and meeting Gandhiji in the Congress. Nothing can be done apart of the indifference of the authorities to Congress in Congress.

Not content with this result, the Government have chosen to pursue India with another year's delay. They have chosen the way of Gandhiji, way of arrest and imprisonment and of change. When Abdul Ghaffar Khan Sahib has offered to be arrested that change rule was laid out only for the Congress, but for the Muslims also.

These actions have been criticised by the N. W. F. province. The Chief Commissioner has issued a statement which has been published as a warning to justify the substance shows that British rule cannot release our suffering people and liberally with the British people.

When Abdul Ghaffar Khan Sahib perhaps volunteer one of the most remarkable experiments in the Muslim history, that of converting a turbulent martial people with an infectious record of fighting, to the creed of Non-violence without divorcing the spirit of lawlessness, in any way taking them at their strength or weakness. It is perhaps one of the most glorious pages in the history of Gandhiji's struggle. It is indeed a happy turn of fate that a Government that claims will to serve the cause of peace and progress in India should use all its strength to prevent the progress of this great and remarkable man.

Khan Sahib's action is that "after Mr. Gandhiji left for the Round Table Conference, he made no attempt to do the business leading the Congress movement at the request of the Working Committee of the Congress." How this could be considered as wrong action understanding. The Chief Commissioner's statement proceeds to say that Khan Sahib moved from his seat to Pakistan. To strengthen the Youth League as an integral part of the All India Congress organization. The Congress is an organization which were good a level, where activities are peaceful and legitimate, and because within and for the Government. But was an irreconcilable truth and moral relationship. The organization of the Pakistan Youth League as an integral part of the Congress was therefore a great, if anything, in the name of peace. Here this could seem an offence in the eyes of the Chief Commissioner's peace relationship.

Reference is made to "no satisfactory solution was" in the speech of Khan Sahib. It, as may be expected, the Chief Commissioner has quoted the same passage, there is nothing to him to justify the charge. "The Congress is a society against the British. The British are the enemies, enemies of the

Congress and the Pakistan. If you are better come out in the battle-field, and fight the British." Unless the words "British" and "enemy" are interpreted, and in the "battle-field" and "fight" are interpreted, this statement which is a simple and comprehensible appeal for unity between the Pakistan and the rest of the people of India in the Non-violent struggle to attain complete freedom, cannot be differentiated from the appeal made by violent political action from a diseased platform all over India. It is a simple and unvarnished non-violent appeal against the policy of divide and rule. It would be strange indeed if it were demanded that we should not only not writing against Government, but make an appeal to give up colonial differences, on the ground that the strength of the existing Government has increased differences and that to weaken this authority is to weaken.

Peace and non-violence of volunteers can be an action for the Chief Commissioner's action to long as he is a volunteer that that Khan Sahib and his volunteers are pledged to Gandhiji's principles of Non-violence. The volunteer organization of the Congress has been created in every year, and these efforts and sacrifices have not been remembered by anyone.

That the National Congress Committee meeting repudiated the British's announcement and reaffirmed the Congress creed of complete independence's that it reaffirmed the substance of Gandhiji's report to the All India Congress Committee and that it made certain recommendations to the N. W. F. C. are all meant to be grounds for the substance. On the top of it all is the explicit claim that Khan Sahib and his brother would not accept the Chief Commissioner's demand. The Chief Commissioner may be accused for his arbitrary treatment of industry parties, but there can be no such such as for the Government of India to accept such grounds and state witnesses declaring a whole province to be in a state of siege.

The N. W. F. volunteers came on the top of the walls with the worst intentions among them all. To the national power of order, discipline, and enforcement given to the Congress movement, and the power to make any property movable to immovable, to take any vehicle, to deprive men and women of the right of transport and other privileges and rights of free women, to abrogate the right of control and access of landowners and communities in the house. The whole province is practically declared to be in a state of siege.

Simultaneously with the proclamation of the substance, the Chief Commissioner has issued under the provisions of a declaration that the entire Congress organization in the N. W. F. is "illegal." There is evidence about the last time. The trace has been done to death. That is the Government welcome to Gandhiji to his arrest in India on 28th December.

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Letter from Europe Farewell.

During the last days of our stay in London our prayer meetings became so crowded that one of the good friends remarked: "If you was any longer you will have to build a chapel here". On the last evening, Mrs. Peck, whom both Mr. Gandhi—The Man has become very popular, sang "Lord Kindle Lights" in which numerous friends joined. Many of these lifelong friendships have been formed and some have played their part in work for India. Some came in with offers of help and some volunteered to labour for us during the last days of our stay. Some of the farewell letters were not only tokens of friendship but earnest offers of help and continuance of work in England. A dear letter of farewell was from the Friends at Woodchester signed by about two dozen of them. An equally welcome one was received from the Depts. of Commerce. "My wife and I will never forget the visit Mr. Gandhi and all of you paid to Commerce. I feel that real sympathy and friendship grew between us during those days. We shall think of you and your efforts for you are in India. I pray that you may not suffer—but the joy of which you speak may not be lost. For friendship and understanding I pray and for courage I do. I shall never forget my talk that Sunday morning with Mr. Gandhi! May good still come!" Here is another letter one who has been a regular reader of Young India for several years: "I wish from the bottom of my heart that you had come to be happier. But let the suffer you as a great nation, at the best, all of us. If ever you could close in the spirit of Truth and stand hand and glove with the God who is God with us, then you are Gandhi and powerful and those that are with you. We can do our best—it is always better—and leave the rest to God." Mr. George Fowler wrote in the course of a long letter from his country house in Wales: "Farewell my friend and may the courage and the wisdom of your soul be kindled into such burning warmth and light, that dark deeds of men as Indians were once criminals and miserable as slaves!"

An English lady who used to come to our prayer meeting fairly regularly, only the last day told me that she was the daughter of a retired I. C. S. wanted one of her pictures and good wishes and left the little group of her.

What though East and West we two
To the unperfected eye
There are margins we can look through
If we try
Fathoms, since we are not two
To the understanding heart,
In the work you go to do
We have part
So we bless you in your way
To the goal where strife shall cease
In the single eye of day
The day of Peace.

Dear Raymond Harrold with his head working away to help English business and enterprise find a way to come and say farewell to "Bapu." At Mr. Harrold's place on the eve of our departure, was held a meeting which was largely attended and among

those present were Messrs. Harrold, Lady, President Kewley Harrold and a host of others. It was a fine well meeting. The friends played with Gandhi and in the spirit of all it could be avoided. It was all in the best of spirit and combined with it was the courage of negotiation. On the day we left it glorified our hearts to find old Mr. Kewley at the station at that early hour and Mr. Harrold too sent a telegram "We are with you". The most touching of all was the chorus of "Auld Lang Syne" by all the women of the Christian Church at the station.

These partings and good wishes are an awful reminder for a voyage however long and heavy. They are quite enough to carry you to your goal.

Paris

I had thought that Paris would be a positive relief after the three strenuous months in London. But the last hours in that great city were so crowded with engagements in social life, and the few moments of quiet that were left to Gandhi were invaded by newspaper correspondents so greedy for "copy" as careless to represent him accurately and by civil service-type company agents. But the two public business were such in Gandhi could have the effect of a wind. The first was the reception by the Indians of Paris. It was a very warm one with a purse of £100 as an earnest of their support for the movement of India's freedom. For the first and last time in Europe during the present visit Gandhi spoke in French. "I do not at all regret having attended the Round Table Conference," he said to them. "I should have been ashamed of having gone there if I had accompanied by an anti-India's demand. I am thankful that God gave me the strength to speak the right word at the right moment, and I am not ashamed of anything that I have said or done there. I am reminding those much stronger and wiser. For I have seen the people we have so counted against. I know that we have to go through and more suffering to vindicate our position."

The public meeting of the chosen of Paris was held in the hall of the "Maison Grey" one of the largest houses in the city—which was packed to its utmost capacity. For groups of us here and a half Gandhi spoke in an intimate audience on the universality of the courage of non-violence for a world 'desperately' with the line and doctrine that are the inevitable companions of all world conflicts. For a world suffering from a widespread economic crisis on which is a significance of the last was thoroughly described as "Bapu". The Indian struggle for liberty was essentially a world struggle because the world was having an earlier demonstration of an group experiment as a worldwide method of truth and non-violence for the attainment of freedom of 100 million human beings.

But I shall not remember here either the kind children of the Indian to the courage given to the world and the doctrine that are the inevitable companions of all world conflicts. For a world suffering from a widespread economic crisis on which is a significance of the last was thoroughly described as "Bapu". The Indian struggle for liberty was essentially a world struggle because the world was having an earlier demonstration of an group experiment as a worldwide method of truth and non-violence for the attainment of freedom of 100 million human beings.

Pilgrimage To Villeneuve

We could have ended the India, but we have to finish, on the last of the of December from Villeneuve,

and raised the call from India was prophetic. But the call from Villavieja was equally prophetic. Here in the quiet retirement of this Swiss village situated on the banks of the beautiful lake of Geneva surrounded by the snow-cloth Alps from M. Roman Rolland is voluntary exile, most of all the world has chosen him, interested by the theme of darkness that darkness is equal European civilization, and giving all his nights and days to seeking a solution for the widening of that civilization. During his youth he has given some of his finest studies of world figures and world forces, and it was through his work of genius that Gaudig had the honour of being introduced to Europe. Ever since Minkel, who was attached to him through the love of Beethoven, came to Gaudig and became his spiritual daughter of both, Roman Rolland has inspired by a meeting with Gaudig. Twice a European visit was projected and cancelled, much to the great pain of Gaudig and Roman Rolland. But both patiently waited, until Roman Rolland presented Gaudig with the book about Europe and wished his apostle for a conversation with him. For two years, besides M. Roman Rolland had been as a persistent critic of both and Gaudig would never answer himself if he had to return this time without meeting him. The pilgrimage was then being made. I went I feel the joy to describe the meeting of the two beautiful spirits in that little room of his packed with book-shelves—Beethoven's being in the wall, Pachelbel, Andersen and Gaudig between them, looking from the windows of a 'bookshelf', and Tjalling and Gusto from Sweden, Eugene and Gusto and Beethoven from a third-line occupied the shelves of Europe, placing the Gaudig his meeting before on the shelves of Europe, upon "The last, the last." One could almost see his soul working as trying to be described the highest effects of civilization and asked with 'some other things'. For something to put in and to that civilization. And it should envelop Europe and into the civilization. Western, he said, was the only party in the world in which was interest and right was together and when they were saved everything would perish. He said he would be saved at any price, for he and with such great hope in Europe, and he said it was one of his great regrets that Gaudig never met Lenin. "I mean who has you never contemplated with truth," he said was ready to receive the message of new culture, would Europe receive it? Like India it was not in its bones, and when through the European problem had seemed to leave him, "How I wish I was twenty years younger, so that I might have carried on a fierce battle against the European theme," he exclaimed. And as he looked in his last days was a monologue as Gaudig was alone—he drew near Gaudig and clasped his hands and held them tight for a while, fixing the gaze of his wonderful blue eyes on Gaudig, like a lover on a loved one. "We were born," said his sister who was accompanying him, "that the time would come, and sometimes we even feared that we should pass away without ever meeting you."

That was the first meeting and close then each day they met here their evidence of a friendship that seemed to have been formed not recently, but ages ago, that companionship of the heart.

When such is true you speak to death
And heavy light from heavy things,
And thought leaps out to meet with thought,
The Thought itself could not with speech

It was finally a case of thought leaping out to meet with thought for there was the barrier of language. Overcoming this barrier the brother and made speech necessary. His simple personality made even in, Doudou, Pyralis and two recipients of his friendly interest not at all of his books described in his handwriting as chapters of his manuscript, entirely sensitive and sounding over with artistic goldenness. On the last evening of one day after his progress in his 'Vile Alps' he played on his piano his favourite Fifth Symphony of Beethoven representing, as he explained, the triumph of it leads with over darkness gloom. It was as chapters of the struggle his own soul was going through. As I wrote there that I can imagine what a sweet harmony's poetry is going to be. We shall leave with the human prayer that God may bless him and his work long enough to fill that world.

Pierre Casselle

The call to Villavieja was not without rich by-products. The Swiss village, surrounded Gaudig with efforts and M. Pagan, whom the makers of Young India already knew well who has been Gaudig's 'father' during the Swiss programme arranged contacts which were precious. The most valuable among them was that with Pierre Casselle and his group. 'We had quite late before this time', said M. Pagan, 'was talking about him. "We had not met," he wrote. He is one of the greatest of our time. An engineer and a mathematician he has lived in America and Japan and was among the first to place the banner of revolt against military service in his country. "The man who had raised his voice was a teacher, he said to me, "and I felt that his voice was just and I threw in my lot with him." His father was a member of the Swiss Cabinet (Switzerland) and left him considerable property which he has given away to the State. Having thus deserved well of the State and the nation he has not seemed at all content. He has saved their nation of improvement as civilization objects, but the village was having his work and system. He resigned soon after the War International Service Order—the first service of which we Indians know so much and have had speech—but a great service of the non-military type in the days of darkness the leading role of voluntary help to people in distress and that to save them from international hate and strife. Two forms of service it is his opinion the only effective means to prevent war and he and his army of volunteer workers have worked not only in Switzerland but all over Europe. He has really earned and the prompt of "having made his contribution" and asked the home bodies they were anxious to stand out a small house into two pieces with "PAG" (Pagan) attached on it. They have a little committee and they are making a report of them who have rendered voluntary service. Beyond this there is no organization. "I started work without any organization, he said to me, and I have never been in want of support. Money has come in other shape of

method and even our Government will listen. I was once and is forever indebted to you for this help." His hand of prayer, drawn from all parts of the Continent, has turned up to now in the rugged area around Yverdon, in the Rhodan valley, in the Rhone and in Luchemburg, near Aachen, and in Wales. As many as 500 people have worked under him at a time and spending the fifty minutes were represented in this way of peace when a new chapter in LaGarde's life began. In the week, Pierre Gesteau has had the help of his brother who was once a General in the Swiss Army and is now retired. One of the meetings at Luchemburg was exclusively for Pierre Gesteau and his group and another consisted of the simultaneous election and state symposium. These meetings and questions and answers there were so important that I must devote a large part of this letter to them.

Theory and Practice of Nonviolence

The help of the specialists asked at these meetings came naturally around non-violence, and I remember them here, including those some of the specialists and experts in the Paris meeting.

By way of introduction I shall give his distinction between the methods of violence and nonviolence. In the method we are referring to today, truth, lying, deceit and all the other kinds of violence and action have absolutely no aim. Everything is done openly and above board, for truth is the way. The more open you are the more truthful you are likely to be. Truth is no such thing to follow or depend in the discovery of a man who bases his life on truth and non-violence. And yet the method of non-violence is not in any stage or form a passive or negative method. It is essentially an active movement, much more active than the one involving the use of obligatory weapons. Truth and nonviolence are perhaps the richest values you live in the world. A man who would manipulate violence will in time soon destroy those whom he considers his enemies, does at least realize some one ought to lay down his arms for a while in every country here today. He is, therefore, essentially inactive, for a certain part of the day. Not so the theory of truth and non-violence, for the simple reason that they are not relative weapons. They stand in the human breast and they are actively working their way whether you are awake or whether you are asleep, whether you are walking leisurely or sleeping or even gone. The powerful values of truth and non-violence are not and necessarily will not.

How then can we be effectively non-violent? By simply refusing to take up arms? Nonviolence had made the call to the people not to take part in war. Was that enough?—Questions which were asked upon and upon at various meetings and answered in a language accepted by the audience and the speaker.

Adolf Berthold said he had with a teacher who was his good love teacher. "My answer can be only one that I. Perhaps you take up the method without actually believe could be true. Indeed, if I may say so about a great man, I would say that Kalmus has given the method to me. But, if you want me to elaborate the thing I would say that merely to refuse military service is not enough. To refuse to render military service when the particular case arises is to do the thing after all

the time for combating the evil, practically gone. Military service is only a symptom of the disease which is deeper. I suggest to you that those who are not on the ground of military service are equally participants in the crime of they support the state after war. He is the who supports a state dependent in the military way—whether directly or indirectly—participation in the war. He is old or young when put in the war by contributing to the maintenance of the state by paying the tax. That is why I said in my report during the war that so long as I live, what happened by the army while I was doing everything about of being a soldier, I was lost for me to return to the army and be that otherwise I should return to the maintenance and not feel guilty by nature. Therefore all those who want to say military service can do so by withdrawing all its operations. Refusal of military service is much more important than mere operations with the whole system which supports the state. But then one's appearance becomes as truth and in addition that just one the risk of not only being watched to feel, but of being driven from the nation."

Then one can not accept the one military service of the state? The movement of position and moved Pierre Gesteau deeply and to asked this question in a way which was most touching. "We represent our truth, you represent the truth. The argument is also being advanced here and we should like to be strengthened by you."

"Yes," said Gesteau, "you have reached the heart of the matter. I was faced with the very question of action of the state's operations. I said to myself, there is no state which can be true or truthful which has not great pains about it, but we have to treat the whole, we have to decide to accept or not with the system. "There are in our society great public trusts, and public educational institutions" said I in myself, "but they are part of a system which makes the action I should not have anything to do with them. They are like the Indian under such a helmet, proud as a lion, but which has been full of poison. So I came to the conclusion that the French state is India had reached the spirit of the nation and should its growth, and so I decided to keep myself off the ground—current, events, action. The policy would vary with different nations but method and self-control are the essential points. What Berthold has said, would occur only once a year and only with a very few people. But I suggest it as now. Not due to non-cooperation with the state."

But is there not a deep difference between an independent nation and a subject nation? Is there any kind of fundamental quarrel with the Government, but here are the facts quoted with the state?

"Difference there undoubtedly is," said Gesteau. "As a member of a subject nation I could not help by refusing all of my subjects. But here I am asked to be true but I am not of a military nationality. You are making the mistake of something that you render military service in the state. There you have to be true but of the military nationality."

But Pierre Gesteau still had his doubts. The argument had somewhat appeal for him, but here did his own particular interest lie in if he was to possess

the method to be extreme logical conclusions. A question was asked at the great meeting in Geneva about Gandhi's opinion regarding the work of the International Red Cross Society organized in Switzerland and the thousands of tons of pressure that it had exerted, and Gandhi's answer to the question contained for Pierre Curie the substance of all his difficulties and a message of cheer for the International Service Corps that he had organized. I was attracted to him so much that I do not know the history of this wonderful and magnificent organization. If it has saved prisoners by the thousands my heart bows before it. But having said this tribute, may I say that this organization should come to think of going cold after the war has ended of going cold without the war. If we had no religious faith, no courage and no faith before it, it would be a despicable thing, and would not need speeches to destroy it. But what I would suggest to you is relatively colder than war is all its literature including that Cross Organization. Before me there are many more willing prisoners—those of their passions and conditions of life, and believe me that there are millions wounded by their own folly, and millions of wrecked hopes on the face of the earth. The great solution of non-violence would therefore have enough work and aid for those who they take up international service and may Switzerland give the lead to the world in this great task.

In answer to a similar question at another meeting he said "Non-cooperation in military service and service in non-military matters are not compatible. 'Defending' military service is an absolute evil. You are all the while giving military service by directly because not are supporting a state which is based on military service. In Switzerland and other countries where are detached from military service, but they have to pay money to the State. You will have to extend the scope of non-cooperation to your taxes. There is no task in extending our service to our neighbours unless we blockade frontiers. That never made sense in history."

Q. Since Switzerland chiefly depends on great powers why should Switzerland, which is a neutral state and a neutral state, be asked to disarm itself?

A. It is upon the survival ground of your country that I am speaking to all other Powers and not only to Switzerland. If you want only the message to other parts of Europe I shall be absorbed from all States. And seeing that Switzerland is a neutral country and non-aggressive nation there is all the more reason why Switzerland should not end an arm. Success is in through your loyalty and by means of your acceptance the message passed that you have all strength turned to you. It should be possible for you to give to the world a lesson in disarmament and show that you are brave enough to do without an army.

Q. How could a disarmed neutral country allow other nations to be destroyed? But has not many which are waiting only to get together during the last war we should have been armed.

A. At the risk of being considered a victory by a God I must answer this question in the only manner I know. It would be cowardly of a neutral country to allow an enemy to devastate a neighbouring country.

But there are two ways in common between soldiers of war and soldiers of non-violence, and if I had been a soldier of Switzerland and a President of the Federal State what I could have done would be to refuse passage to the invading army by refusing all supplies. Secondly, by increasing a Thermopylae in Switzerland, you would have presented a living wall of men and women and children and looking the invaders to wait their first impact, you may say that such a thing is beyond human capabilities and endurance. I say that it is not so. It was quite possible last year in Geneva women stood with courage nobly and to the thousands thousands stood back of bullets without wincing or violence. Imagine these men and women staying in front of an army receiving a safe passage to another strategy. The army would be forced enough to wait over there, you might say. I would then say you will still have done your duty by allowing passage to be annihilated. An army that starts to pass over the corpses of innocent men and women would not be able to repeat that experiment. In fact, if you wish, when to believe in such courage on the part of the masses of men and women, but then you would have to think that non-violence is made of things right. It was never considered as a weapon of the weak, but of the constant weak.

Q. Is it open to a soldier to fire in the air and avoid violence?

A. A soldier who having refused himself killed himself that he was avoiding violence by shooting in the air did no credit to his courage or to his creed of non-violence. In my scheme of things such a man would be held to be guilty of violence and cowardice both—cowardice in that he tries to escape commitment by refusal, and refusal in that he refused to serve as soldier and did not live as expected. Such a thing deepens the cause of ending war against war. The War Resisters have to be like Gandhi's wife—strong enough. Their strength has to show their authority in the equality of the opinion.

Truth and God

The Convention of Congress meeting was at a church where Curie and his friends had prepared a wonderful welcome for Gandhi. All came to church standing hand in hand, the clergy solemnly sang, and the President of the meeting read a touching address. "We are afraid of the unknown, pain, responsibility, death. You have no fear. We have got the Ganges on the Moon on our lips. You have said it is your heart and not being it. Welcome to our midst and teach us to live more dedicated lives." And so on and so forth. The questions asked touched subjects like God and truth and non-violence. H. Patel, who presided at one stage, asked some of the questions beyond him and Prof. Bhand, the Swiss philosopher, took his place. In this letter I shall take up only one question: "Why do you regard God as 'Truth'?"

"You have asked me why I consider that God is Truth. In my early youth I was taught to regard what is Hindu scriptures are known as age dependent words of God. But there are dependent words of God even by so many scriptures. We believe—and I think it is the truth—that God has as many names as there are

conclusion and, therefore, we also say that God is some-
 thing and since God has many names we also consider His
 freedom, and since His freedom is so through other
 things, we consider Him to be something and so on
 And so when I came to study Islam I found that Islam
 too had many names for God. I would say with
 those who say God is Love, God is Love. The day
 dawned to me I used to say that though God may be
 God, God is Truth, above all, if it is possible for
 the human tongue to give the fullest description of
 God, I have come to the conclusion that for myself,
 God is truth. But two years ago I went a very
 further and said that Truth is God. You will see the
 distinction between the two statements, viz., that God
 is Truth and Truth is God. And I came to that
 conclusion after a confusion and whether worth
 what Truth which began nearly fifty years ago, I
 then found that the correct approach to Truth was
 through Love. But I also found that even here
 messages in the English language at least and that
 human love in the sense of passion could become a
 disgusting thing also. I found too that love in the
 sense of adoration had only a limited number of variations
 in the world. But I never found a double meaning
 or something with truth and not even adoration had not
 descended to the necessity of gesture of truth. But as
 dear persons for describing truth the scientific love
 was inclined to deny the very existence of God—from
 their own point of view selfish. And a wise because
 of this reasoning that I saw that unless
 they say that God is Truth I should say
 that Truth is God. I recall the name of Charles
 Bradleigh, who declined to call himself an atheist,
 but knowing as I do something of him, I would never
 regard him as an atheist. I would call him a God-
 loving man, though I know that he would reject the
 name. His love would rather if I would say that
 "My Bradleigh, you are a God-loving man,
 and not a God-fearing man." I would
 eventually describe his attitude for saying
 that Truth is God, as I have described attitude of
 every young man. And so then the great difficulty
 that arises here before the name of God and in His
 name committed against Himself. His that attitude
 very often he not sacred speaking in the name of
 truth. I know how in the name of truth and science
 between attitudes are perpetuated on which were not
 perfect verities. There are then a number of
 difficulties in the way, so much have you describe
 that, that the human mind is a limited thing, and
 you have to follow some limitations when you think
 of a being as unity who I beyond the power of man
 to grasp. And then we have another thing in Hindu
 philosophy, viz., God alone is real nothing else exists,
 and the name that you had emphasized and emphasized
 in the Krishna of Islam. Then you find already
 stated—that God alone is real nothing else exists. Is
 that the desired word for Truth is a word which
 roughly means that which exists—God. For there are
 several other things that I can give you I have come
 to the conclusion that the definition—Truth is God—
 gives us the greatest satisfaction. And when you
 want to find Truth as God the only possible name
 is Love, i. e., non-violence, and since I believe that
 ultimately the means and end are co-existent terms,
 I should not hesitate to say that God is Love.

"What then is Truth?"

"A difficult question," said Gandhi, "but I have
 asked it for myself by saying that it is what the eyes
 within tell you. Here, then, you ask, different people
 think of different and contrary truths." Well, seeing
 that the human mind works through senseless
 matter and that the envelope of the human mind is
 not the same for all, it follows that what may be truth
 for one may be untrue for another, and hence there
 will have been these experiences have come by the
 confusion that there are certain conditions to be
 observed in making these statements, just as for
 conducting scientific experiments there is an
 indispensable scientific course of instruction, in the
 same way these preliminary descriptions is
 necessary to qualify a person to make experiments in
 the spiritual world. Everyone should, therefore, realize
 his limitations before he speaks of his inner voice.
 Therefore we have the belief based upon experience
 that those who would make individual search after
 truth as God, must go through several years, as far
 as the sense, the way of truth, the way of Dharma-
 (yoga) for you cannot possibly divide your love for
 Truth and God with anything else—the care of one's
 relations, of poverty and non-possessions. Unless you
 begin to yourselves the five vows you may not
 embark on the experiment of all. There are several
 other conditions prescribed, but I must not take you
 through all of them. Rather it is my duty that those who
 have made these experiences know that it is not
 proper for everyone to claim to have the voice of con-
 science and it is because we have at the present
 amongst everybody claiming the right of conscience
 without going through any discipline whatsoever and
 there is so much mischief being delivered in a
 confused world, all that I can do this humanity
 present in you is that truth is not to be found by
 anybody who has not got an abundant sense of
 honesty. If you would enter on the basis of the
 name of Truth you must induce yourself to a state.
 Further than that I cannot go along this fascinating
 path."

But I must find out a spontaneous quality of
 confidence and nervous by the next week. Let me say
 that the week in Switzerland has been one of our
 latest experiences. Before then we had some time
 some with lasting gifts—some with flowers, some with
 fish soup. The latest to come were cowboys who
 sang loudly their new songs. Hundreds of children
 were invited to the place and every song to Gandhi
 and a friend came down with his violin to play away
 morning while Gandhi was having his breakfast.
 This morning to we were going to Geneva a simple
 looking peasant woman put on sandals into my hand,
 I thought it was a letter of greeting. When late in
 the evening I opened it I found it is a few lines
 poem with just two metaphors: "A little girl has seen of
 your way past India where there is a Hindu wilderness."
 Another letter two-verse, evidently from a lady
 who had been following Gandhi's movements, with a
 twenty-line note, ended and with these words in it
 "I must make the sorrow of the Indian people my
 own, I know what a heavy burden you are carrying
 and yet I cannot do otherwise but beg you from the
 bottom of my heart to pray for us for Switzerland and
 for the whole of this sad Europe." M. D.

The Jesus I love

[During the past few days, questions have been sent again being asked Godfrey about Christ and Christianity. Sometimes he has refused being drawn into them by simply giving unanswerable replies, sometimes a reply like this "Christianity is good, Christianity is best" and sometimes by just a hyperbolic reply.

A question, for instance, was pointedly asked at the Purne meeting: "Why do you refuse to state God's love to Jesus, either you?" Why does not Jesus take up the Cross?"

Godfrey replied: "If Jesus has interests in God, I have never refused to enter the house of God, indeed every moment I am trying to enter it. If Jesus represents not a person, but the principle of universal love, love has accepted its protecting power."

On the day our evening prayer was being attended by a few Christian friends and when Godfrey was asked to give a talk on the Sermon on the Mount: "Don't ask me to do anything of the kind," said he. "You may ask questions of me later, but don't ask me to make a set speech."

When the prominent Mr. Mills, of the Associated Press of America, pressed Godfrey for a message of Christian greetings for America, he declined a sentence or two very reluctantly.

"I have never been able to reconcile myself to the politics of the Christian nations. They have opposed to me to be so important with the life and teaching of Jesus."

"What I wish America would lend the way by devoting its resources to a real moral reawakening and encouraging cooperation to the nation of mankind in which Jesus lived and died on the Cross."

But on Christmas Day, or rather on the day before, came a request which Godfrey could not refuse. Miss Hart, a missionary lady working in Hyderabad (Deccan) and Mr. Noel, from Egypt, had been attending our prayers regularly, the former even attending the evening ones. They had expressed an interest in the papers which one could easily appreciate. When, therefore, the letter pressed for a Christmas message to be given by Godfrey on Christmas Day, he had to consent.

"But the time?" asked Godfrey.

"Christmas time is convenient to you," said Mr. Noel.

"What, then, is it?" replied Godfrey.

Mr. Noel was surprised.

"A 30 min. if you like," said Godfrey.

"Very few would be able to come," pleaded Mr. Noel.

"It would be quite all right if only one or two came," said Godfrey.

"No," said Mr. Noel, "I will put up a notice."

"Please do nothing of the kind. Let those who expressed the desire come here at 4.30."

After considerable hesitation, Miss Hart and Mr. Noel agreed, and on Christmas Day quite half-a-dozen of them turned up at the appointed hour. There was a hymn celebrating Christ's nativity—"Wise shepherds watched their flocks by night"—Then there was a reading from the New Testament, and then a talk by Godfrey, who spoke on the meaning Christmas Day had for him. I remember the talk particularly

well. The hymn sang at the end was, 'Take My Life and let it be.'

(M.D.)

I shall tell you later, by no means like me, the story of Christ, as told in the New Testament, has struck. My acquaintance with the Bible began nearly twenty years ago, and that was through the New Testament. I could not then take much interest in the Old Testament, which I had certainly read, if only to fulfill a promise I had made to a friend when I happened to read in a house. But when I came to the New Testament and the Sermon on the Mount, I began to understand the Christian teaching, and the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount opened something I had been in childhood and something which seemed to be part of my being and which I felt was being asked up to in the daily life around me.

I say it seemed to be asked up to, meaning thereby that it was not necessary for my purpose that they were actually being the life. That teaching was not revelation, or any promise to rest. Of all the things I read, what remained with me forever was that Jesus came almost to give a new law—though life of service had said He had not come to give a new law, but to do something as to the old Mosaic law. What He changed it so that it became a new law—and as yet for an eye, and a touch for a touch, but to be ready to receive two Mosaic what was given, and to go two miles when you were asked to go one.

I said to myself, "This is what you learn in your childhood—Sandy this is not Christianity. For all I had then been given is something new that to be a Christian was to have a brandy bottle in one hand and lead in the other. The Sermon on the Mount, however, limited the expression."

As my contact with real Christ, I mean, was long on that of God, however, I saw that the Sermon on the Mount was the whole of Christianity for him who wanted to love a Christian life. It is that Sermon which has sustained Jesus to me.

I may say that I have never been attracted in a material Jesus. I should not care if it was proved by some one that the man called Jesus never lived, and that was accepted as the Gospel was a legend of the writer's imagination. For the Sermon on the Mount would still be true for me.

Reading, therefore, the whole story in that light, it seems to me that Christianity has got to be lived, taken one says that where there is honest love and no idea of religious whatsoever, it is Christianity that lives. But then it contradicts all fundamental and book-teaching. Then it is something indefinable, not capable of being preached to men, not capable of being translated from mouth to mouth, but from heart to heart. But Christianity is not commonly understood in that way.

Soberly, in God's providence, the Bible has been preserved from destruction by the Christians, ourselves. The British and Foreign Bible Society has had it translated into many languages. All that may serve a real purpose in the time to come—Two thousand years is the life of a living Faith may be nothing. For though we mean, "All glory to God as High and as the earth is plain," there seems to be today greater glory to God our peace as earth.

As long as it remains a longer still unchanged, as long as Christ is not yet here, we have to work toward

to Him. When real peace is established, we will not need demonstrations, but it will be asked in our life, not only in individual life, but in corporate life. Then we shall say, Christ is here. That is not the real meaning of the verse we have sung. Then we will not think of a particular day in the year as that of the birth of Christ, but as an ever-recurring event which can be repeated in every life.

And the words I think of fundamental religion, and the more I think of numerous illustrations of so many masters who have come down from age to age and close to them, the more I see that time is hallowed from the eternal truth that I have asserted. That words as labels or declarations is common in the living of life, never ceasing, ever progressing towards peace.

When, therefore, we make "A Happy Christmas" without the meaning behind it, it becomes getting more than an empty formula that takes one away for peace for all life, not content with the peace for oneself. It is a self-righteous action, like the actions of Hindu, that persons have peace unless there is a war as between brother for peace all around. This may certainly experience peace in the midst of war, but that happens only when it comes close—see how far your whole life, you really yourself.

And so, as the celebration both is an eternal event, as is the Christ an eternal event in the eternal life. Therefore we dare not think of birth without death on the cross. Living Christ means a living Christ without of life it is a living death.

Notes

Discrimination

The provisions with which discrimination against religious not described in India, is referred to in the constitutional document under it used in quote the following from the British nature of 1934 regarding English Nationality.

Section 65 (1) Nothing in this Act shall take away or abridge any power vested in or exercisable by the Legislature or Government of any British Possession or affect the operation of any law in force in those which has been passed or enacted or such a power, or prevent any such Legislature or Government from treating differently different classes of British subjects.

Thus a British subject is not entitled by virtue of nationality to any special or political rights in all the Dominions. All legislation discriminating between British subjects has been virtually abrogated, British citizenship may in general theory be declared to "be and indivisible." But by means of legislation regarding "domestic", British subjects and their rights have been subdivided according to the country within the British Empire in which they belong or are deemed to belong. Not only has each part of the Empire its own legal domestic, but each part is often divided up into many territories of legal domestic. The domestic of each is local, and has only, when a new domestic is approved. Clear proof is required to establish a change of domestic. More progress and freedom is not sufficient, it has been accepted in political doctrine of British Commonwealth "from the standpoint of the country of domestic, it is inseparable and even paradox to have permanently established within its territory large

numbers of persons who in not own that country permanent allegiance. It was not only England that found it difficult as an "indivisible" nation. The difficulty has been felt by commonwealth all over the British Commonwealth. And it has been overcome by the use of the word and idea of "domestic". "Domestic" has enabled the Dominions to present whatever British subjects they chose a home country in religious, political and other rights within their territory. "Domestic" has created two categories throughout the British Commonwealth. It is held by professors of political science that is, the application of more fundamental law to the Dominion. "Domestic" can have to be taken as a test, for the reason that there is no other test, and through has appeared a very important place in the definition of citizenship. At its authoritative status as an subject, its status, "the simple membership British subject" which is due to his rights within the Empire. Each part of the British Commonwealth has followed its own policy, even as regards the extension or refusal of rights to persons within its jurisdiction.

A Commonwealth

Dr. H. L. Kishoredevan, that admirable champion of mechanical progress, in the course of his address at the meeting of the Students Exhibition at Madras recently made the following confession:

"I am one of those who not long ago thought that handicraft and hand-making of Hindu, while machinery could do the work as cheap, might prove a source of relief and thus the cause and time spent as it might be more profitably employed. But in the present circumstances of the world when there is such a widespread unemployment, and when there is no population at all in relief unemployment, no time person will deny that the British participation in a world constructive purpose and that the efforts of the Congress Party in representing Hindu under the influence generating of our great countrymen, Mahatma Gandhi, are fully justified. When at some future time truly national economic policy begins to govern the attitude of Government, I have no doubt that the Mahatma himself will work to direct at least part of the labour now employed on Hindu to more constructive occupations.

When more constructive occupations are found for any of those now labouring at the wheel, we can think on the way of a domestic to such occupations. No one would welcome more than Gandhi himself a change in our economic conditions which would make good and remunerative occupations available to those who are now in such complete

C. R.

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